

THE VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTY OF
OXFORD

VOLUME XII: WOOTTON HUNDRED (SOUTH)




PUBLISHED FOR THE
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON INSTITUTE
OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

BY
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

THIS volume contains the histories of 15 ancient parishes and several extraparochial places north and west of Oxford. The small boroughs of Eynsham and Woodstock are richly documented, allowing particularly full accounts of their topography and economic development. The area was dominated by a large medieval royal estate centred on Woodstock Park, and by its successor, the Blenheim estate; original sources for both are here re-examined, and major amendments made to earlier accounts of Blenheim Palace, its park, and gardens. Most villages in the area were nucleated, but some lying within the royal forest of Wychwood had dispersed settlement patterns and were affected by intercommoning and other forest customs. Open-field farming prevailed but there was also some extensive early inclosure. Complex meadow customs survived, notably at Yarnton. At Cogges and Eynsham in the early 13th century there were comparable borough extensions, both called Newland, and Cogges provides an example of the layout of an important early-medieval manorial centre. Later-medieval distress in the area is reflected in the number of deserted and shrunk village sites, some identified here for the first time. Prominent local industries were gloving, centred on Woodstock and carried on in many villages, and the manufacture in the 18th century of steel jewellery at Woodstock. Kidlington, Stanton Harcourt, and North and South Leigh have notable churches. Among the larger houses are Stanton Harcourt manor house, associated with Alexander Pope, and Eynsham Hall, probably first built by a London theatre owner interested in coal-mining on Eynsham heath.

Parishes: BEGBROKE, BLADON, CASSINGTON, COGGES, COMBE, EYNSHAM, HANBOROUGH, KIDLINGTON, NORTH LEIGH, SOUTH LEIGH, SHIPTON-ON-CHERWELL, STANTON HARCOURT, WILCOTE, WOLVERCOTE, YARNTON. WOODSTOCK a chapelry of Bladon, and BLENHEIM PARK, an extraparochial place, are treated separately.

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THE VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE
COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

A HISTORY OF
OXFORDSHIRE

VOLUME XII

Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford OX2 6DP
Oxford New York Toronto
Delhi Bombay Calcutta Madras Karachi
Peking Taipei Singapore Hong Kong Tokyo
Nairobi Dar es Salaam Cape Town
Melbourne Auckland

and associated companies in
Berlin Ibadan

Oxford is a trade mark of Oxford University Press

Published in the United States
by Oxford University Press, New York

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stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

*A History of the county of Oxford. – (The
Victoria history of the counties of England)*

*Vol. 12, Wootton Hundred (South)
including Woodstock*

I. Oxfordshire, history

I. Crossley, Alan

II. University of London

Institute of Historical Research

III. Series

942.57

ISBN 0 19 722774 0

Distributed by Oxford University Press until 1 January 1993
thereafter by Dawsons of Pall Mall



Printed by H Charlesworth & Co Ltd
Huddersfield, England

THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

EDITED BY C. R. ELRINGTON



THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
INSTITUTE OF
HISTORICAL RESEARCH

INSCRIBED TO THE
MEMORY OF HER LATE MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA
WHO GRACIOUSLY GAVE THE TITLE TO
AND ACCEPTED THE DEDICATION
OF THIS HISTORY

A HISTORY OF THE
COUNTY OF
OXFORD

EDITED BY ALAN CROSSLEY

VOLUME XII

WOOTTON HUNDRED (SOUTH)
INCLUDING WOODSTOCK

PUBLISHED FOR
THE INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH
BY
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1990

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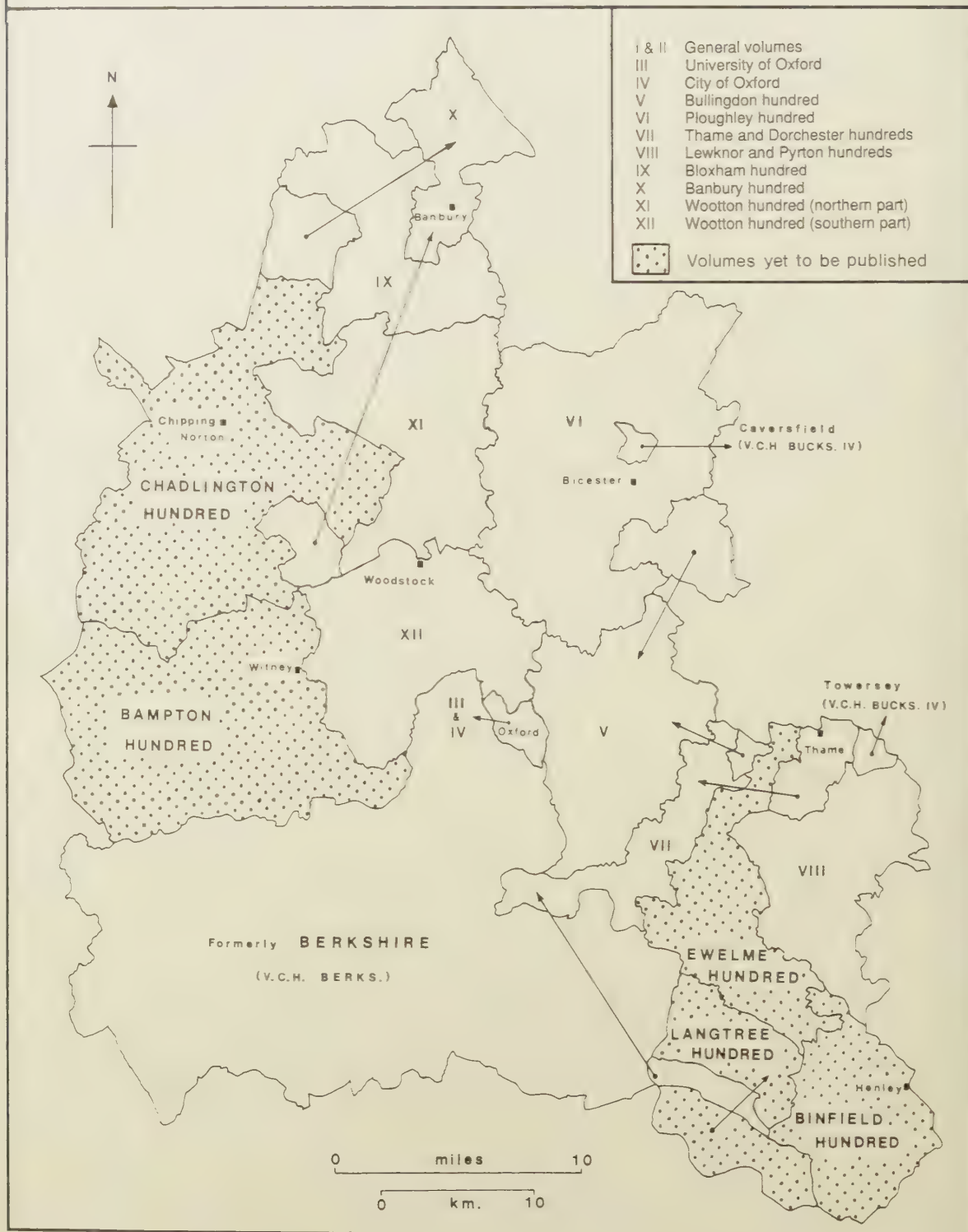
EDITORIAL NOTE

THE arrangements described in the Editorial Note to Volume IX of the History of Oxfordshire have continued with only minor modifications, and the University of London, for which the *Victoria County History* is published, again records its thanks to the Oxfordshire County Council for the generosity with which it has met the costs of compilation, aided by important contributions from the University of Oxford. The *General Introduction* to the *History*, published in 1970, outlines the structure and aims of the series as a whole. In Oxfordshire the work is under the supervision of an Advisory Sub-Committee which until 1987 reported to the County Council's Libraries, Museums, and Archives Committee and thereafter to the Museums, Arts, Libraries, and Leisure Committee, the staff of the Oxfordshire V.C.H. becoming part of the Department of Leisure and Arts. Dr. Janet M. Cooper, who had been an assistant editor since 1969, resigned in July 1986, and in April 1987 Dr. S. C. Townley became an assistant editor in her place.

Although some parts of the volume were started in the 1960s, much the greater part of the research and writing, together with a comprehensive revision of what had been written earlier, was done in the years 1984–8. The help of many institutions and private persons who gave information or advice, or granted access to their houses or to documents in their care, is acknowledged with gratitude. In most instances they are mentioned in footnotes to the relevant passages, and others are named in the preamble to the list of illustrations, but it is right to offer here special thanks to Bodley's Librarian and the staff of the Bodleian Library, the Oxfordshire County Archivist and his staff, his predecessor Miss Shirley Barnes, the Librarian and staff of Oxfordshire County Libraries, particularly Dr. M. Graham and his colleagues at the Central Library, Westgate, the Director and staff of Oxfordshire County Museum Services, Woodstock town council and its honorary archivist Dr. D. M. Barratt, his Grace the duke of Marlborough and the staff of Blenheim Palace, particularly Miss Elizabeth Thomas, the archivists of Berkshire, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, and West Sussex and of the universities of Nottingham and Reading, the governing bodies of All Souls, Balliol, Brasenose, Christ Church, Corpus Christi, Exeter, Lincoln, Magdalen, Merton, New, Queen's, St. John's, University, and Worcester Colleges, Oxford, Mrs. A. Adcock, Dr. F. B. Atkins, Dr. R. P. Beckinsale, Dr. W. J. Blair, Mr. C. J. Bond, Mrs. Evelyn Brown-Grant, Mr. E. and Mr. H. Busby, Mr. H. M. Colvin, the Hon. Mrs. A. Gascoigne, Mr. M. Heaney, Miss Mary Hodges, Mr. J. Lake, Dr. A. H. T. Robb Smith, Miss Beryl Schumer, Dr. G. Speake, Mr. D. Sturdy, Mr. A. Tomkinson, and members of the Eynsham History Group and the Woodstock Society. The compilation of the present volume, like that of nearly all other volumes of the *Victoria County History*, gained greatly from the co-operative help of the staff of the Public Record Office and of the Department of Manuscripts of the British Library.

V.C.H. OXFORDSHIRE

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c 218	Papers relating to Jacob Bobart and his family
c 245	Extracts from Lincoln episcopal registers of institutions in Oxford archdeaconry, 1221-1546
c 313	Sketches of Oxfordshire sites and buildings, collected by Herbert Hurst c. 1900
c 338-48	Notes and transcripts relating to Combe, compiled by the Revd. S. S. Pearce (d. 1933)
c 351	Documents relating to Woodstock, 17th-19th-century, collected by Charles Richardson (d. 1827)
c 394	Miscellaneous ecclesiastical records for Oxfordshire
c 448	Extracts from original documents relating to Eynsham abbey
c 470	Drawings of Oxfordshire buildings by Charles Barry, 1841-4
c 499-503	Photographs of listed buildings
c 515	Collections, 20th-century, of histories and notes on Oxfordshire parishes
c 521-2	Drawings of Oxfordshire buildings by Alfred Cobb, 19th-century
c 579	J. Caley, 'Feudal History of Oxfordshire', compiled c. 1800
c 687	Sketches and notes relating to Oxfordshire by Henry Terry, 1873-4
c 769-71	Estate records of the Pope family, 16th- and 17th-century
d 23	Papers relating to Combe compiled by Charles Richardson (d. 1827)
d 42, 91	Papers relating to church restorations, 19th-century
d 172-3	Topographical collections of Charles Richardson (d. 1827)
d 282	Topographical collections of the Revd. John Pridden, c. 1780
d 330-1	Notes and transcripts relating to Combe, compiled by the Revd. S. S. Pearce
d 460	Lists of Oxfordshire incumbents and patrons, compiled from Lincoln episcopal registers and other sources by the Oxfordshire V.C.H. staff
d 502, 512-13	Topographical collections of Henry Minn (d. 1961)
d 514	Drawings of Oxfordshire buildings by Alfred Cobb, c. 1868-9
d 794	Sketchbook of Charles Annesley of Christ Church, Oxford, 1808
d 798	Drawings of Oxfordshire churches and monumental brasses, with notes by Henry Hinton, c. 1802-14
e 12	Documents relating to the Yarnton property of Exeter College, Oxford
e 184	Transcripts by Percy Manning of miscellaneous deeds, 14th-18th-century
f 36	Collections relating to North Leigh, c. 1675
MS. Trin. Coll. B 83	Papers of the Perrott family of North Leigh, chiefly 16th- and 17th-century
MS. Willis 46	Collections of Browne Willis (d. 1760) relating to cathedrals and monasteries
MS. Wood	
D 2	Transcripts and excerpts from Oxford college archives and the vice-chancellor's accounts, 1550-82
E 1	Oxfordshire collections by Anthony Wood, chiefly 1668-81
E 31	Miscellaneous papers relating to Oxford and Oxfordshire, chiefly by Anthony Wood, late 17th-century

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

Among the abbreviations and short titles used, the following may require elucidation:

A.-S.	Anglo-Saxon
<i>Abbrev. Plac.</i> (Rec. Com.)	<i>Placitorum Abbreviatio</i> (Record Commission, 1811)
<i>Abbrev. Rot. Orig.</i> (Rec. Com.)	<i>Rotulorum Originalium Abbreviatio</i> , temp. Hen. III, Edw. I (Record Commission, 1805)
<i>Acts of P.C.</i>	<i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i> (H.M.S.O. 1890-1964)
<i>Acts of P.C.</i> (Rec. Com.)	<i>Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England</i> , 1386-1542 (Record Commission, 1834-7)
<i>Alum. Oxon.</i> 1500-1714; 1715-1886	<i>Alumni Oxonienses</i> , 1500-1714; 1715-1886, ed. J. Foster (Oxford, 1888-92)
Arch.	Archaeology, Archaeological
B.L.	British Library
B.N.C. Mun.	Muniments of Brasenose College, Oxford
Ballard, <i>Chron. Woodstock</i>	A. Ballard, <i>Chronicles of the Royal Borough of Woodstock</i> (Oxford, 1896)
Besse, <i>Sufferings</i>	J. Besse, <i>A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers, from 1650 to 1689</i> (1753)
<i>Bk. of Fees</i>	<i>The Book of Fees</i> (H.M.S.O. 1920-31)
Blenheim Mun.	Muniments of the duke of Marlborough at Blenheim Palace, Woodstock, Oxon.
<i>Blk. Prince's Reg.</i>	<i>Register of Edward the Black Prince</i> (H.M.S.O. 1930-33)
Bodl.	Bodleian Library
bp.	bishop
<i>Bp. Fell and Nonconf.</i>	<i>Bishop Fell and Nonconformity: Visitation Documents</i> , 1682-3, ed. Mary Clapinson (O.R.S. lii)
<i>Bracton's Note Bk.</i> ed. Maitland	H. de Bracton, <i>Note Book</i> , ed. F. W. Maitland (1887)
Burke, <i>Peerage; Ext. & Dorm. Baronetcies; Land. Gent.</i>	J. Burke and others, <i>A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage; A History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies; A Dictionary of the Landed Gentry</i>
C.B.A. Group 9	Council for British Archaeology, Regional Group 9
C.C.C. Mun.	Muniments of Corpus Christi College, Oxford
C.ſ.	<i>Journals of the House of Commons</i>
<i>Cal. Chanc. R. Var.</i>	<i>Calendar of Chancery Rolls, Various</i> (H.M.S.O. 1912)
<i>Cal. Chanc. Wts.</i>	<i>Calendar of Chancery Warrants 1244-1326</i> (H.M.S.O. 1927)
<i>Cal. Chart. R.</i>	<i>Calendar of the Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1903-27)
<i>Cal. Close</i>	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1892-1963)
<i>Cal. Cttee. for Compounding</i>	<i>Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, etc.</i> (H.M.S.O. 1889-92)
<i>Cal. Cttee. for Money</i>	<i>Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Advance of Money</i> , 1642-56 (H.M.S.O. 1888)
<i>Cal. Doc. France</i> , ed. Round	<i>Calendar of Documents preserved in France, illustrative of the History of Great Britain</i> , ed. J. H. Round (H.M.S.O. 1899)
<i>Cal. Fine R.</i>	<i>Calendar of the Fine Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1911-62)
<i>Cal. H.O. Papers</i>	<i>Calendar of Home Office Papers of the Reign of George III</i> (H.M.S.O. 1878)
<i>Cal. Inq. Misc.</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery), preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1916-68)
<i>Cal. Inq. p.m.</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1904-87)
<i>Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem, Henry VII</i> (H.M.S.O. 1898-1955)
<i>Cal. Lib. R.</i>	<i>Calendar of the Liberate Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1917-64)

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Cal. Papal Reg.</i>	<i>Calendar of Papal Registers: Papal Letters</i> (H.M.S.O. and Irish MSS. Com. 1893-1986)
<i>Cal. Pat.</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1891-1986)
<i>Cal. S.P. Dom.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series</i> (H.M.S.O. 1856-1972)
<i>Cal. Treas. Bks. 1660-7</i>	<i>Calendar of Treasury Books, 1660-7</i> (H.M.S.O. 1904)
<i>Cal. Treas. Bks. & Papers</i>	<i>Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers 1729-30, 1742-5</i> (H.M.S.O. 1897-1903)
Camd., Camden Soc.	Camden Series, Camden Society
<i>Cart. Sax.</i> ed. Birch	<i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> , ed. W. de Gray Birch (1883-99)
<i>Cart. St. Frid.</i>	<i>The Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford</i> , ed. S. R. Wigram (O.H.S. xxviii, xxxi)
<i>Cat. Anct. D.</i>	<i>Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1890-1915)
Cath. Rec. Soc.	Catholic Record Society
<i>Ch. and Chapel, 1851</i>	<i>Church and Chapel in Oxfordshire, 1851. The Return of the Census of Religious Worship</i> , ed. Kate Tiller (O.R.S. lv)
Ch. Ch. Arch.	Archives of Christ Church, Oxford
<i>Chant. Cert.</i>	<i>Chantry Certificates and Edwardian Inventories of Church Goods</i> , ed. Rose Graham (O.R.S. i)
Char. Com.	Charity Commission
<i>Char. Don.</i>	<i>Abstract of Returns relative to Charitable Donations for the Benefit of Poor Persons</i> , H.C. 511 (1816), xvi
chwdn.	churchwarden
<i>Close R.</i>	<i>Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1902-15)
<i>Complete Peerage</i>	G. E. C[okayne] and others, <i>The Complete Peerage</i> (2nd edn. 1910-59)
<i>Compton Census</i> , ed. Whiteman	<i>The Compton Census of 1676</i> , ed. A. Whiteman (Records of Social and Economic History, n.s. x)
County Mus., P.R.N.	Oxfordshire County Museum, Woodstock, Oxon.: Oxfordshire Sites and Monuments Record, Primary Record Number
<i>Crockford</i>	<i>Crockford's Clerical Directory</i>
ct.	court
<i>Cur. Reg. R.</i>	<i>Curia Regis Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1922-79)
<i>D.N.B.</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>Dep. Kpr's. Rep.</i>	<i>Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records</i> (1840-1958)
<i>Deserted Villages of Oxon.</i>	K. J. Allison, M. W. Beresford, and J. G. Hurst, <i>Deserted Villages of Oxfordshire</i> (Leicester Univ. Dept. of English Local History, Occasional Papers, no. 17)
<i>Dir.</i>	<i>Directory</i>
<i>Docs.</i> ed. Cole	<i>Documents illustrative of English History in the 13th and 14th centuries</i> , ed. H. Cole (1844)
Dugdale, <i>Mon.</i>	W. Dugdale, <i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , ed. J. Caley and others (1817-30)
<i>E.H.R.</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
E.P.N.S.	English Place-Name Society
<i>Econ. H.R.</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>Educ. of Poor Digest</i>	<i>Digest of Returns to the Select Committee on the Education of the Poor</i> , H.C. 224 (1819), ix (B)
Emden, <i>O.U. Reg. to 1500</i>	A. B. Emden, <i>Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500</i> (1957-9)
Emden, <i>O.U. Reg. 1501-40</i>	A. B. Emden, <i>Biographical Register of the University of Oxford A.D. 1501 to 1540</i> (1974)
Evans, <i>Ch. Plate</i>	J. T. Evans, <i>Church Plate of Oxfordshire</i> (1928)
<i>Ex. e Rot. Fin.</i> (Rec. Com.)	<i>Excerpta e Rotulis Finium, Hen. III</i> (Record Commission, 1835-6)
<i>Eynsham Cart.</i>	<i>Cartulary of Eynsham Abbey</i> , ed. H. E. Salter (O.H.S. xlix, li)

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Feud. Aids</i>	<i>Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1899-1920)
G. E. C. <i>Baronetage</i>	G. E. C[okayne], <i>Complete Baronetage</i> (1900-9)
<i>Gent. Mag.</i>	<i>Gentleman's Magazine</i>
Geol. Surv.	Geological Survey
<i>Godstow Eng. Reg.</i>	<i>English Register of Godstow Nunnery</i> , ed. A. Clark (E.E.T.S. orig. ser. 129, 130, 149)
Grundy, <i>Saxon Oxon.</i>	G. B. Grundy, <i>Saxon Oxfordshire</i> (O.R.S. xii)
H.C.	House of Commons
H.L.	House of Lords
H.M.S.O.	Her (His) Majesty's Stationery Office
<i>Harcourt Pps.</i>	<i>The Harcourt Papers</i> , ed. E. W. Harcourt [1876-1905]
Harl. Soc.	Harleian Society
<i>Hearth Tax Oxon.</i>	<i>Hearth Tax Returns for Oxfordshire, 1665</i> , ed. Maureen Weinstein (O.R.S. xxi)
Hist. MSS. Com.	Historical Manuscripts Commission
Hodgson, <i>Q.A.B.</i>	C. Hodgson, <i>Account of the Augmentation of Small Livings by the Governors of the Bounty of Queen Anne</i> (2nd edn. 1845)
Incl.	Inclosure
<i>Inq. Non.</i> (Rec. Com.)	<i>Nonarum Inquisitiones in Curia Scaccarii</i> (Record Commission, 1807)
<i>Jnl. Eccl. Hist.</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>Jnl. R. Agric. Soc.</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society</i>
<i>L. & P. Hen. VIII</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII</i> (H.M.S.O. 1864-1932)
<i>L. J.</i>	<i>Journals of the House of Lords</i>
L.R.S.	Lincoln Record Society
Lamb. Pal. Libr.	Lambeth Palace Library
<i>Land Util. Surv.</i>	<i>Reports of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain</i> : pt. 56, <i>Oxfordshire</i> , by Mary Marshall (1943)
Leland, <i>Itin.</i> ed. Toulmin Smith	<i>Itinerary of John Leland</i> , ed. L. Toulmin Smith (1907-10)
Le Neve, <i>Fasti</i>	J. le Neve, <i>Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae</i> (University of London, Institute of Historical Research, 1962 and later)
Lewis, <i>Topog. Dict. Eng.</i> (1848)	S. Lewis, <i>Topographical Dictionary of England</i>
<i>Lond. Gaz.</i>	<i>London Gazette</i>
Lunt, <i>Val. Norw.</i>	<i>Valuation of Norwich</i> , ed. W. E. Lunt (1926)
Magd. Coll. Mun.	Muniments of Magdalen College, Oxford
Marshall, <i>Woodstock Manor</i>	E. Marshall, <i>The Early History of Woodstock Manor and its Environs</i> (Oxford, 1873)
<i>Misc. Gen. et Her.</i>	<i>Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica</i> , ed. J. J. Howard and W. B. Bannerman (1868-1938)
<i>N. & Q.</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
N.M.R.	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England): National Monuments Record
N.R.A.	National Register of Archives
O.A.H.S. <i>Proc.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, 1839-59; and of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, 1860-1900</i>
O.A.S. <i>Rep., Trans.</i>	<i>Reports and Transactions of the North Oxfordshire Archaeological Society, 1853-86, and of the Oxfordshire Archaeological Society 1887-1949</i>
O.H.S.	Oxford Historical Society
O.R.C.C.	Oxfordshire Rural Community Council
O.R.O.	Oxfordshire County Record Office
O.R.S.	Oxfordshire Record Society
O.S.	Ordnance Survey
Oldfield, 'Clerus Oxf. Dioc.'	Bodleian Library, MS. index by W. J. Oldfield to clergy of Oxford diocese
Orr, <i>Oxon. Agric.</i>	J. Orr, <i>Agriculture in Oxfordshire</i> (1916)

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Oseney Cart.</i>	<i>Cartulary of Oseney Abbey</i> , ed. H. E. Salter (O.H.S. lxxxix–xci, xcvi, ci)
<i>Oxf. Jnl.</i>	<i>Jackson's Oxford Journal</i>
Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis	'Chronological Synopsis and Index to Oxon. Items in Jackson's Oxford Journal 1753–80', ed. E. C. Davies; '1781–90', ed. E. H. Cordeaux (Typescripts 1967, 1976: copies in Westgate Library and Bodleian Library, Oxford)
<i>Oxon. Fines</i>	<i>Feet of Fines for Oxfordshire, 1195–1291</i> , ed. H. E. Salter (O.R.S. xii)
<i>Oxon. Visit.</i>	<i>Visitations of Oxfordshire in 1566, 1574, and 1634</i> , ed. W. H. Turner (Harl. Soc. v)
P.N. Oxon. (E.P.N.S.)	Margaret Gelling, <i>Place-Names of Oxfordshire</i> (English Place-Name Soc. xxiii–xxiv)
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
P.R.S.	Pipe Roll Society
<i>Par. Colln.</i>	<i>Parochial Collections by Anthony Wood and Richard Rawlinson</i> , ed. F. N. Davis (O.R.S. ii, iv, xi)
<i>Parker, Guide</i>	<i>Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford</i> [ed. J. H. Parker and W. Grey] (1846)
<i>Pat. R.</i>	<i>Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1900–3)
Pevsner, <i>Oxon.</i>	Jennifer Sherwood and Nikolaus Pevsner, <i>Buildings of England: Oxfordshire</i> (1974)
<i>Pipe R.</i>	<i>Pipe Roll</i>
<i>Plac. de Quo Warr.</i> (Rec. Com.)	<i>Placita de Quo Warranto</i> (Record Commission, 1818)
<i>Plot, Nat. Hist. Oxon.</i>	R. Plot, <i>Natural History of Oxfordshire</i> (2nd edn. 1705)
<i>Poor Abstract, 1777; 1787</i>	<i>Reports of Select Committees on Poor Laws, 1775–7 and 1787</i> , H.C. Series 1, vol. ix
<i>Poor Abstract, 1804; 1818</i>	<i>Abstract of Answers and Returns relative to the Expense and Maintenance of the Poor</i> , H.C. 175 (1804), i; H.C. 82 (1818), xix
<i>Protestation Returns</i>	<i>Oxfordshire Protestation Returns, 1641–2</i> , ed. C. S. A. Dobson (O.R.S. xxxvi)
R.C.H.M.	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England)
R.O.	Record Office
<i>Reading Cart.</i>	<i>Reading Abbey Cartularies</i> , i, ed. B. R. Kemp (Camden 4th ser. xxxi)
Rec. Com.	Record Commission
<i>Red Bk. Exch.</i> (Rolls Ser.)	<i>Red Book of the Exchequer</i> , ed. H. Hall (Rolls Series, 1896)
<i>Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.</i>	<i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154</i> , ed. H. W. C. Davies and others (1913–69)
<i>10th, 12th Rep. Com. Char.</i>	<i>Reports of the Commissioners for Charities. 10th Rep.</i> H.C. 103 (1824), xiii; <i>12th Rep.</i> H.C. 348 (1825), x
<i>Rot. Chart.</i> (Rec. Com.)	<i>Rotuli Chartarum, 1199–1216</i> (Record Commission, 1837)
<i>Rot. Cur. Reg.</i> (Rec. Com.)	<i>Rotuli Curiae Regis, 6 Richard I to 1 John</i> (Record Commission, 1812–18)
<i>Rot. de Ob. et Fin.</i> (Rec. Com.)	<i>Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus</i> (Record Commission, 1835)
<i>Rot. Hund.</i> (Rec. Com.)	<i>Rotuli Hundredorum temp. Hen. III & Edw. I</i> (Record Commission, 1812–18)
<i>Rot. Lib.</i> (Rec. Com.)	<i>Rotuli de Liberate, regnante Johanne</i> (Record Commission, 1844)
<i>Rot. Litt. Claus.</i> (Rec. Com.)	<i>Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, 1204–27</i> (Record Commission, 1833–44)
<i>Rot. Litt. Pat.</i> (Rec. Com.)	<i>Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, 1201–16</i> (Record Commission, 1835)
<i>Rot. Parl.</i>	<i>Rotuli Parliamentorum</i> [1783]
Sanders, <i>Eng. Baronies</i>	I. J. Sanders, <i>English Baronies, 1086–1327</i> (Oxford, 1960)
<i>Sandford Cart.</i>	<i>The Sandford Cartulary</i> , ed. A. M. Leys (O.R.S. xix, xxii)
<i>Secker's Visit.</i>	<i>Articles of Enquiry at the Primary Visitation of Dr. Thomas Secker, 1738</i> , ed. H. A. Lloyd Jukes (O.R.S. xxxviii)
Ser.	Series

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

Skelton, <i>Antiq. Oxon.</i>	J. Skelton, <i>Illustrations of the Principal Antiquities of Oxfordshire</i> (1823)
Stapleton, <i>Cath. Miss.</i>	B. Stapleton, <i>Oxfordshire Post-Reformation Catholic Missions</i> (1906)
Stapleton, <i>Three Oxon. Pars.</i>	B. Stapleton, <i>Three Oxfordshire Parishes. A History of Kidlington, Yarnton and Begbroke</i> (O.H.S. xxiv)
<i>Subsidy 1526</i>	<i>Subsidy Collected in the Diocese of Lincoln in 1526</i> , ed. H. E. Salter (O.H.S. lxiii)
<i>Tax. Eccl. (Rec. Com.)</i>	<i>Taxatio Ecclesiastica Anglie et Wallie auctoritate P. Nicholai IV circa A.D. 1291</i> (Record Commission, 1801)
<i>Trans.</i>	<i>Transactions</i>
<i>V.C.H.</i>	<i>Victoria County History</i>
<i>Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.)</i>	<i>Valor Ecclesiasticus, temp. Hen. VIII</i> (Record Commission, 1810-34)
vctls' recog.	victuallers' recognizances
<i>Visit. Dioc. Linc.</i>	<i>Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln 1517-31</i> , ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (L.R.S. xxxiii, xxxv, xxxvii)
Westgate Libr.	Oxfordshire County Libraries, Central Library, Westgate Centre, Oxford
<i>Wilb. Visit.</i>	<i>Bishop Wilberforce's Visitation Returns, 1854</i> , ed. E. P. Baker (O.R.S. xxxv)
Woodstock Boro. Mun.	Muniments of the borough of Woodstock in the Town Hall, Woodstock
Young, <i>Oxon. Agric.</i>	A. Young, <i>General View of the Agriculture of Oxfordshire</i> (1809 and 1813)

WOOTTON HUNDRED

(SOUTHERN PART)

THE SOUTHERN part of Wootton hundred¹ covered 35,473 a. (14,362 ha.) divided between 15 ancient parishes and several extraparochial places, notably Woodstock, later Blenheim, Park. Eynsham and Woodstock were boroughs and market towns. The area, lying partly on the limestone uplands of central Oxfordshire, partly on the flat river gravels of the Thames valley, was not a distinct region; some villages looked to markets at Woodstock and Eynsham, others to those at Witney and Oxford. Many parishes lay within the royal forest of Wychwood and some, notably North Leigh, had the dispersed settlement pattern typical of forest areas; many were affected by intercommoning and other forest customs.

In the Anglo-Saxon period Eynsham was an important centre, its early minster church succeeded in 1005 by Eynsham abbey, which remained a dominant influence in the west of the area throughout the Middle Ages. Godstow abbey was established in the south of the hundred in the 12th century. Early medieval prosperity is reflected in the successful establishment of New Woodstock and of borough extensions, both called Newland, at Eynsham and Cogges. Much of the area was devastated by plague in the 14th century, particularly Eynsham, where a large hamlet, Tilgarsley, was abandoned after the Black Death. Other settlements deserted at various periods were Somerford in Cassington, Hamstall and Pinkhill in Stanton Harcourt, Gosford, Water Eaton, and Cote in Kidlington, and the extraparochial Cutteslowe. At Cogges and Combe there are signs that settlements were re-sited.

In the Middle Ages much of the area belonged to a royal estate, Woodstock manor, centred on the king's palace and park at Woodstock and encompassing several 'demesne towns', of which Bladon, Combe, Hanborough, and Old Woodstock are treated in this volume. The manor and park were granted in 1705 to the duke of Marlborough, Blenheim Palace was built, and later dukes enlarged the estate so that by the mid 19th century they owned over a third of the area here treated.² From the later 19th century the Mason family at Eynsham Hall built up a large estate in the west of the hundred. The influence of such landlords is reflected in distinctive farm buildings and estate cottages and in the extent of surviving wood and coppice. The Marlboroughs' local political control was at its height in the 19th century, when their pocket borough of Woodstock was extended to include much of the Blenheim estate. The building of Blenheim Palace stimulated local trade and in the 18th century Woodstock became known for its steel jewellery and fine gloves, for which fashionable tourists provided a ready market; the gloving industry survived in Woodstock and surrounding villages into the 20th century.

Farming in the area was mixed, and the villages were predominantly nucleated and set in open fields until parliamentary inclosure in the 18th century. Much of

¹ For the administrative history of the hundred, *V.C.H.* ² Blenheim Mun., E/P/58: survey of 1863. *Oxon.* xi. 1-5.

A HISTORY OF OXFORDSHIRE



WOOTTON HUNDRED (southern part) c. 1845

Eynsham, however, was turned to inclosed pasture after the depopulation of Tilgarsley and there was substantial early inclosure, chiefly for sheep farming, at Cogges and South Leigh in the west and Begbroke, Water Eaton, and Yarnton in the east. There was abundant meadow along the rivers Thames, Cherwell, Evenlode, Glyme, and Windrush; complex meadow customs prevailed, and at Yarnton the drawing of lots for meadow continued into the later 20th century.

By the 17th century the predominant building materials were limestone and thatch or stone slate, but lack of local stone in the south, chiefly at Stanton Harcourt, encouraged the continuance of timber construction. Larger houses in the area included Eynsham Hall, Wilcote House, and the manor houses at Shipton, Stanton Harcourt, Water Eaton, and Yarnton. Woodstock acquired some distinguished houses in the 18th century. Of Eynsham abbey only fragments survive but of Godstow abbey more was preserved. The plan of early medieval Cogges, comprising church, priory, and two manor houses, may be traced in some detail. Notable churches include those of Stanton Harcourt, North and South Leigh, and Kidlington; Freeland church was a centre of high churchmanship and controversy from its foundation in 1869.

BEGBROKE

BEGBROKE is a small parish $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles (c. 7 km.) north-west of Oxford on the Oxford–Woodstock road.¹ Its area until 1932 was 577 a., including a detached portion of 118 a. in the north-east corner of Yarnton parish which was then taken into Yarnton.² In 1948 part of Kidlington, c. 144 a. east of the Oxford–Woodstock road and north of Rowel brook, was transferred to Begbroke,³ bringing the total area of the civil parish to 603 a. (244 ha.). The ancient parish was bounded on the north by Rowel brook and on part of the south-west by Frogwelldown Lane, an ancient route; elsewhere the boundary had an artificial appearance, following straight field boundaries.

The land slopes gently from c. 100 m. in the west to c. 70 m. at the village, while to the east it is almost flat. Most of the parish lies on Oxford clay, but there is an area of sand and gravel east of the Oxford–Woodstock road, and it was there that the manor house and farm buildings of Begbroke Hill were built in the early 17th century;⁴ the main settlement is on the clay, relatively unusual in Oxfordshire. The geological division within the parish is reflected in field names such as the Clays in the west, and the Sands in the east. The western edge of the parish is well wooded. Begbroke wood, comprising 40 a., of which 8 a. lie in Yarnton, was mentioned from the late 17th century,⁵ and was valued both for its timber and for its 'far famed' reputation as a game preserve.⁶ Muntjac deer have been introduced into the wood in the 20th century.

The Oxford–Woodstock road was turnpiked in 1718 and disturnpiked in 1878.⁷ The road from the turnpike into the village, known in the early 19th century as Watery Lane, was said in 1820, shortly before it was widened and remade, to be a 'hollow lane, dark, damp, and dirty', too narrow to allow carriages to pass.⁸ Dalton, or Dolton, Lane running south from the west end of the village to the Oxford–Woodstock road may have formed part of an ancient route; it was called Green Lane in 1844,⁹ and further north continues as a footpath to Bladon. A lane which ran from Watery Lane east of the rectory was suppressed in 1823.¹⁰ Begbroke was served by

carriers operating to and from Oxford, and occasional carrying services were offered by landlords of the Sun inn.¹¹

Traces of early settlement have been discovered in Begbroke and Yarnton near Begbroke Hill,¹² but the Saxon village of Begbroke ('Becca's brook')¹³ was built c. $\frac{3}{4}$ mile to the north-west. Its population was small in 1086, when 9 tenants were recorded, and in 1279, when there were 13.¹⁴ There had probably been a fall in population by 1377, when only 33 persons over the age of 14 were assessed for poll tax.¹⁵ Later assessments suggest little expansion before the 19th century: in 1428 there were said to be fewer than 10 households in the parish,¹⁶ 20 people took the Protestation Oath in 1642,¹⁷ 5 households were assessed for the hearth tax of 1662,¹⁸ and 41 adults were recorded in 1676.¹⁹ Between 1738 and 1774 the number of households in the parish varied from 11 to 15,²⁰ and there were 15 in 1801, when the population was 80. A rise to 118 in 1811, followed by a fall to 102 in 1821, was attributed to the temporary presence of a girls' boarding school. The population remained at c. 100 thereafter until falling to 80 in 1871 and to a low point of 68 in 1881. A slight recovery followed, and in 1931 the population was 111. In the 1930s workers in Oxford began to live in Begbroke, and by 1951, with the inclusion of 101 people transferred from Kidlington in 1948, Begbroke's population had risen to 360. Between 1971 and 1981 it rose from 567 to 755, proportionally one of the largest increases in the area.²¹

The old village lies west of the Oxford–Woodstock road and is approached by Spring Hill Road, formerly Watery Lane, overhung by mature horse-chestnut trees which serve to insulate the village from the heavy traffic of the main road. A narrow road, St. Michael's Lane, branches north to the church, which stands at the north-east edge of the village, and Spring Hill Road continues south-westwards to the junction with Dalton Lane. There seem to have been two main areas of housing, at each end of the village street and perhaps representing two manorial centres. East of the church and rectory house stands St. Philip's Priory, whose prede-

¹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVII. 9, 13–14 (1881 edn.); 6", Oxon. (1885–6 edn.); 1/25,000, SP 41 (1963 edn.).

² O.R.O., RO 15. A small close (3 a.) in Yarnton was transferred to Begbroke in 1845: below, Yarnton, Intro.

³ *Census*, 1951.

⁴ Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid and drift, sheet 236 (1974 edn.).

⁵ e.g. O.R.O., Dash. XV/i/13.

⁶ Ibid. Dash. XV/i/51; *Dashwood Estate sale cat.* (1889): copy in *ibid.* DIL. XXIII/7; misc. leases and corresp. in Blenheim Mun., box 22; newspaper cutting of 1897 in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/5.

⁷ Stokenchurch to New Woodstock Turnpike Act, 5 Geo. I, c. 1 (Priv. Act); Annual Turnpikes Act Continuance Act, 40 & 41 Vic. c. 64.

⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke c 4(a).

⁹ Ibid. tithe award.

¹⁰ Ibid. MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke c 2, item b.

¹¹ e.g. *ibid.* f 2, ff. 22, 24; P.R.O., HO 107/889.

¹² Below, Yarnton, Intro.

¹³ *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 251.

¹⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 425; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 857.

¹⁵ P.R.O., E 179/202/59.

¹⁶ *Feud. Aids*, iv. 202.

¹⁷ *Protestation Returns*, 76.

¹⁸ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 274.

¹⁹ *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 423.

²⁰ *Secker's Visit.* 16; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 555, f. 37; d 558, f. 45; d 561, f. 49; d 564, f. 33.

²¹ *Census*, 1801–1981.

BEGBROKE and YARNTON c.1845



cessor may once have been the chief house of Studley priory's Begbroke estate. Nearby, west of the church and south-east of the village street, were houses of the FitzHerbert manor. Orchard House, bearing the dates 1692 and 1694 and the initials of Thomas FitzHerbert (d. 1700), stands south-west of the church, possibly on the site of what was the FitzHerbert manor house until the building of Begbroke Hill. It is a plain, two-storeyed, stone house, greatly altered and enlarged in the 19th and 20th centuries. A drawing of the church in 1801 appears to show a dovecot west of the churchyard wall, presumably belonging to the house.²² At the west end of the street, known as Village End, there were formerly some cottages, and the end is dominated by Hall Farm, possibly the site of the manor house of the Lyons, later the Spencer, manor. South-east of the farmhouse was the parish pound.²³ Begbroke lacks, and perhaps never had, the large number of small 17th- and 18th-century yeoman houses common elsewhere in the area. In 1838 more than half the houses in the village were dismissed as 'poor cottages',²⁴ and several, along the main road near the Royal Sun inn and along the lane leading to the church, were demolished in the 19th century.²⁵ The Royal Sun was probably the 'disorderly house' reported to the magistrates in 1711 and 1745 as kept by the Tarrant family.²⁶ Referred to from 1774 as the Sun,²⁷ it acquired its prefix *c.* 1915.²⁸ It is an 18th-century building of coursed rubble, and retains a double rectangular plan, but the interior has been repeatedly altered.

The former schoolhouse, dated 1820 but of an earlier build, was demolished in the 1960s and replaced by a large stone house incorporating the datestone of the earlier dwelling.²⁹ In 1844 an isolated cottage, part of the FitzHerbert estate, stood next to the Bladon path at Village End; parts of the building appear to survive in a later house on the site, but they have been almost completely submerged by later additions. On the north side of Spring Hill Road east of Hall Farm a pair of brick labourers' houses of the later 19th century stand on sites occupied by two cottages in 1844.³⁰ Until its closure in 1984 St. Juliana's convent school, opposite the south-east corner of St. Michael's Lane, occupied the site of a house included in the partition of the FitzHerbert estate in 1804.³¹ That house or a successor, known as the Elms in the later 19th century,³² was rebuilt in ironstone in 1888.³³ It was bought in 1905 by Charles Robertson, who enlarged it in 1906, renamed it Begbroke Place,

and gave it in 1908 to be a hostel for Roman Catholic priests, a role it served until 1924.³⁴ It has become, with the addition of school buildings in 1940 and 1968,³⁵ the largest group of buildings in the village. It was bought in 1986 by Solid State Logic Ltd., a leading manufacturer of broadcasting and recording equipment, which transferred its headquarters there from nearby Stonesfield and began a large-scale expansion on the site.³⁶ Since the demolition of the cottages south of the Royal Sun the only houses along the west side of the road are a stone house in the grounds of St. Philip's Priory, and, to the north, Priory Cottage. The only remaining 19th-century house east of the main road is a small stone house with brick dressings in Fernhill Road, formerly in Kidlington.

It was said in 1935 that no new houses had been built in Begbroke since 1918, and that a fifth of the families in the parish were living in overcrowded conditions.³⁷ Although there are a few modern houses in the old village the wide and busy main road to some extent divides Begbroke into two communities. Housebuilding east of the road began in the 1930s, in response to demands from newcomers to the area, many of them workers at the Cowley motor factories. The earliest houses and bungalows, along the main road and in Begbroke Lane and Fernhill Road, were of good quality and were on spacious plots typical of the better garden suburbs of the period. Development after 1945 was more intensive, and housing estates have spread steadily eastwards on both sides of Begbroke Lane. Begbroke was connected to the Oxford water supply in 1934.³⁸ A village hall was built in 1947 in Begbroke Lane,³⁹ and was rebuilt *c.* 1975.⁴⁰

The Agricultural Research Council's Weed Research Organisation was established at Begbroke Hill in 1960, and acquired an international reputation.⁴¹ Government economies forced its closure in 1985, and its staff was dispersed to other research establishments.

MANORS AND OTHER ESTATES. *BEGBROKE* formed part of the post-Conquest estates of William FitzOsbern, earl of Hereford (d. 1071), and after the rebellion in 1075 of William's son Roger it was granted by the Crown to Walter de Lacy and was held in 1086 by Walter's son Roger.⁴² He joined the rebellion against William Rufus in 1095 and Begbroke again escheated to the Crown but was recovered by Roger's brother Hugh.⁴³ Following Hugh's death in 1121 the Lacy inheritance was disputed

²² Bodl. MS. Don. c 90, f. 209.

²³ O.R.O., tithe award; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVII. 13 (1881 edn.). For an account of St. Philip's Priory, Begbroke Hill, and Hall Farm see below, Manors.

²⁴ *Secker's Visit.* 16.

²⁵ P.R.O., HO 107/889; HO 107/1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1448; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke e 4, ff. 115v., 119; *ibid.* c 4(c); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVII. 13 (1881 edn.).

²⁶ O.R.O., QSD. i, ff. 160, 302.

²⁷ *Ibid.* vctls' recogs.

²⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1915).

²⁹ O.R.O., tithe award; photo. of 1956 in Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 484/1. Below, Educ.

³⁰ O.R.O., tithe award.

³¹ Below, Manors, Educ.

³² Prospectus in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/5.

³³ Date on bldg.

³⁴ Inf. from Bro. Stewart Foster, St. Philip's Priory.

³⁵ Pevsner, *Oxon.* 450.

³⁶ *Oxf. Times*, 20 June 1986; *ibid.* *Business Supplement*, Dec. 1986, Jan. 1987.

³⁷ *Social Services in Oxf. District*, ed. A. F. C. Bourdillon, i. 348-9.

³⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 314.

³⁹ *Oxf. Mail*, 24 Feb. 1956.

⁴⁰ Local inf.

⁴¹ *Twenty One Years of Achievement* (A.R.C. Weed Research Organization booklet, 1981).

⁴² *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 388, 425; *D.N.B.*

⁴³ Sanders, *Eng. Baronies*, 95.

between Gilbert de Lacy, the possibly illegitimate son of Hugh's sister Emma, and Pain FitzJohn, whose wife may have been Hugh's niece. Pain, a prominent supporter of Stephen in the civil war, seems to have acquired some at least of the de Lacy lands, which were confirmed after his death in 1137 to his daughter Cecily, wife of Roger, later earl of Hereford.⁴⁴ Gilbert de Lacy, a supporter of the Empress Maud, apparently regained the estates on the accession of Henry II in 1154, despite a treaty between earl Roger and William, earl of Gloucester, intended to disinherit him.⁴⁵ Gilbert became a Templar, dying abroad in 1163. He was succeeded by his son Hugh, killed in Ireland in 1186, and Hugh's son Walter (d. 1241), who in 1210 joined with his father-in-law William de Braose in rebellion against King John. The Lacy lands escheated once more to the Crown, but were recovered by Walter in 1214.⁴⁶ His heirs were his granddaughters Margery and Maud, and Begbroke passed to the latter. The overlordship descended with the Lacy honor of Ludlow until the death in 1356 of Maud's granddaughter Joan, wife of Roger Mortimer, earl of March (d. 1330).⁴⁷ Begbroke then descended with the estates of the earls of March, whose overlordship was last mentioned in 1428.⁴⁸

The tenant in 1086 was Ralph, probably the same man who held of Roger de Lacy at Kiddington. In the 12th century Kiddington was held by a family taking its name from the town of Saussay in Normandy; William de Saussay was involved in a land dispute at Begbroke in 1188, and in 1242 Ralph de Saussay was said to be mesne tenant of the whole fee there.⁴⁹ The mesne tenancy seems to have passed to the Saussay heiress Sibyl, widow of Richard of Williamscoth, and their grandson Richard was mesne tenant in 1279.⁵⁰ Thereafter the mesne tenancy descended with the manor of Williamscoth, in Cropredy,⁵¹ but no reference has been found later than 1319, when it was held by Richard, son of Henry of Williamscoth.⁵²

By the late 12th century the demesne tenancy of the manor had been divided and there were effectively two manors. One was held by Stephen of the park, whose son Denis demised it in 1204 to Roger of Lyons.⁵³ He or another Roger held it in 1235–6 and by 1242 it had passed to Maud of Lyons.⁵⁴ Richard of Lyons held ½ knight's fee at Begbroke in 1279, and was suc-

ceeded by his son John (d. 1311–12) and grandson John (fl. 1346).⁵⁵ The manor passed thereafter with the family's Duns Tew manor to the Chetwode and Woodhill families.⁵⁶ Begbroke was sold in 1599 by Richard Chetwode to Sir William Spencer of Yarnton,⁵⁷ in whose family it remained until 1695, when three quarters of the Yarnton and Begbroke estates were bought by Sir Robert Dashwood.⁵⁸ The redistribution of the properties in 1714 by Dashwood and Cholmley Turner, owner of the other quarter, seems to have given Turner only a quarter of the Begbroke manor and no land there.⁵⁹ The quarter-manor was bought in 1718 by Benjamin Swete (d. 1744), former army paymaster under John Churchill, duke of Marlborough.⁶⁰ Swete devised it to Anne, daughter of his cousin Francis Fulford;⁶¹ it presumably formed part of the former Swete estate bought in 1771 by Thomas Walker, town clerk of Oxford and agent to George Spencer, duke of Marlborough, to whom he sold the estate in 1788.⁶² The Dashwood share followed the descent of Yarnton until 1895, when Yarnton was sold.⁶³ In 1908 Sir George Dashwood sold the Begbroke estate to Merton College, Oxford, which remained the owner in 1983.⁶⁴

The manor house of the Spencer and Dashwood estate seems to have been that later known as Hall Farm, at the west end of the village. It is a large, two-storeyed building with stone slate roof, extensively remodelled in the early 19th century and enlarged at various times in that century. It retains, however, the chimney stacks and parts of the walls and floor-carpentry of an earlier, probably 17th-century, house.

No evidence has been found relating to the other manor or moiety until the earlier 13th century, when the demesne tenant was John of the Exchequer (*de Scaccario*). He borrowed heavily from Jacob son of Moses of Oxford on the security of his estates at Begbroke and Toot Baldon; the debt was made over to John Giffard of Twyford (Bucks.), who by 1265 had obtained possession by distraint.⁶⁵ Giffard's son John held the manor in 1279,⁶⁶ and it passed thereafter with Twyford manor until the death in 1558 of Ursula, daughter and heir of Thomas Giffard and wife of Thomas Wenman.⁶⁷ Begbroke seems to have been settled on Ursula's daughter Anne when she married John FitzHerbert. It passed to their son Humphrey (d. 1617)

⁴⁴ *Complete Peerage*, ix. 425; *Anct. Chart.* (Pipe R. Soc. x), 35–6; *Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham*, ed. A. W. Clapham, 16 n. 5; *D.N.B.*

⁴⁵ *35th Dep. Kpr's. Rep.* no. 4; W. St. C. Baddeley, *Cotteswold Manor*, 60, 62.

⁴⁶ *D.N.B.*; *Pipe R.* 1210 (P.R.S. N.S. xxvi), 123; 1212 (P.R.S. N.S. xxx), 41; 1214 (P.R.S. N.S. xxxv), 123; R. Eyton, *Antiq. of Salop.* v. 240, 264.

⁴⁷ Sanders, *Eng. Baronies*, 95–6; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 857.

⁴⁸ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xii, p. 340; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 86.

⁴⁹ T. Warton, *Hist. Kiddington* (1815), 38; *Pipe R.* 1188 (P.R.S. xxxviii), 155; *Bk. of Fees*, i. 822.

⁵⁰ Warton, *Kiddington*, 40; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 857.

⁵¹ P.R.O., CP 25(1)/189/15.

⁵² *Pipe R.* 1204 (P.R.S. N.S. xviii), 18; *Oxon. Fines*, p. 28.

⁵³ *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i. 216; *Bk. of Fees*, i. 447, 822, 840.

⁵⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 857; *Feud. Aids*, iv. 164, 178; *Cal. Chart. R.* 1327–41, 342; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* viii, p. 417.

⁵⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 212.

⁵⁷ P.R.O., CP 25(2)/198/East. 41 Eliz. I, no. 12; CP 25(2)/198/Mic. 43–4 Eliz. I, no. 14; *ibid.* C 142/315, no. 173.

⁵⁸ Below, Yarnton, Manor.

⁵⁹ Act confirming Partition made between Rob. Dashwood and Cholmley Turner, 3 Geo. I, c. 22 (Priv. Act).

⁶⁰ O.R.O., Dash. XV/ii/1.

⁶¹ P.R.O., PROB 11/736 (P.C.C. 294 Anstis).

⁶² Below.

⁶³ Below, Yarnton, Manor.

⁶⁴ Merton Coll. Mun., uncat. deeds.

⁶⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1258–66, 445; *Cal. Plea Rolls, Exchequer of Jews*, ii. 26, 297–8; C. Roth, *Jews of Medieval Oxf.* (O.H.S. N.S. ix), 71; *V.C.H. Oxon.* v. 50.

⁶⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 857.

⁶⁷ *V.C.H. Bucks.* iv. 255–6; *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 149.

and grandson Robert FitzHerbert (d. 1636), who was succeeded by his nephew John FitzHerbert (d. 1658).⁶⁸ John was succeeded by his sons Francis (d. 1672) and Thomas (d. 1700), and Thomas by his sons Robert (b. 1675) and John (d. 1727). The early death of eldest sons and their succession by younger brothers, a feature of the FitzHerbert inheritance, continued when John's son John died in 1733 and was succeeded by his brother Robert (d. 1735). Robert's son, also Robert, died childless in 1754, and of the former's six brothers and sisters only one, Jane (d. 1752), wife of William Cockin, produced an heir, Elizabeth.⁶⁹ Elizabeth married William Taylor but had no children, and devised the estate on her death in 1804 to four relatives.⁷⁰ A house and land later known as Orchard farm, west of the church, were devised to Anne Bayliss (d. 1823), whose son Edward held it in 1844; it seems to have been acquired in the later 19th century by Sir George Dashwood.⁷¹ A house, garden, and orchard south of the village street passed to Anne Morris, whose husband James held them in 1844.⁷² That was the house known as the Elms in the later 19th century.⁷³ Two cottages along the footpath to Bladon, and four closes west of the path and Dalton Lane were devised to Elizabeth Parry;⁷⁴ they were bought in 1812 by Thomas Robinson (d. 1848), partner in the Old Bank, Oxford.⁷⁵ The bulk of Elizabeth Taylor's estate, comprising the manor, manor house, and adjoining land passed to William Young. He was succeeded by 1841 by his son William,⁷⁶ who in 1843 sold the estate to Thomas Robinson, from whose executors it and the Parry estate were bought in 1849 by George Spencer-Churchill, duke of Marlborough.⁷⁷ The estate was sold in 1926 to George Partridge, who since 1891 had been the tenant. It remained in his family until 1960, when it was bought by the Agricultural Research Council for the Weed Research Organization.⁷⁸

The Giffard and FitzHerbert manor house possibly stood on the site later occupied by Orchard House, west of the church.⁷⁹ A new manor house, later called Begbroke Hill, was built in the south-east corner of the parish $\frac{1}{2}$ mile east of the Oxford–Woodstock road, probably by Humphrey FitzHerbert, who was accused in 1604 of ruining Begbroke's roads by his 'late carriages for his buildings'.⁸⁰ In 1662 the house was assessed at the high number of 13 hearths.⁸¹ It has a symmetrical south front of five bays with

a three-storeyed central porch.⁸² The principal rooms were to either side of an entrance passage, and there was a kitchen wing on the north-west and a staircase in the angle between that wing and the front range. A cellar behind the main east room is not built over and may have been constructed soon after the house was built.⁸³ A stone barn and other farm buildings of various dates west of the house were incorporated into the office and laboratory buildings of the Weed Research Organization.

Richard son of Mayne sued William de Sausay about land in Begbroke in or before 1188, and was said to have enfeoffed his brother Walter with $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughland and 4 yardlands there. On Walter's death his sister Gillian allegedly occupied the land; her grandson Andrew son of William succeeded in claiming the land against Richard's grandson Richard c. 1230 and in resisting a claim in 1231–3 by Robert of Rycote, grandson of Walter's sister Maud.⁸⁴ In 1279 it belonged to Richard of Lyons⁸⁵ and passed thereafter with the family's Begbroke manor.

In 1279 Studley priory held 3 yardlands of Richard of Lyons.⁸⁶ It formed part of the Studley priory estates bought in 1540 by John Croke of Chilton (Bucks.) (d. 1554).⁸⁷ He was succeeded by his son John, whose younger son William succeeded to Begbroke on his father's death in 1608. William was succeeded by his younger son Francis of Steeple Aston, who sold the estate in 1652 to John Butler of Woodstock. In 1597 the estate was said to comprise 2 houses and 2 yardlands, but in 1652 there were 3 houses and 90 a. It was bought in 1662 by Charles Nott, who sold it in 1667 to Anthony Eyans. The latter's son John sold it in 1718 to Benjamin Swete, who devised it to Anne Fulford. The estate still comprised c. 90 a. in 1771, when it was bought by Thomas Walker, who sold it in 1788 to George Spencer, duke of Marlborough. The main house and the land were frequently let separately thereafter, the land being rented by local farmers, notably by John Bellenger of Kidlington. The house was used as a country residence, notably by Thomas Walker before he bought it, by his relatives the Treachers of Oxford in the earlier 1780s,⁸⁸ and in the 1850s by Alan, third son of George Spencer-Churchill, duke of Marlborough.⁸⁹ From c. 1860 it was held by Michael Steel (d. 1865), a Kingham man who had emigrated in 1823 to Van Diemen's Land, Australia, and amassed a large

⁶⁸ P.R.O., C 142/379, no. 36; B. Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.*, pedigree facing p. 340; mem. inscr. in Begbroke ch.

⁶⁹ *Oxon. Visit.* 243; *Wood's Life*, i (O.H.S. xix), 254; ii (O.H.S. xxi), 252; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* pedigree facing p. 340.

⁷⁰ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke, c 4(c); Blenheim Mun., box 26.

⁷¹ Blenheim Mun., box 26; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 350; O.R.O., tithe award; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 674, f. 30.

⁷² Blenheim Mun., box 26; O.R.O., tithe award.

⁷³ Above, Intro.

⁷⁴ Blenheim Mun., boxes 26, 29.

⁷⁵ Ibid. box 26; shelf B2.

⁷⁶ P.R.O., HO 107/889.

⁷⁷ Ibid. CP 43/918, rot. 144; O.R.O., Sh. IX/ii/1; Blenheim Mun., box 26; shelf B2.

⁷⁸ *Oxf. Mail*, 24 Feb. 1956; *Twenty One Years of Achievement* (A.R.C. Weed Research Organization booklet, 1981).

⁷⁹ Above, Intro.

⁸⁰ P.R.O., STAC 8/142/16.

⁸¹ Ibid. E 179/255/4, f. 274.

⁸² Pevsner, *Oxon.* 450; D. Sturdy, 'Houses of Oxf. Region', *Oxoniensia*, xxvi/xxvii, 332–5.

⁸³ Sturdy, op. cit., suggests that the cellar is medieval. No reference has been found to a medieval house on the site.

⁸⁴ *Pipe R.* 1188 (P.R.S. xxxviii), 155; 1190 (P.R.S. n.s. i), 13; *Close R.* 1227–31, 577; *Cur. Reg. R.* xv, p. 165.

⁸⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 857. One of Ric. of Lyons's tenants was Adam Mayne: ibid.

⁸⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 857; below, Econ.

⁸⁷ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 115.

⁸⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 21; shelf G1; O.R.O., land tax assess.; ibid. MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke e 4, ff. 85, 103v.

⁸⁹ P.R.O., HO 107/1730; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 349.

fortune from land.⁹⁰ From 1786 to 1819 and in the mid 1870s the house was used for a school.⁹¹ Thomas Robinson was the tenant for nearly twenty years until his eviction in 1838 for political opposition to the duke.⁹² In 1881 the house and 14 a. adjoining were bought by Gerald Smith of Swerford,⁹³ and in 1896 they were bought by Charles Robertson, who gave them to the Roman Catholic Servite Order, which in 1897 opened the house as St. Philip's Priory.⁹⁴

St. Philip's Priory, formerly Begbroke House, is commonly regarded as Begbroke's chief ancient manor house, and its position, in its own grounds 100 yd. east of the church, to which it is connected by a private path, is conventional for the leading house in a village. It seems, however, to have belonged to the non-manorial estate of Studley priory, which perhaps obtained the site as part of a grant of former demesne land. There was an 'ancient dwelling house' there in 1662, presumably removed soon after since a 'new built' house stood next to it.⁹⁵ It is not known which of those houses was assessed at 9 hearths in 1662.⁹⁶ The outlines of foundations under the lawn east of the present house are said still to be visible in exceptionally dry weather.⁹⁷ The new house was built of stone taken during the Civil War from the royal palace at Woodstock, and Charles Nott, the purchaser in 1662, obtained a bond 'to secure me from being questioned about the building with the king's stone by Mr. John Butler'.⁹⁸ Within the older, central part of the priory there remains a 17th-century building of uncertain plan whose status is suggested by a fully panelled room of the later 17th century on the ground floor and a mid 17th-century overmantel on the first floor. By the mid 18th century the house had been enlarged to a double-depth rectangular plan with three rooms on each front. Most windows were renewed at that time and a two-storeyed canted bay was added to the east front. There was some internal refitting in the early and mid 19th century, and a conservatory was added to the north and outbuildings to the south. Following its conversion to use as a priory those additions were replaced by more extensive accommodation blocks. Most of the former farm buildings to the south were also removed, and a chapel, opened in 1899, was added on the south-west.⁹⁹

In 1221 Maud Hareng granted to Ralph Hareng a tenement in Begbroke held by Roger of Lyons.¹ Ralph granted it shortly after to Godstow abbey;² the abbey held it in 1291³ but seems to have disposed of it before the Dissolution.

John Adderbury (d. 1346) was reported to

have held a messuage and 1 yardland in Begbroke of John of Lyons.⁴ The estate presumably followed the descent of other Adderbury lands, passing to John's uncle Thomas Adderbury (d. by 1362), and to the latter's son Sir Richard (d. by 1401). Sir Richard was probably succeeded by his brother Thomas, whose son, also Sir Richard, sold several estates in 1415 to Thomas Chaucer (d. 1434), son of Geoffrey and Speaker of the House of Commons.⁵ Begbroke was apparently included in the sale, for Thomas and his wife Maud (d. 1436) held land there⁶ which passed to their daughter Alice (d. 1475), wife of William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk (d. 1450), and seems to have descended to Alice's and William's son John, duke of Suffolk (d. 1491);⁷ no later descent has been traced.

ECONOMIC HISTORY. Begbroke field was mentioned in 1585,⁸ and extensive traces of ridge and furrow indicate that much of the parish has been arable. Begbroke's commons were inclosed c. 1595 by mutual agreement of the lords, Richard Chetwode and Humphrey FitzHerbert. In 1603 the latter inclosed 8 yardlands, half the arable in the parish, allegedly for conversion to pasture, and Chetwode's successor Sir William Spencer, a prominent and controversial incloser, probably did likewise.⁹ Later evidence suggests that FitzHerbert took land in the south-west end of the parish and east of the Oxford-Woodstock road, where he built the house later known as Begbroke Hill. The Spencers' land lay south of the village across the centre of the parish, adjoining their Yarnton land; their tenants continued to farm from Hall Farm at the west end of Begbroke village. John Croke, the only other major landowner, presumably took land north of the village, where his successor's estate later lay.¹⁰ All those with rights of common were apparently allowed a piece of land in severalty,¹¹ but most pieces seem to have become absorbed by larger holdings.

Pasture, of which 40 a. were recorded in 1086,¹² seems to have lain mainly in the Marshes, a detached part of Begbroke on the eastern edge of Yarnton parish. The Marshes also provided hay, but much of Begbroke's meadow, said in 1086 to comprise 50 a., lay in lot meadows along the river Thames, shared with Yarnton.¹³

In 1086 Begbroke was assessed at 4½ hides, but 3 yardlands may have been omitted since in 1279 there seem to have been 5 hides or 20 yardlands, including a 3-yardland estate held by Studley priory.¹⁴ There was land for 6 plough-

⁹⁰ Inf. from Mrs. G. Dow, Victoria, Australia.

⁹¹ Below, Educ.

⁹² Blenheim Mun., box 29; below, Woodstock, Parl. Rep.

⁹³ Blenheim Mun., shelf B 2.

⁹⁴ Inf. from Bro. Stewart Foster, St. Philip's Priory, Stapleton, Cath. Miss. 196 dates the purchase 1895.

⁹⁵ Blenheim Mun., box 21: indenture of 1662.

⁹⁶ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 274.

⁹⁷ Inf. from the prior.

⁹⁸ Bodl. MS. Dep. e 286, f. 7; Blenheim Mun., box 21.

⁹⁹ B.L. Add. MS. 36372, f. 137: drawing of 1826; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 450.

¹ *Oxon. Fines*, p. 62.

² *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i. 213.

³ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 44.

⁴ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* viii, p. 471.

⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* vi. 304; ix. 115.

⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 160, 178; *Cal. Close*, 1429-35, 335; 1435-41, 91.

⁷ *Cat. Anct. D.* v, p. 70.

⁸ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 131/3/19.

⁹ P.R.O., STAC 8/142/16.

¹⁰ Blenheim Mun., boxes 21, 26; O.R.O., tithe award; above, Manors.

¹¹ P.R.O., STAC 8 142 16.

¹² *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 425.

¹³ For the meadows see below, Yarnton, Econ.

¹⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 425; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 857.

teams in 1086, but there were only 2 teams on the demesne and 2 others worked by 6 *villani* and 3 bordars.¹⁵ By 1279 the number of holdings had been increased. On the Lyons estate there was $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughland of demesne, and 4 villeins each held 1 yardland at a rent of 5s., performing services at their lord's will; the Giffard estate comprised 1 hide of demesne and 7 villein yardlanders, and the Studley priory estate 1 yardland of demesne and 2 villein yardlanders.¹⁶ In the 14th century some freeholds may have been created out of the Giffard estate which was said to have only 5 messuages and yardlands in 1369, and 4 in 1395; rents, however, had risen to 13s. 4d. a yardland, presumably because services had been commuted.¹⁷

In 1316 of 11 people taxed 6 were assessed at 5s., and the average assessment was c. 4s.¹⁸ In 1327 there was much greater disparity, with 15 assessments between 4s. 4d. and 6d., and with no two the same.¹⁹ Returns for the subsidy of 1524 suggest a small, rather poor population: 4 men were assessed at the lowest level of a landless labourer, 3 on goods of £2, and 1 man on goods of £4.²⁰ Whatever wealth the parish produced was mainly in the hands of absentee landlords. John Manning, a former servant of the Chetwodes, and his son Richard farmed part of the Chetwode estate in the later 16th century,²¹ but the family seems not to have settled permanently in the parish.²²

The only known reference to medieval crops and livestock is from the early 13th century, when the manor was in the king's hands: wheat, barley, and maslin were mentioned, and 6 oxen were sold.²³ At the time of inclosure in the late 16th century and early 17th much of the parish seems still to have been arable.²⁴ Conversion to pasture was presumably rapid, for in 1635 the FitzHerbert estate was said to comprise 240 a. of pasture, 56 a. of meadow, and only 40 a. of arable,²⁵ and it was claimed in the late 17th century that no one could remember when land belonging to the Spencer estate had last been ploughed.²⁶ In a tithe dispute of 1700 Elizabeth FitzHerbert admitted to keeping c. 20 cows, selling milk and butter at Oxford market; in early summer she was able to sell 40 lb. of butter a week. Some calves were sold for meat. The cattle were pastured mainly on the claylands in the south-west part of the parish and on the Marshes, and sheds were built for them in the fields. Elizabeth also kept a flock of 120 sheep,

producing 13 tods of wool, a healthy yield of 3 lb. from each animal.²⁷ Wills and inventories of the period confirm the importance of live-stock in the parish,²⁸ but some arable seems to have been retained, probably on the lighter, more easily worked soil east of the Oxford-Woodstock road. Wheat, barley, oats, and peas were grown and, by the late 17th century, turnips.²⁹ Hop close, in the village, was mentioned in 1680.³⁰

Leases changed hands frequently in the 17th and 18th centuries, and holdings, usually small, were often rearranged. Leases to farmers from neighbouring parishes were common. In 1691 Robert Spencer, Viscount Teviot, owner of a quarter of the Spencer estate, had seven lessees, including two from Kidlington and one from Yarnton.³¹ Of nine occupiers recorded in the parish in 1776 only William Cockin, successor to the FitzHerberts at Begbroke Hill and farmer of 187 a., held more than 100 a.³² Between 1785 and 1799 almost half the tenancies in the parish changed hands.³³ The greatest continuity was to be found on the Dashwood estate, bought from the Spencers in 1695 and farmed from Hall Farm.³⁴ The former Studley priory estate changed hands several times after its sale in 1652 by Francis Croke. The Eyans family seem to have farmed the land for almost 50 years from the later 17th century, but the house became for much of the 18th century a country seat for gentry, few of whom kept the farm in hand.³⁵ Some of the FitzHerberts' Begbroke Hill estate was kept in hand: in 1674 c. 100 a. in the south-west part of the parish was leased to John Dew, who also held land of the Spencers, and c. 70 a. were leased to other tenants.³⁶ Some land was sold to neighbouring landowners, notably 50 a. in the Marshes which became part of a Kidlington farm later purchased by George Spencer, duke of Marlborough.³⁷ William Young, who got the largest share of the FitzHerbert estate when it was partitioned in 1804,³⁸ began to farm the land from Begbroke Hill in 1809, and by leasing some of the Marlborough land he became the foremost farmer in the parish.³⁹ His successor in the Begbroke Hill estate, Thomas Robinson, who had been accumulating land in the parish since 1812, owned 150 a. in Begbroke, all of which became part of the Marlborough estate in 1849.⁴⁰ In the late 18th century a preparedness to pay inflated prices for land in the parish may have led to the raising of rents

¹⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 425.

¹⁶ *Rot. Hund. (Rec. Com.)*, ii. 857.

¹⁷ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xii, p. 340; *Cal. Inq. p.m. (Rec. Com.)*, iii. 181.

¹⁸ *P.R.O.*, E 179/161/8.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* E 179/161/9.

²⁰ *Ibid.* E 179/161/175, rot. 8.

²¹ *Ibid.* C 2/Eliz. I/113, no. 54; *ibid.* STAC 8/142/16.

²² Refs. in Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 335, 342 to John Manning (d. 1680), rector of Begbroke, should be to John Martin: below, Church.

²³ *Pipe R.* 1210 (*P.R.S. N.S.* xxvi), 123.

²⁴ *P.R.O.*, STAC 8/142/16.

²⁵ *Ibid.* CP 43/211, rot. 50.

²⁶ *O.R.O.*, Dash. XV/i/24.

²⁷ *P.R.O.*, E 134/2 Anne, Mich. no. 11; E 134/6 Anne, East. no. 7; E 134/6 Anne, Trin. no. 5; *O.R.O.*, MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke c 2, item b.

²⁸ e.g. *O.R.O.*, MSS. Wills Oxon. 20/3/7; 37/5/14.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 128/1/12; *P.R.O.*, E 134/2 Anne, Mich. no. 11; *ibid.* SP 12/198, f. 102.

³⁰ *Blenheim Mun.*, box 21, deed of 1680.

³¹ *O.R.O.*, Dash. XV/i/13.

³² *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke c 3(a).

³³ *Ibid.* land tax assess.

³⁴ *Ibid.*; *ibid.* tithe award; above, Manors.

³⁵ Above, Manors; *Blenheim Mun.*, box 21; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 348-9.

³⁶ *Blenheim Mun.*, shelf F 2; *P.R.O.*, E 134/2 Anne, Mic. no. 11; *O.R.O.*, Dash. XV/i/13.

³⁷ *Blenheim Mun.*, shelf F 2; *ibid.* box 28.

³⁸ Above, Manors.

³⁹ *O.R.O.*, land tax assess.; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke c 3(a).

⁴⁰ Above, Manors.

beyond the capacity of the tenants. On the Marlborough estate, at least, rent was sometimes reduced in cases of hardship.⁴¹

From the early 19th century there was further consolidation of holdings; in 1785 there were 13 occupiers of farmland and in 1844 only eight. By 1844, in contrast with earlier practice, almost all land was farmed from within the parish, except for part of the Marshes, farmed from Kidlington, and the rectorial glebe, farmed from Yarn-ton.⁴² Begbroke Hall farm, comprising c. 400 a. in Begbroke and elsewhere, was tenanted under the Dashwoods from the later 19th century by the Hughes and Hutt families, and has been held since c. 1910 by the Hastings family. The Marlborough estate, comprising c. 250 a. in the mid 19th century, seems to have been worked from Begbroke Hill. A farm comprising c. 80 a. in the south-west, formerly part of the FitzHerbert estate, was absorbed into the Dashwood estate in the later 19th century, and the farmhouse, Orchard Farm, became a private residence.⁴³

The parish was still predominantly laid down to grass at the beginning of the 19th century, and remained so in 1844 when c. 360 a. of pasture and c. 125 a. of arable were recorded.⁴⁴ Permanent pasture was reckoned in 1914 to comprise 81 per cent of the total cultivated area of the parish, one of the highest proportions in the county. Cattle remained more important than sheep: for every 100 a. of cultivated land there were 24 cattle, a high figure, and only 20 sheep. Wheat was the main crop grown, along with oats and barley, and the parish was notable for its yields of potatoes and other root crops.⁴⁵

Begbroke's small population was composed mostly of poor agricultural labourers. For the hearth tax of 1662, apart from the manor houses one house was assessed on 3 hearths, one (the rectory) on 2, and one on 1; at least one house was discharged because of poverty.⁴⁶ Of 15 houses in the parish in 1738 over half were 'poor cottages'.⁴⁷ In 1869 there were insufficient cottages in the village and labour was presumably obtained from neighbouring parishes.⁴⁸ The Fathers family of stonemasons was recorded for much of the 19th century, and other tradesmen included carpenters, butchers, and carriers. There was a glove cutter in 1851, and in the later 19th century a few gloveresses.⁴⁹ In the 1930s workers at the Oxford motor factories began to live in the village, and from 1945 most of the population worked outside the parish, although the opening in 1960 of the Weed Research Organization at Begbroke Hill provided some

local employment until its closure in 1985. In 1986 the electronics company Solid State Logic Ltd. moved to Begbroke. In 1988 it employed 120 people there, and the total was expected shortly to rise to 270.⁵⁰

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. There were the usual parish officers, but little is known of their administration, churchwardens' accounts surviving only from 1831 and vestry minutes from 1858;⁵¹ no overseers' accounts have been traced. Parish government was heavily influenced during the earlier 19th century by the curate, Vaughan Thomas: he took on the office of parish surveyor c. 1820 in order to push through improvements to Begbroke's roads,⁵² and saw to it that absentee landlords did not allow settlement in the parish by families likely to prove a charge on the rates.⁵³

The community's small size, and Thomas's vigilance, ensured that pauperism was not a major problem in the parish. In 1776 only £9 was spent on the poor but in 1803 £33; that increase, however, raising expenditure to 7s. per head of population, was less than elsewhere, and there were only three adults on regular out-relief.⁵⁴ It was not considered worth while to appoint an assistant overseer.⁵⁵ The number on regular relief rose to seven by the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and expenditure increased thereafter, with occasional remissions. Highest expenditure was £1 14s. per head of population in 1818; the total fell to 14s. in 1822 and 1827 but rose again to £1 8s. shortly before Begbroke became part of Woodstock poor law union in 1834.⁵⁶ In 1932 it was transferred from Woodstock to Witney rural district, and in 1974 to Cherwell district. There was no parish council until 1952.⁵⁷

CHURCH. The earliest evidence of a church at Begbroke is 12th-century work in the building. It was claimed in the 18th century that Begbroke was the 'mother church' of Yarn-ton,⁵⁸ but no record of such a relationship has been found. The benefices of Begbroke and Yarn-ton were united in 1984, and in 1986 the joint benefice was united with Shipton-on-Cherwell.⁵⁹

The first known presentation to the rectory was in 1216.⁶⁰ There was a vicar in 1232 who was permitted to retain his position on payment of a gold piece to the rector,⁶¹ but no further reference to a vicarage has been discovered. The

⁴¹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke e 4, f. 97v.; Blenheim Mun., box 37, letter of 1796.

⁴² O.R.O., land tax assess.; *ibid.* tithe award; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke e 4.

⁴³ O.R.O., tithe award; P.R.O., HO 107/889; HO 107/1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1448; RG 11/1511; Blenheim Mun., E/P/58; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1875 and later edns.); local inf.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., HO 67/18; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke c 2, item a(i); *ibid.* tithe award.

⁴⁵ Orr, *Oxon. Agric.* statistical plates.

⁴⁶ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 274; *Hearth Tax Oxon.* 107.

⁴⁷ *Secker's Visit.* 16.

⁴⁸ *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202-I], pp. 330, 340, H.C. (1868-9), xiii.

⁴⁹ P.R.O., HO 107/889; HO 107/1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1448;

RG 11/1511.

⁵⁰ Inf. from Personnel Dept., Solid State Logic Ltd.; above, Intro.

⁵¹ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Begbroke b 3, e 3.

⁵² *Ibid.* c 4, item a.

⁵³ *Ibid.* items c, d.

⁵⁴ *Poor Abstract, 1804*, 406-7.

⁵⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke c 4, item c.

⁵⁶ *Poor Abstract, 1818*, 360-1; *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 556, p. 138 (1822), v; H.C. 334, p. 173 (1825), iv; H.C. 83, p. 161 (1830-1), xi; H.C. 444, p. 156 (1835), xlvii.

⁵⁷ O.R.O., RO 15; RO 3251.

⁵⁸ *Hearne's Colln.* vi (O.H.S. xliiii), 57.

⁵⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2085/2.

⁶⁰ *Rot. Welles*, i (L.R.S. iii), p. 126.

⁶¹ *Rot. Grosse*. (L.R.S. xi), 497.

advowson was held by the Lyons family in the 13th and 14th centuries, passing with their moiety of the manor to the Chetwode and Spencer families.⁶² It was then divided among the four heirs of Sir Thomas Spencer (d. 1685). One quarter, giving one turn in every four, was bought in 1718 by Benjamin Swete, who gave it in 1731 to Brasenose College, Oxford.⁶³ The three other quarters were bought with the concomitant part of the manor in 1695 by Sir Robert Dashwood, whose family retained possession until 1868 when Sir Henry Dashwood sold his share of the advowson to John Bellingham who presented himself to the living in the following year. In 1871 Bellingham sold it to Frederick Waldron, who also presented himself. In 1872 Waldron's daughter Margaret presented Henry Sadleir, who in 1873 bought from her the three-quarter share of the advowson. Sadleir, who had begun his career in Ireland, conveyed the share in 1876 to trustees who were to present clergy of the Church of Ireland nominated by the bishop of Cashel.⁶⁴ The trustees had withdrawn by 1984 when patronage of the united benefice was to be shared by Brasenose College and the Charles Wolfson Charitable Trust. In 1986 the duke of Marlborough became the third patron.⁶⁵

The rectory was valued at £2 in 1254,⁶⁶ and at £2 13s. 4d. in 1341.⁶⁷ In 1523 the living was worth £8, and in 1526 only £3, the latter figure the lowest in Woodstock deanery.⁶⁸ By 1615, however, the value had increased greatly to £66 13s. 4d.⁶⁹ Undervaluation on such a scale in the 16th century is unlikely, and the living may have been augmented, although no grant has been traced. Glebe seems to have comprised 1 yardland, carrying with it the right to a yard of meadow in Yarnton meads. When Begbroke was inclosed the rector was allotted several closes, the most important of which were Heath ground, later Parson's copse, on the boundary with Worton, Parson's close, east of the way to Bladon, Parson's clay, at the south-west end of Dalton Lane, and a close in the Marshes; the total was estimated at 25½ a. in 1685.⁷⁰ In 1765 the glebe was said to be rated at 2 yardlands, and in 1844 the tithe commission found 37¼ a., laid out much as in the 17th century.⁷¹ In the late 17th century and early 18th tithes were paid in kind or in cash, but by the 1720s money pay-

ments seem to have been the rule.⁷² During the 18th century Begbroke's tithes yielded c. £70 a year and the glebe between £20 and £30,⁷³ but by 1823 tithes had increased in value to £127 and the glebe to £63.⁷⁴ Tithes were commuted in 1844 for £155,⁷⁵ and in 1874 the living was worth £209 gross, of which £145 derived from tithes and the rest from rent.⁷⁶ In 1926 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners matched a private benefaction of £200 to the rectory.⁷⁷

The rectory house, described in 1634 as 'a little dwelling house', was taxed on two hearths in 1665. In 1685 it was said to be a four-bayed building with a kitchen built on the back, and there were also a barn and small stable.⁷⁸ The house was rebuilt c. 1743 by Richard Hawkins, rector of Begbroke and vicar of Yarnton, and was modelled on his Yarnton vicarage. It was a small house, with parlour and kitchen on either side of a central entrance, but its size was almost doubled in the later 18th century by additions on the north.⁷⁹ The house was described in 1875 as unfit for a gentleman and his family, and it was extensively rebuilt, acquiring at that date its gabled roof. The outbuildings were replaced by a coach house and stable.⁸⁰ In the 18th century and for much of the 19th the house was either let or used by curates.⁸¹ It was sold in 1981.⁸²

Many medieval rectors exchanged Begbroke for a richer living within a few years of institution. Of 33 rectors between 1219 and 1535 only 6 are known to have died in office, including one in the plague year of 1349.⁸³ On three occasions in the 13th century members of the Lyons family presented relatives to the living.⁸⁴ The only medieval rector known to have studied at Oxford was John Selle, who held Begbroke for a few months in 1404.⁸⁵ The medieval church contained a light, for whose upkeep 1 a. had been given at an unknown date.⁸⁶ Visitations in the earlier 16th century revealed that the rector was absent and the parish served not by a curate but by a visiting monk; the rectory house was in ruins, the font unlocked, and the church windows broken.⁸⁷

In the 17th and 18th centuries Begbroke was held by a succession of Oxford college fellows, most of them pluralists and many non-resident. One rector, John Martin (d. 1680), was suspected in 1666 of embezzling money collected in the parish for the relief of victims of the Great

⁶² Above, Manors.

⁶³ B.N.C. Mun., Begbroke 1-6; *B.N.C. Quatercentenary Monographs* (O.H.S. lii), no. iv, p. 33.

⁶⁴ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1725.

⁶⁵ Ibid. c 2085/2. ⁶⁶ Lunt, *Val. Norw.* 308.

⁶⁷ *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 138.

⁶⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 394, f. 151; *Subsidy, 1526*, 268.

⁶⁹ B.L. Harl. MS. 843, f. 10; *Par. Colln.* 35.

⁷⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 40, ff. 42-3. Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 337-8, gives an inaccurate transcript of 17th-cent. terriers in O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 142, p. 241.

⁷¹ Rector's acct. bk. 1764-98, f. 2: in O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke e 4; O.R.O., tithe award.

⁷² Rector's acct. bk. 1705-36, *passim*: in O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke, f 2; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 19, ff. 218v., 223, 226v.; P.R.O., E 134/2 Anne, Mich. no. 11; E 134/6 Anne, East. no. 7; E 134/6 Anne, Trin. no. 5.

⁷³ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Begbroke f 2, f. 1; e 4, *passim*;

ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 446, f. 48.

⁷⁴ Ibid. MSS. d.d. Par. Begbroke c 2, item a(i); c 3(a).

⁷⁵ Ibid. tithe award.

⁷⁶ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1725.

⁷⁷ Ibid. MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke c 2, item a(ii).

⁷⁸ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 40, ff. 42-3; *Hearth Tax Oxon.* 107.

⁷⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke c 2, item b.

⁸⁰ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1724.

⁸¹ e.g. ibid. e 4, ff. 90, 109, 115; c 661, ff. 103-4; P.R.O., HO 107/889; HO 107/1730; ibid. RG 10/1448; RG 11/1511.

⁸² Local inf.

⁸³ Lincs. R.O., Episc. Regs., *passim*; list of rectors in Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 43, and in Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 332-6.

⁸⁴ *Rot. Welles* (L.R.S. iii), i. 126; Lincs. R.O., Episc. Regs. i, f. 347v.; reg. ii, f. 145v.

⁸⁵ Emden, *O.U. Reg. to 1500*.

⁸⁶ *Chant. Cert.* p. 34; *Cal. Pat.* 1549-51, 85.

⁸⁷ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* i. 128; ii. 57.

Fire of London; he was allegedly a 'common drunkard' and 'a great swearer', and apparently assaulted the bishop's mandatory. Martin was suspended for three years but continued to hold the living thereafter, despite complaints about his church services.⁸⁸ The parish's proximity to Oxford made it easy to find curates and there were some notable 18th-century incumbents. Richard Hawkins, rector 1740–65, was constantly resident, held two services on Sundays, and catechized throughout Lent.⁸⁹ Thomas Cooke, rector 1765–76, was similarly conscientious,⁹⁰ and John Cooke, his brother, rector 1778–1823, at first served the living personally from Oxford, but relied on curates after 1783, when he was elected president of Corpus Christi College. His longest serving curate was his son-in-law Vaughan Thomas, vicar of Yarnton, the diversity of whose interests probably adversely affected Begbroke, where Sunday services were reduced from two to one, and communion services from four a year to three.⁹¹ Ellis Ashton, rector 1823–69, was non-resident, but he doubled the curates' salary to £80 and the quality of the men employed was reflected in the religious life of the parish. By 1831 Sunday services had increased to two, with additional services on feast days. Communicants increased from 12 or 15 earlier in the century to 20, catechizing was reintroduced, and there was a lending library of the curate's own books, said to be 'much used'.⁹² The census of 1851 recorded congregations of 50–60 at morning services and 60–70, including Sunday School children, in the afternoon. Those figures, high for such a small parish, were said to be normal.⁹³ In 1854 congregations of only c. 30 were reported, but later in the century there were congregations of c. 45 in the morning and c. 65 in the afternoon.⁹⁴

The living was sold three times between 1868 and 1872, the rapid turnover of incumbents perhaps accounting for the fact that 'the labouring men come to church irregularly and infrequently'. It was added as worthy of notice that they 'do keep awake, although an agricultural congregation'.⁹⁵ Only with the appointment of George Downes, 1877–1909, did stability return. Despite a declining population and a decreasing congregation, Downes undertook the restoration of the church in 1891 and maintained a full-time ministry in the parish.⁹⁶ The establishment in 1897 of a Roman Catholic priory close by the church seems to have led at first to strained relations, and in 1922 the rector alleged that 'the Romanists . . . are hostile and try to make perverts of the Church people'.⁹⁷ Relations improved during the long incumbency of Herbert McCann (1941–80), to the extent

that the church key is kept at the priory.⁹⁸

From 1947 Begbroke was held in plurality with Shipton-on-Cherwell. By an Order in Council of 1952 the ecclesiastical parish of Begbroke was extended to take in Campsfield, formerly in Kidlington parish. The change brought a much needed increase of population.⁹⁹

The church of *ST. MICHAEL* stands at the north-east end of the old village. It is built of limestone rubble with ashlar dressings, and has a chancel, nave, and west tower all substantially of the 12th century.¹ The elaborately decorated chancel arch and south doorway are 12th-century, and a small gable window in the chancel and windows in the tower, as well as its saddle-back roof, may also be original. Until 1828 the church retained narrow, single-light, 12th-century windows at the east end of the chancel and in the south wall of the nave at the east end.² In 1982 a blocked north doorway was discovered directly opposite that on the south. An image of St. Michael above the north doorway remained in the early 18th century.³

In the 13th century a large, plain, single-light window was inserted in the south wall of the chancel. Of later medieval work there remain the font, with octagonal bowl and quatrefoil-decorated stem, an aumbry with its original carved door, in the north wall of the chancel, and the rebates of a rood screen. In the 16th century or the 17th square-headed two-light windows were inserted on either side of the south doorway and in the upper storey of the tower, and the nave was re-roofed.⁴

There were complaints of neglect in the 16th century, and Thomas Hearne remarked in 1717 that 'everything of antiquity is gone'.⁵ The bishop ordered in 1756 that the tower be repaired and that 'some chosen words' be written on the church walls.⁶ A major restoration took place in 1828–9 at the expense of Thomas Robinson. The chancel windows were replaced in Romanesque style, except for the small south-west window, which kept its deeply recessed internal splays while being given external mouldings in 15th-century style. The Perpendicular style was also used for elaborate new windows on either side of the south doorway. The narrow 12th-century window in the nave was replaced by a window in 14th-century style. A south porch, which had replaced an earlier, taller, porch, was removed. Buttresses were placed at the corners of the chancel and of the nave. A small gallery was erected at the west end of the church, and new pews were provided, probably re-using some old materials. Robinson may also have provided a new font; the old one was removed to the rectory garden. The new

⁸⁸ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 119, ff. 77–83; c 29, f. 47.

⁸⁹ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 555, f. 37.

⁹⁰ Ibid. d 558, f. 45; d 561, f. 49.

⁹¹ Ibid. d 574, f. 27; d 576, f. 29. For Vaughan Thomas see below, Yarnton.

⁹² Ibid. b 38, f. 25.

⁹³ *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 39.

⁹⁴ *Wilb. Visit.* 15.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 341, ff. 64–5.

⁹⁶ e.g. *ibid.* c 356, f. 47.

⁹⁷ Ibid. c 381.

⁹⁸ Local inf.

⁹⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1784.

¹ For descriptions see Pevsner, *Oxon.* 448–9; W. H. Bird, *Old Oxon. Chs.* 32.

² Bodl. MS. Don. c 90, f. 209, drawing of 1801 by W. Wise; B.L. Add. MS. 36372, f. 132; below, plate facing p. 28.

³ *Par. Colln.* 35.

⁴ Bodl. MS. Don. c 90, f. 209; *ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. a 65, nos. 81–2.

⁵ *Hearne's Colln.* vi (O.H.S. xliii), 57.

⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. d 13, f. 18.

work was generally careful and sympathetic, the nave windows, for example, apparently being copied from those in the cloisters at Christ Church, Oxford.⁷

Between 1830 and 1835 the bell-opening in the south face of the upper storey of the tower was renewed in 14th-century style to match that on the north.⁸ In 1845 the rector, Ellis Ashton, took down the chancel arch and rebuilt it with the same materials; at that time the 12th-century gable window in the chancel was discovered and opened up.⁹ In 1875 H. A. Sadleir removed the flat plaster ceiling, probably 18th-century, in the chancel.¹⁰ His successor, G. Downes, instigated a major restoration of the church in 1891, under the direction of H. Drinkwater of Oxford. The ground level around the church was lowered, and the roof reslated. A flat plaster ceiling, possibly 18th-century, was removed from the nave. The west gallery was taken down, the nave replastered, and stonework, which had once been coloured, was cleaned and whitewashed. New pews were installed. The font was replaced by the old one, which had been brought back into the church in the 1840s to stand in the tower. The tower was fitted out as a vestry.¹¹

In 1956 the altar rails were replaced, and arcading behind the altar table removed. Two tables of the Commandments, set up in 1816, were also removed.¹² The church was completely reroofed in 1983. In 1985 the external rendering was stripped off and extensive repairs made to the walls.

The church contains some notable glass of the 15th century and later, given in 1828 by Thomas Robinson. Some, in the south-east window of the chancel, was removed to Stonesfield in 1849 when a memorial window to the Robinson family replaced it. Of the remainder, the 15th-century painted glass in the south-east window of the nave has been described as 'the most important piece of Flemish glass painting . . . in the county'. Robinson's gift also includes armorial glass in the nave windows by Thomas Willement.¹³ By contrast, Victorian glass in the east window was described by the diocesan surveyor in 1956 as the worst he had ever seen, and it was replaced by a window depicting St. Michael.¹⁴

There are monuments and memorial inscriptions to several rectors, and to members of the Fitzherbert and Robinson families. By the south door are the octagonal base of a cross and an

ancient stone tomb. The church plate includes a silver chalice and paten cover of 1680 and a silver almsdish of 1792.¹⁵ Thomas Robinson gave an organ in 1839.¹⁶ By 1882 there was a small organ, presumably a replacement, in the west gallery,¹⁷ and a new organ was installed in 1956.¹⁸ There were two bells until 1755, when they were replaced by a single bell.¹⁹

NONCONFORMITY. No record of Dissent has been traced in Begbroke before the 19th century. Two families were said in 1834 to attend Wesleyan meetings at Bladon, although it was noted that their children attended the parish school.²⁰ H. B. Bulteel, a well known Oxford nonconformist, preached in the village in the 1830s, but with what effect is unknown.²¹ In 1854 there were reputedly no nonconformists,²² but in 1878 there were said to be nine.²³

Begbroke House was bought in 1896 for the Roman Catholic Servite order and, renamed St. Philip's Priory, was opened as a novitiate in 1897.²⁴ The priory inevitably became a centre for Roman Catholicism over a wide area, extending as far as Bicester in the early 20th century.²⁵ Begbroke Place, later St. Juliana's school, was used in the earlier 20th century as a hostel for Roman Catholic priests.²⁶

EDUCATION. A boarding school for 'young ladies', advertised as opening at the rectory in 1786,²⁷ in fact seems to have been in Begbroke House; it, or possibly a successor, closed in 1819.²⁸ A school run at the house by Thomas Brown in the mid 1870s was attended by several children of Woodstock councillors.²⁹

A dame school for 4 boys and 5 girls had been established 'a long while' when reported in 1815, and a Sunday school for 7 boys and 8 girls was begun in 1813.³⁰ A new school was established in 1820 at the instigation of the curate Vaughan Thomas. He persuaded Mary Parker to run the school at her cottage, a parish house at the south-west end of St. Michael's Lane, adorned with a stone tablet inscribed 'Begbroke School House 1820'. The school, for children aged between 3 and 10 paying $\frac{1}{2}$ d. weekly, was supported by subscriptions and a yardland rate. It was attended in the first year by 9 boys and 9 girls. Mrs. Parker closed the school for six weeks in the summer while she worked in the fields.³¹

⁷ Ibid. MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke, c 1, item c; drawing of c. 1830 by J. Fisher in Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 90, f. 21; Parker, *Guide*, 111–12.

⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 90, f. 21; B.L. Add. MS. 36372, f. 133. Cf. Pevsner, *Oxon.* 449.

⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 674, f. 6.

¹⁰ Ibid. d 91, ff. 2–3; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1724.

¹¹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke c 1, item c; MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1724.

¹² Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1724.

¹³ Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. e 78, p. 325; E. A. G. Lamborn, *Armorial Glass of Oxf. Dioc.* 108–10; P. A. Newton, *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, G.B. i. 33–5.

¹⁴ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1724.

¹⁵ Ibid. MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke c 1, item c; Evans, *Ch. Plate Oxon.* 17–18.

¹⁶ Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 347.

¹⁷ Newspaper cutting in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. 4° 697: annotated copy of Parker, *Guide*.

¹⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1724.

¹⁹ *Par. Colln.* 35; *Ch. Bells Oxon.* i, p. 41.

²⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39, f. 40.

²¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 18, f. 90. For Bulteel in Oxf. see *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 418.

²² *Wilb. Visit.* 15.

²³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 344, f. 49v.

²⁴ Above, Manors.

²⁵ Stapleton, *Cath. Miss.* 95.

²⁶ Above, Intro.; below, Educ. ²⁷ *Oxf. Jnl.* 1 July 1786.

²⁸ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 6, f. 156v.; d 566, f. 23v.; d 568, f. 29; d 707, f. 18; *Oxf. Jnl.* 7 June 1817; N. Aubertin-Potter, 'Vaughan Thomas', *Oxon. Local Hist.* ii (2), 49.

²⁹ Woodstock Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 364, 390; *ibid.* 101, p. 11; *Harrod's Dir. Oxon.* (1876); *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1877); *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490], p. 130, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

³⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 433, f. 30.

³¹ Ibid. MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke d 4, item c; Aubertin-Potter, *op. cit.* 49–52.

In 1831 Thomas rented larger premises, and a new mistress was appointed; in 1833 there were 24 boys and 17 girls in regular attendance. He also provided a small library.³² In 1838 Thomas built a new schoolhouse in the rectory grounds and rented a cottage for the mistress.³³ In 1858, following Mrs. Parker's death, the school moved back to the old schoolhouse, which was enlarged in 1860.³⁴

Attendances in the later 19th century fell with the parish's population. In 1868 there were only 7 boys and 10 girls at school; an evening school, said in 1866 to be working well, had ceased.³⁵ By 1878 there were only 20 children in the village and all but a few went to school in Kidlington.³⁶ From that time Begbroke children attended school in Bladon, Kidlington, or Yarnton.³⁷ Rent was received from the former schoolhouse, and applied to the benefit of local schoolchildren, until it was demolished in the 1960s.³⁸ From 1971 the Ellis Ashton apprenticeship charity was made over for their benefit.³⁹

From 1886 until c. 1900 the Elms, later Begbroke Place, housed a small tutorial college.⁴⁰ In

1940 the house was given by its owner, Charles Robertson, to the Servite nuns, who transferred to it St. Juliana's Convent school for girls, formerly at Bognor Regis (Suss.). The school grew by 1983 to accommodate c. 270 boarding and day pupils, both girls and boys. Financial difficulties caused by the need for extensive building repairs brought about the school's closure in 1984.⁴¹

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. Ellis Ashton, by will dated 1863,⁴² left £145 to establish an apprenticeship fund to be administered by the churchwardens and overseers. The fund's initial income of £5 16s. rose, largely through lack of demand, to £8 by 1887, when the Charity Commission applied a Declaration of Trust.⁴³ Applicants remained few and the fund was used occasionally for educational purposes;⁴⁴ in 1971 the Department of Education ruled that the fund, then comprising £138, could properly be used for the benefit of Begbroke schoolchildren.⁴⁵

BLADON

BLADON, about 8 miles (12 km.) north-west of Oxford, lies on the east bank of the river Evenlode, immediately south of Blenheim Park. The ancient parish (1,518 a.), which extended from Akeman Street in the north-east to Burleigh wood in the south-west,⁴⁶ curved round the southern end of the park, which had clearly been carved out of it at an early date.⁴⁷ It included the township of Hensington and the borough of Woodstock, which was taken out of Hensington township in the later 12th century. Woodstock, which is separately treated below, and Hensington, which is included in the present account, were distinct from Bladon township for civil purposes, but the whole area remained a single ecclesiastical parish. For most of its history the parish was dominated by Woodstock and by the royal and later ducal estate centred first on Woodstock manor house and then on Blenheim Palace.

The northern parish boundary followed Akeman Street probably by the 13th century.⁴⁸ On the south the ancient boundary ran through Bladon heath and Burleigh wood; in the 13th

century the wood was farmed with Bladon, but was later successfully claimed by Godstow abbey, and by the 18th century lay mostly in Cassington.⁴⁹ The boundary through the wood may thus date from the 14th century or later. On the east the 18th-century boundary followed Rowel brook, field boundaries, and Sansoms Lane, part of an ancient track running from north Oxfordshire perhaps to Oxford; in the 11th century the boundary near Hensington probably left the lane, running c. ¼ mile west of its later course.⁵⁰ Much of the western parish boundary followed the river Evenlode, earlier the Bladon, from which the village was named.⁵¹

Before the park was formed the parish evidently stretched northwards on both sides of the river Glyme. East of the river the borough of Woodstock was taken from Hensington township in the later 12th century, and much of the lower park, then known as Hensgrove, was probably annexed in that period; it was alleged that there was further imparkment from the Hospitallers' land in Hensington in the 1320s.⁵² West of the Glyme Bladon's fields stretched

³² *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, 780; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39, f. 40.

³³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 70, p. 26.

³⁴ Ibid. MSS. d.d. Par. Begbroke d 4, item c; e 3, ff. 1-2.

³⁵ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 71; *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* (1868-9), 336.

³⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 344, f. 49v.

³⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1920).

³⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke d 4, items a, b.

³⁹ Below, Charities.

⁴⁰ Bodl. G. A. Oxon. c 317/5, prospectus of 1887; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1895, 1899). For the ho. see above, Intro.

⁴¹ N. Aubertin-Potter, *Begbroke, Fragments of a Hist.* (priv. print. 1984), 77.

⁴² O.R.C.C., Kimber files.
⁴³ *Suppl. Digest of Char.* 1889-90, H.C. 247, p. 4 (1890), lv.

⁴⁴ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke, c 4, item b.

⁴⁵ O.R.C.C., Kimber files.

⁴⁶ O.S. Maps 6", Oxon. XXVI. SE., NE (1881 edn.); cf. Bodl. map (MS) C 17:49 (174, 240): pre-inclosure maps and schedule of Bladon (c. 1765); *ibid.* MS. Rolls Oxon. 103: map of Hensington (1750).

⁴⁷ Below, Blenheim, Pk. to 1705.

⁴⁸ *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 259.

⁴⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851; Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington Map 1; Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103; below, Cassington, Manors.

⁵⁰ J. Cooper, 'Four Oxon. Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries', *Oxoniensia*, l. 18-20.

⁵¹ *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 252.

⁵² Below, Woodstock, Blenheim (Pk. to 1705); P.R.O., E 368/161, fines for Mich.

northwards into the area of later park known as the Lince, and included the narrow strip of meadow on the north bank of the Evenlode known as Long Acre, all of which remained within the parish in modern times,⁵³ until 1576 the parish also included an undetermined area at the south end of High Park, where Bladon wood and Heynes close were imparked by Sir Henry Lee, who built a new wall to the Glyme perhaps on the line of the modern parish boundary.⁵⁴ Immediately after inclosure in 1767 the duke of Marlborough extended the park southwards, incorporating all the land north of Bladon village between Long Acre and Eagle Lodge; the parish boundary remained unchanged, presumably marking the line of the earlier park wall on both sides of the Glyme.⁵⁵

A 16th-century tradition, perhaps correct, stated that in exchange for the site of Woodstock and the park the king gave the Templars the area called Hordley Hill, on the northern boundary of the parish, which had formerly been part of Hordley in Wootton.⁵⁶ That area was part of Hensington by c. 1200 when a meadow near Stratford bridge was in the township, but Hordley men claimed right of common there in the 16th century and later.⁵⁷ The alteration of the eastern boundary, whereby the parish was extended into Shipton-on-Cherwell, probably took place at the same time. In 1583 the boundary between Woodstock and Hensington at Starting Grove south of the corporation meadows and at Horse Fair in the Oxford road was disputed,⁵⁸ Starting Grove had been part of Hensington in 1512, and both it and Horse Fair seem to have been in the township by 1750.⁵⁹

The boundary between the townships of Bladon (851 a.) and Hensington (605 a.) followed the Witney–Bicester road from the eastern parish boundary turning north-westwards at the lane to Bladon Gate to meet the river Glyme.⁶⁰ In 1886 part of Hensington on the east side of Woodstock was taken into the borough, and in 1894, under the Local Government Act, it was declared a civil parish, Hensington Within (45 a.), while the rest of the former township became Hensington Without (560 a.).⁶¹ A Local Government Order of 1954 transferred 40 a. of Hensington Without to Blenheim parish, including the strip of land east of the Glyme imparked c. 1767; the remainder of the almost detached south-western part of Hensington (26 a.) was transferred to Bladon, reducing the area of Hensington Without to 493 a. (200 ha.) and increasing that of Bladon to 877 a. (355 ha.).

In 1985 Hensington Without became part of Woodstock.⁶²

Most of the ancient parish lies between 70 m. and 100 m. above sea level, sloping from higher ground in the east to the valleys of the Glyme and the Evenlode in the west. The land falls to 80 m. at the Glyme in the north, and to just below 70 m. at the Evenlode in the south-west. In the east it rises to 110 m. at Round Castle on the southern boundary, to 102 m. at Akeman Street in the north, and to 103 m. at Sansoms Lane on the eastern boundary.⁶³ Bladon township is mainly composed of Oxford clay, with a patch of boulder clay at Bladon Heath; along the Glyme are bands of cornbrash and forest marble, and along the Evenlode one of alluvium. Hensington lies mainly on the great oolite, with a strip of alluvium along the Glyme and one of forest marble along the eastern boundary.⁶⁴ The forest marble has been exploited for building stone since the Middle Ages.⁶⁵ Both Bladon and Hensington villages lie mainly on the cornbrash.

The parish contained large areas of woodland, notably in Bladon wood between the Evenlode and the Glyme and in Burleigh wood on the Cassington border in the south-west, as well as furze and scrub on Bladon heath in the south-east. The first element of the name Hensington appears to be 'hens', probably referring to wild-fowl hunted in wood or scrub.⁶⁶ Although most of the ancient parish was outside Wychwood forest, it bordered it, and in the 13th century several Bladon and Hensington men were amerced for forest offences.⁶⁷ Bladon wood, said to be between Woodstock Park and Wychwood forest in the 1240s, was in 1279 within the regard of the forest.⁶⁸ It was taken into the park in 1576.⁶⁹ In the late 1630s the men of Bladon, with those of neighbouring parishes, protested, apparently successfully, at the extension of the forest or forest law over their lands, and at the spread of the red deer which had 'almost destroyed the country'.⁷⁰ A few areas on the northern edge of Bladon heath had been planted with trees by 1772, and the whole of it was wooded by 1876 and remained so in 1985.⁷¹

The former main road from Aberystwyth to London, which ran from Chipping Norton through Glympton and Wootton, formed the north-eastern boundary of the parish for a short distance. It was turnpiked in 1729 and disturnpiked in 1878.⁷² The Oxford–Woodstock road, part of the road to Stratford, was turnpiked in 1719 and disturnpiked in 1878;⁷³ it was the main road through the parish in 1985. The Witney–

⁵³ O.S. Map 1/25,000, SP 41/51 (1982 edn.).

⁵⁴ Below, Woodstock, Blenheim (Pk. to 1705).

⁵⁵ O.R.O., incl. award; Blenheim Mun., E/P/21: T. Pride's map of Woodstock manor (1772).

⁵⁶ B.L. Lansd. MS. 27, ff. 189v., 195.

⁵⁷ *Sandford Cart.* ii, p. 272; P.R.O., REQ 2/12, no. 137; Blenheim Mun., boxes 10, 89.

⁵⁸ P.R.O., E 134/25 Eliz. I/Hil. 4; *ibid.* STAC 5/W 77/7.

⁵⁹ Corpus Christi Coll., Oxf., MS. 320, f. 25v.; Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103.

⁶⁰ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 12 (1876 edn.); O.S. *Area Bk.* (1877).

⁶¹ O.R.O., RO 216, 263; below, Woodstock, Local Govt. (Reformed Borough).

⁶² *Census*, 1961; inf. from Woodstock town clerk.

⁶³ O.S. Map 1/10,000 SP 41 SW., SE., NW., NE. (1980 edn.).

⁶⁴ Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid & drift, sheet 236 (1938 edn.).

⁶⁵ Below, Econ. ⁶⁶ *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 270.

⁶⁷ P.R.O., E 32/137, 251; references supplied by Miss B. Schumer.

⁶⁸ P.R.O., C 143/3, no. 34; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851.

⁶⁹ P.R.O., E 101/670/28.

⁷⁰ Bodl. MS. Ashmole 1763, f. 45B; V. J. Watney, *Cornbury and Forest of Wychwood*, 224–5.

⁷¹ Blenheim Mun., E/P/21; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 12, 16; XVII. 9, 13 (1881 edn.).

⁷² J. Ogilby, *Britannia*, road 1, pl. 2; turnpike Acts 3 Geo. III, c. 21; 41 & 42 Vic. c. 62.

⁷³ 5 Geo. I c. 1 (Priv. Act); 40 & 41 Vic. c. 30 (Local).

BLADON c.1760



Bicester road, called the Gloucester road c. 1760, ran through the parish just south of the park; it was turnpiked in 1751 and disturnpiked in 1870.⁷⁴ In 1985 it ran due east to the roundabout at Campsfield in Kidlington parish, but in the 16th and 17th centuries it seems to have turned north around the edge of Woodstock Park and run across Hensington fields, probably to join the surviving stretch of road running north-east from Hensington to Sturdy's Castle in Tackley.⁷⁵ A road from Woodstock to Banbury ran through Hensington along the high ground east of the Glyme; its obstruction was one of the causes of the boundary dispute in 1583, and it was still the main route from Woodstock to Banbury in 1750, but by 1847 it seems to have been falling into disuse, and in 1985 was only a bridle path.⁷⁶ The road south from the Witney-Bicester road near Hanborough Bridge which in 1985 led to Cassington was called the Oxford way in 1620 and 1681; it then joined Frogwelldown lane in Cassington, leading to Yarnton and thus to Oxford.⁷⁷ Until the inclosure of Bladon and the extension of the park in 1767 another road or path led north-west from Bladon village, crossing the Glyme by a bridge roughly opposite the church, and ran across the corner of the park to Combe. At the extension of the park in 1576 it was called a highway, and its diversion then caused protest.⁷⁸ Minor roads, later footpaths, linked Hensington and Bladon to Thrupp, Shipton-on-Cherwell, and Begbroke.

A station in Hanborough, just across the Evenlode from Bladon village, on the Worcester line, opened in 1853.⁷⁹ The branch railway from the main line at Shipton-on-Cherwell to Woodstock was built across Hensington in 1889 and 1890, and Woodstock station, opposite the Hensington gate to Blenheim Park, was actually in Hensington. The line closed in 1954 and the track was lifted in 1958.⁸⁰ Hanborough station, a halt, was still open in 1985. In the later 19th century carriers to Oxford passed through Bladon on Wednesdays and Saturdays and a carrier to Witney on Thursdays.⁸¹ In 1922 Oxford City Motor Services started a bus service through Bladon four times a week; the service ran daily from 1954.⁸² There was a post office by 1854.⁸³

Wells and pumps supplied water to Bladon and Hensington until the mid 20th century. There were complaints in 1895 about the inadequate water supply to the 'top' of Bladon village,

perhaps Heath Lane, but nothing was done until 1925 when a new pump was erected.⁸⁴ Electricity reached Bladon in 1930, mains water from Woodstock in 1935, and gas in 1936. Main drainage was completed in 1968.⁸⁵ Between 1967 and 1969 the Thames Water Board built a small reservoir on Bladon heath.⁸⁶

Apart from scatters of flints found on the eastern boundary of Hensington, the earliest surviving evidence of settlement in the parish is the prehistoric, possibly Iron Age, earthwork on Bladon heath, known as Round Castle. It is roughly circular, enclosed by double ditches except on the north-east where the ditch appears to be single.⁸⁷ Although it commands the approaches to Bladon from the south and east it is not really a hill fort. Seventeenth-century terriers refer to another earthwork on the heath, Broad Castle, but no trace of it remains.⁸⁸ Hensington, like other areas bordering Akeman Street, was settled in the Roman period. At Sansom's Platt, straddling the border with Weaveley in Tackley parish, a 1st-century farming settlement was succeeded by a villa occupied from the 2nd to the 4th century.⁸⁹ About $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the south is a rectangular, double ditched inclosure, known only from air photographs, which appears to be another villa.⁹⁰ The eastern edge of the parish continued to attract settlement in the early Anglo-Saxon period, when, to judge by later field names, the settlement of Bica's *burh* in Shipton-on-Cherwell extended into Hensington.⁹¹ Bladon itself was not recorded until 1086, unless the word 'bibladene', contained in a late medieval list of apparently 8th-century donations to St. Peter's, Gloucester, refers to Bladon parish rather than, as seems more likely, to Oddington (Glos.), on the river Bladon or Evenlode.⁹²

In 1086 a total of 26 unfree tenants and 2 serfs was recorded on Bladon manor, which covered the whole of the later Bladon township, but in 1279 the recorded population was only 24.⁹³ Early 14th-century subsidy assessments confirm the impression of a small or poor population, which had fallen slightly by 1377 when 52 people paid poll tax.⁹⁴ Epidemics in 1545 and 1624, when 11 and 15 people were buried instead of the usual 3 or 4, slowed the post medieval recovery. In 1606 there were still only 25 tenants on the manor, holding 22 houses, and only 21 householders were assessed for hearth tax in Bladon township in 1662.⁹⁵ The popula-

⁷⁴ 24 Geo. II c. 28; 32-3 Vic. c. 90.

⁷⁵ Merton Coll. Mun. 6675.

⁷⁶ Ibid.; P.R.O., E 134/25 Eliz. I/Hil. 4; Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103; O.R.O. tithe map (S)46.

⁷⁷ Blenheim Mun., B/M/208, f. 29v.; ibid. box 9 (1681 terrier); ibid. E/P/21; Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington Map 1.

⁷⁸ Hist. MSS. Com. 9, *Salisbury*, ii, p. 141 (Hatfield Ho., Cecil Papers 160/112); O.R.O., incl. award; T. Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767).

⁷⁹ S. C. Jenkins and H. I. Quayle, *Oxf. Worcester & Wolverhampton Rly*, 34.

⁸⁰ R. Lingard, *Woodstock Branch*, 52.

⁸¹ *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847 and later edns.).

⁸² Bodl. MS. Dep. b 158, item c, f. 152.

⁸³ *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1854).

⁸⁴ Bodl. MS. Dep. c 382, blue folder; County Mus., P.R.N. 2238; O.R.O., Bladon P.C. XIII/i/1, pp. 13, 32; XIII/i/2, pp. 82, 124.

⁸⁵ Bodl. MS. Dep. c 381, f. 59; ibid. b 158, item c; 1972-3

scrapbook kept in Bladon church.

⁸⁶ Inf. from Thames Water Board.

⁸⁷ County Mus., P.R.N. 1301, 1303, 1376, 5860-1; B.L. Add. MS. 38776, f. 35.

⁸⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 5 (terrier of 1682), box 9 (terrier of 1681).

⁸⁹ County Mus., P.R.N. 1263; *Oxonienis*, xliii. 43-7.

⁹⁰ County Mus., P.R.N. 1302.

⁹¹ Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103; Merton Coll. Mun., 6675; below, Shipton-on-Cherwell.

⁹² E. Ekwall, *Dict. Eng. Place-Names*, 47; *Hist. et Cart. Mon. Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, p. lxxii; H. P. R. Finberg, *Early Ch. W. Midlands*, p. 35; A. H. Smith, *P.N. Glos.* (E.P.N.S.), i. 3.

⁹³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851.

⁹⁴ P.R.O., E 179/161/9, 10, 42.

⁹⁵ Par. Reg. transcript (copies in O.R.O., Westgate Libr., and Bodl.); P.R.O., LR 2/224, ff. 40 53; ibid. E 179/164/504.

tion seems to have risen slightly in the 1680s, but may have fallen again in the earlier 18th century, when 1724, 1729, and 1730 were years of high mortality. In 1767 only 48 adult men owed suit to the manor court, and there was another epidemic in 1769 when 13 people were buried between late August and late September,⁹⁶ but by 1801 the population of the township had risen to 287. It continued to rise until 1851, when it was 484, but fell to 333 in 1881, a fall attributed partly to emigration to America.⁹⁷ Thereafter the population remained fairly stable until after the Second World War when commuters and professional people began to move into the village; it was 494 in 1951, 680 (including 88 in 26 a. transferred from Hensington in 1954) in 1961, 763 in 1971, and 739 in 1981.⁹⁸

The houses of Bladon village lie along the Witney to Bicester road, Heath Lane, and a back lane incorporating Church Road and Manor Road. There are no outlying farmhouses. The topography of the village was altered after inclosure by the diversion, as part of the landscaping of the park,⁹⁹ of the main stream of the river Glyme, which used to run within a few yards of the main road through the village, and by the encroachment of houses on the village green, south-west of the church, which in the 1760s comprised *c.* 1 a. of land.¹ North of the church, on both sides of Park Lane and on the north-west side of the main road, are a few older houses which, although technically part of Hensington township until 1954, are physically part of Bladon.² There was at least one house, probably the Old Malt House, there in 1661, and another, the White House, was built between 1661 and 1663. By 1692 there was another house, further east near the site of the 19th-century Home Farm, and three cottages.³ The Old Malt House contains in its south wall three 15th-century windows of high quality and a doorway, all of stone and perhaps from Woodstock manor house. Bladon Lodge is a house of the earlier 18th century, turned into a lodge when the park was extended southwards *c.* 1767, and gothicized in 1887.⁴

Most of the older, mainly 18th-century, houses in Bladon village are of coursed rubble with slate roofs, but Knutsford House on the east side of the main road is of squared rubble. It is of two storeys and originally had a symmetrical front with a central doorway, although a western extension has altered its appearance; it is inscribed N/IM/1726, perhaps for the mason James Nixon (d. 1739) and his wife Martha.⁵ Two other houses bear masons' initials. One on the corner of the Green and Park Street has

IN 1763, presumably for James, or John, Nixon. It is two-storeyed, of rubble with a later brick bay window, but the adjoining house has a brick front, perhaps from the brickyard in Hensington which James Nixon acquired in 1765.⁶ An L-shaped house on the south side of the Green, also one of a terrace, bears the initials of the mason Stephen Danbury⁷ and the date 1740, but the datestone is on the back wing, which seems to be an addition to the house.

Manor Farm, on a back lane at the south-west end of the village, is a large house of coursed rubble, two storeys with attics, with a symmetrical front. It was probably built by Thomas Godfrey, a member of a gentry family, *c.* 1720, from which date panelling survives. The west wing had been added by the 1760s. A datestone of 1772 on the east gable perhaps refers to the roof of the main front or to a possible rebuilding of part of the east wall.⁸ The house has no connexion with the manor, and the name Manor Farm was not recorded until 1881.⁹ Hill Rise, a cottage above the main road on the western edge of the village, bears two datestones, 1739 and 1747, both with the initials of John and Elizabeth Pain; it is presumably the little messuage with a little garden surrendered by John Pain in 1773.¹⁰ The house is of two builds, the small western bay of only one storey and an attic, the larger eastern one of two storeys and an attic. St. Martin's Farm, on the south side of the churchyard, incorporates a small late 17th- or 18th-century farmhouse; there is no evidence to support the local opinion that it was the medieval rectory house. King's View, formerly the King's Arms public house, on the main road south-west of the church has a central chimney-stack and steeply pitched tiled roof, and may be of 17th-century origin. It was refitted in the 18th century, possibly by Kesiah Hiernes, widow of Thomas Hiernes, gentleman, who lived there until her death in 1788. A back wing was added after *c.* 1760.¹¹ Shrewley House, on the north-west side of the main road in Hensington township, has an apparently early 19th-century brick front and sides, but most of the internal fittings are of the later 18th century. The house stands near the site of the 18th- and early 19th-century brickworks.¹² To the north-east is a terrace of six labourers' cottages, the northern, and earliest, two of which are dated 1794.

The chief 19th-century additions to the village were the the school and schoolmaster's house in 1858 and Methodist chapels in 1843, 1877, and 1868. The church was rebuilt in 1804 and thoroughly remodelled in 1891. Between 1801 and 1831 the number of dwellings in the township rose from 66 to 95,¹³ but many seem to

⁹⁶ Blenheim Mun., Par. Reg. transcript.

⁹⁷ Bodl. MS. Dep. c 383, notes from par. mag.

⁹⁸ *Census*, 1801–1981.

⁹⁹ Below, Woodstock, Blenheim (Pk. from 1705).

¹ Bodl. (MS) C 17:49 (240).

² Cf. map of Hensington (1750): Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103.

³ Blenheim Mun., boxes 89, 131.

⁴ Ibid. plans in wooden chest.

⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 143/3/22.

⁶ Par. Reg. transcript, baptisms 1751, 1761; Blenheim Mun., box 88.

⁷ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 123/3/24.

⁸ Ibid. 130/3/8; Blenheim Mun., box 4; Par. Reg. transcript, burials 1747; Bodl. map (MS) C 17:49 (240); inf. from Mr. J. Lake.

⁹ P.R.O., RG 11/1151.

¹⁰ Par. Reg. transcript, baptisms 1736; Blenheim Mun., box 7; Bodl. MS. Dep. b 158, item c, p. 71.

¹¹ Bodl. map (MS) C 17: 49 (240); O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 136/1/45.

¹² O.R.O., tithe map (S) 46; County Mus., P.R.N. 12,280.

¹³ *Census*, 1801–31.

have been created by subdividing existing houses. Some of the new houses were wholly or partly of brick, like Danbury's House on the north side of the green, a short terrace of brick-fronted cottages on the east side of the green dated 1834, and the brick-fronted cottage on the south side of Heath Lane, dated 1836. The brick-fronted house on the corner of Lamb Lane and Providence Place bears a well cut datestone 'Providence Place 1866'. The main area of infilling was the green, which almost disappeared under terraces of cottages. In the later 19th century the Blenheim estate built 19 workers' cottages on the main road north and west of the church; some of them were perhaps those said in 1866 to give 'every necessary accommodation to the labourers and their families'.¹⁴ By 1871 the parish included gamekeepers' lodges at the Lince in Blenheim Park, in Burleigh wood, and on Bladon heath.¹⁵

After 1913 the Blenheim estate sold most of its land and houses in the village, 20 cottages and a house being auctioned in 1920,¹⁶ and thus enabled Bladon to become a community of commuters and retired people rather than an estate village. A few new private houses had been built by 1918, but the main development has been since c. 1950, and by 1985 ribbon development extended along the main road as far as the Bladon roundabout in Kidlington parish. More compact estates of private houses have been built on the north-west side of the road, in the former quarry off Park Lane between 1963 and 1965, and in the grounds of the Blenheim Home Farm in the 1980s. In the 1920s and 1930s two groups of council houses were built at the east end of Heath Lane, and in 1919–20 and 1926–7 others were built at Bladon Pits, on the south-east side of the main road after the Second World War. A further 12 houses were built in Heath Lane between 1946 and 1950, 8 houses and 4 bungalows at the top of that road in 1964, and others in the 1970s.¹⁷ In 1963 the Blenheim estate built four semi-detached estate workers' houses on the north-west side of the main road. A village hall, on the south-east side of the main road near Bladon Pits, was built c. 1946.

In 1086 a total of 7 unfree tenants and 2 serfs was recorded on two of the three estates in Hensington; no one was recorded on the third estate.¹⁸ As many as 33 free and unfree tenants, including the rector of Bladon, were recorded in 1279, but some of the 17 free tenants may have lived in Woodstock or in neighbouring villages, for early 14th-century subsidy assessments suggest a settlement considerably smaller than Bladon.¹⁹ Only 13 people paid poll tax in 1377.²⁰ A

survey of the Hospitallers' manor in 1512 recorded only 4 inhabited houses,²¹ but there were probably 2 or 3 others on the king's and Oseney abbey's estates. Only 8 people paid hearth tax in 1662,²² but in 1750 there were 11 houses and 2 cottages in the township.²³ In 1801 there were 64 people in 13 houses, but by 1811 the population had doubled to 113. It rose steadily to 190 (excluding the inmates of the union workhouse) in 1871, but fell to 130 or 131 in 1891 and 1901; the fall was due partly to a reduction in the size of the permanent household at Hensington House, then occupied as a school. From 1911 onwards the population rose steadily as the residential area of Woodstock expanded into the township; it reached a total of 1,093 in Hensington Within and Without in 1951 and in 1981 the population of the slightly reduced parish of Hensington Without was 1,106.²⁴

The medieval village lay in the middle of the township, on the north side of the modern Banbury Road which probably follows the line of the village street; a hollow way, presumably one of the minor lanes in the village, is still clearly visible running north from the road just east of its junction with Shipton Road. Between 1252 and 1286 orders were regularly made for the repair of the Chancery buildings or the Chancellor's lodgings in Hensington. The houses mentioned in those orders seem not to have been on the king's yardland in Hensington in 1279,²⁵ and, as it seems unlikely that they were on the Templars' land, they may have been on the south bank of the Glyme, within the later park.

A survey of 1512 records houses, apparently on the north side of the Banbury Road as far east as the point at which that road turns sharply north; the westernmost houses were probably near the modern Green Lane. There were at least two other roads in the village: Blind Lane ran north for a short distance from Banbury Road and then turned west, and St. Thomas's Lane, at the west end of the village, ran straight north, probably taking its name from one of the two chapels which stood close together on the western edge of the village. By 1512 many of the houses had become tofts or been converted into barns or stables.²⁶

Although some new building was recorded in the late 16th century, desertion continued in the 17th.²⁷ In 1750 there were only 3 or 4 homesteads and 4 cottages on the village site. By that date, however, the buildings of Woodstock had begun to spread into the western edge of Hensington. There were at least three houses in the angle between Hensington Lane and the Oxford road in 1715 and 1750.²⁸ In 1985 there were two

¹⁴ *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202-I], p. 340, H.C. (1868–9), xiii.

¹⁵ P.R.O., RG 10/1448.

¹⁶ Blenheim Mun., box 140; *ibid.* modern sales; Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317(5): *sale cat.*

¹⁷ Bodl. MS. Dep. c 382, notebook, pp. 20, 22; O.R.O., Bladon P.C. XIII/1/2, pp. 67, 79, 159, 203.

¹⁸ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405, 416, 425.

¹⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 874; P.R.O., E 179/161/8–10.

²⁰ P.R.O., E 179/161/42.

²¹ Corpus Christi Coll., Oxf., MS. 320, ff. 24–6.

²² P.R.O., E 179/164/504.

²³ Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103.

²⁴ *Census*, 1801–1981.

²⁵ *Close R.* 1251–3, 44; 1254–6, 349–50; 1256–9, 144; 1264–9, 344; *Cal. Close*, 1279–88, 388; *Cal. Lib.* 1251–60, 419; 1260–7, 12, 239, 276; 1267–72, 98; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 874.

²⁶ Corpus Christi Coll. MS. 320, ff. 24–6; P.R.O., C 66/1257, m. 30; below, Church.

²⁷ Merton Coll. Mun., 6675.

²⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 89; Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103.

farmhouses (one of them the former manor house) and four cottages on the original village site, almost surrounded by new housing. An outlying farmhouse, Sansom's Farm, was built in the earlier 18th century, perhaps before 1721 when the messuage or farm which had been held by Henry Sansom was leased to his sons.²⁹ There was a building on the site of the later pest house, on the township's eastern boundary, by 1750; the surviving building, of rubble, and much altered, is two-storeyed with attics, and has three rooms on each floor. In 1988 it was occupied as a private house and smallholding.³⁰

In 1768 and 1769 the duke of Marlborough built for his agent, Thomas Walker, a large house opposite the Hensington gate to Blenheim Park, on land acquired by exchange with Merton College. The house, designed by Sir William Chambers and built by the Woodstock mason John Hooper, had a modified H plan, facing north and south with east and west wings; it was built in Taynton and Glympton stone, with plinth, architraves, plain cornice and modillion cornice.³¹ Hensington House was occupied by the duke's auditor in 1812, and probably into the 1830s. John Winston Spencer Churchill, marquess of Blandford, lived there before succeeding to Blenheim in 1857. Thereafter the house was let to tenants, and from c. 1887 was occupied by a small private school. It was dilapidated by 1922, and was demolished in the later 1920s.³²

The new 19th-century buildings in Hensington township, the union workhouse, a school, and the railway station, were part of the extension of Woodstock. In the mid 20th century private and council housing for Woodstock linked the old houses of the village with the town.

A house called the inn, held with 2 yardlands and a fishery, was recorded between 1592 and 1712. Hercules Sheen, innkeeper, recorded in 1699, almost certainly occupied the house, but when the inn and its land were sold to Thomas Godfrey in 1712, they had passed from John Sheen to Thomas Slatter, innkeeper.³³ In 1759 the inn, called the Lamb, was held by Thomas's son or grandson Gabriel Slatter. When the inn was sold in 1784 it contained bedchambers and had stabling for 20 horses.³⁴ The house was rebuilt in the mid 19th century, but was still called the Lamb in 1985. The White House, at the junction of Park Lane and the main road and formerly in Hensington, was built between 1661 and 1663, was held by a maltster in 1690, and

had a bowling green in 1724. It does not appear to have been licensed in the later 18th century, but from 1863 was the Old White House.³⁵ Three alehouses were licensed in Bladon, probably the township, in 1701, and in the later 18th century there were usually between three and five, although there were as many as seven, perhaps including two in Hensington, in 1755. From 1774 onwards they were the Lamb, the Red Lion, and the Rose and Crown at Hanborough bridge, a house built in 1745 on the site of a stone pit.³⁶ A fourth public house, the King's Arms, was recorded from 1847. The Hanborough bridge house, which was bought by the Blenheim estate in 1843,³⁷ had changed its name to the Marlborough Arms by 1852, and closed before 1883. The Red Lion closed before 1863 and the King's Arms in the 1930s, leaving only the Lamb and the White House open in 1985.³⁸

In the 18th century Bladon feast was held on the Sunday after St. Martin's day (11 November), the patronal festival of the parish church, but in the 19th century it moved to the Sunday nearest to 10 June, the date of the opening of the new church in 1804.³⁹ By the mid 19th century the feast was a rowdy affair, but rectors and curates, notably A. Majendie, made it more of a church festival. The funfair on the village green was transferred to the Monday, and the feast began with a church service on the Sunday evening. Attractions included stalls, swings, roundabouts, and coconut shies, but the erection of electricity poles and mains on the green in 1929 obstructed the roundabouts. Efforts to transfer the feast to a field failed, and by 1955 it was a small affair attended only by a few showmen.⁴⁰ It ceased soon afterwards.

Bladon has become a major tourist attraction since the burial there in January 1965 of Sir Winston Churchill. In the months immediately following the burial more than ¼ million people visited the grave, causing congestion and parking problems in the village streets. The visitors brought some new business to village shops, although the parish council resolved not to allow any commercial development.⁴¹ By 1985 numbers had fallen, but there was still a steady stream of visitors to the grave.

MANORS AND OTHER ESTATES. In 1086 Adam son of Hubert de Rys held 5 hides in *BLADON* of Odo of Bayeux.⁴² The manor, which was held in chief after Odo's death in

²⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 89.

³⁰ Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103; O.S. Map 1/25,000, SP 41 (1963 edn.); County Mus., P.R.N. 322; below, Woodstock, Local Govt. (Public Health and Services).

³¹ Blenheim Mun., boxes 1-3, 8, 88; *ibid.* shelf G 1; below, plate facing p. 28.

³² Prospectuses in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317 (19); *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1877); *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1887 and later edns.); Winston S. Churchill, *Lord Randolph Churchill* (1952), 16; O.R.O., Misc. Budd VI/1, pp. 15, 19; XIII/11; *ibid.* Misc. Fry I/1; Woodstock Boro. Mun. 105, p. 39.

³³ Blenheim Mun., box 4; Par. Reg. transcript, burials 1699.

³⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 5 (deed of 1766); *Oxf. Jnl.* 22 Sept. 1759; 29 May 1784.

³⁵ Blenheim Mun., box 131; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1863 and

later edns); *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1887 and later edns.).

³⁶ O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. iii, pp. 371, 373; *ibid.* vctrlrs' recogs.; Bodl. MS. Dep. c 382, notebk. p. 15; Blenheim Mun., box 6.

³⁷ Blenheim Mun., shelf B 2, Woodstock and Eynsham box; cf. *Oxf. Jnl.* 7 Nov. 1840.

³⁸ *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847 and later edns.).

³⁹ *Par. Colln.* (O.R.S. ii), 45; *Hearne's Colln.* ix (O.H.S. lxxv), 369; Bodl. MS. Dep. b 158, item c, p. 110.

⁴⁰ *Letter* in G.A. Oxon. c 317 (5); O.R.O., Bladon P.C. XIII/i/1, p. 18; *ibid.* 2, p. 168; Bodl. MSS. Dep. b 158, item c, p. 110; c 382, envelope of loose papers, reminiscences of Muriel Sugg; *ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. c 777, f. 112.

⁴¹ Bodl. MS. Dep. c 380, items b, c; O.R.O., Bladon P.C. XXIV/i.

⁴² *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405.

1097 if not earlier, presumably followed the descent of Adam's other lands in Wootton hundred, escheating to the Crown on the death of his brother Eudes the sewer in 1120.⁴³ Thereafter the manor formed part of the royal demesne, but in the later 12th century and the 13th it was granted for life to royal servants. Walter de Hauvill (d. 1219) held it of the gift of Richard I by serjeanty of looking after the king's birds or falcons, and he was succeeded by his nephew Geoffrey de Hauvill.⁴⁴ After Geoffrey's death c. 1242⁴⁵ Bladon was administered by bailiffs until 1265 when Henry III granted it to his clerk John of London, already rector of the church, for life.⁴⁶ John died in 1306,⁴⁷ and thereafter Bladon was administered with Woodstock manor, with which it descended, being granted to John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, in 1705 and held by his successor in 1985.⁴⁸

The 13th-century bailiffs maintained manorial buildings in Bladon, re-roofing the hall in 1244–5 and again in 1261–2, and the grange and granary in 1246–7 and 1310–11. Twelve oaks were used for the repair of the king's houses at Bladon in 1266.⁴⁹ There are no later references to the manorial buildings as such, although the unlocated Bury Court close recorded in the 17th century may have marked their site.⁵⁰

Roger d'Ivri held 2½ hides in *HENSINGTON* in 1086,⁵¹ and the overlordship of the manor passed, with that of his other lands in Oxfordshire, to the St. Valerys, Reynold of St. Valery confirming his tenant's grant to the Templars between 1150 and 1166.⁵² The overlordship was not recorded thereafter.

William, who also held land in Rousham and Steeple Barton, held Hensington of Roger in 1086,⁵³ but no connexion between him and later holders of the manor has been traced. About 1140 Hensington was held by Stephen's supporter Turgis of Avranches, who granted land there to the Templars, a grant which did not take effect, presumably because of Turgis's rebellion and death in 1145.⁵⁴ Between 1150 and 1166, however, Otes de Talente gave the manor to the Templars.⁵⁵ Hensington passed in 1312, with most of the Templars' lands, to the Hospitallers, who held it until it passed to the Crown at the Dissolution.⁵⁶

In 1544 the manor was sold to Sir Robert Tyrwhitt and Thomas Kydall, speculators who at once sold it to Jerome Westall of Woodstock. Westall sold it in 1546 to Leonard Chamberlain who sold it the following year to William Blandye.⁵⁷ Blandye kept the manor, leasing it to Jerome Westall, until 1563 when he sold it to Edmund Gibbons who sold it in 1577 to George Whitton.⁵⁸ Whitton died in 1606, leaving Hensington to his illegitimate son John Whitton, who sold it c. 1628 to Edward Shiere.⁵⁹ Shiere sold it c. 1650 to Edward, later Sir Edward Atkyns, a justice of Common Pleas.⁶⁰ Sir Edward sold the manor in 1661 to Lewis Napper or Napier (d. 1674), who was succeeded by his son Thomas (d. 1724), whose executors sold it in 1726 to Sir William Thompson (d. 1739). In 1753 the devisees under Sir William's will sold the manor to the duke of Marlborough, whose successor held the estate in 1985.⁶¹

The manor house of the Templars' fee was held by a villein tenant in 1279. If it survived in 1512, it was not distinguished from other houses on the manor.⁶² After the Dissolution a new manor house was built on the north side of Banbury Road, roughly opposite the junction with Shipton Road, and a small park, in existence by 1663, was made behind it.⁶³ George Whitton seems to have lived in Hensington, but the surviving house dates from the earlier 17th century and is therefore likely to be the work of John Whitton or Edward Shiere. Thomas Napier and Sir William Thompson seem to have leased the house to Charles Gorsuch and his sons John (d. 1732) and George (d. 1750).⁶⁴ The house was said c. 1728 to be very old and decayed and in 1750 there were plans to rebuild it,⁶⁵ but it was merely repaired and the interior slightly remodelled. The house was further altered in the 19th century, the work then including relocating a chimney and reconstructing the upper part of the staircase with old materials.

An estate of 5 yardlands in Hensington was held in 1086 by Robert d'Oilly of the fee of William FitzOsbern.⁶⁶ The overlordship followed the descent of Robert's Kidlington manor, and was last recorded in the mid 14th century when Hugh de Plessis held ½ of a knight's fee in Hensington.⁶⁷

By the late 12th century the estate was held of

⁴³ Ibid. xi. 147.

⁴⁴ *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i. 263; *Pipe R.* 1218 (P.R.S. N.S. xxxix), 84; *Bk. of Fees*, i. 253, 589; *Ex. e Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.), i. 40, 411.

⁴⁵ *Close R.* 1237–42, 415.

⁴⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1258–66, 468; below, Church.

⁴⁷ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iv, pp. 250–1.

⁴⁸ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 249.

⁴⁹ P.R.O., SC 6/957/5; *ibid.* SC 6/962/4, 22; *Close R.* 1264–9, 210.

⁵⁰ Blenheim Mun., box 9 (deed of 1675); *ibid.* B/M/208, ff. 296v., 313.

⁵¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 416.

⁵² *Sandford Cart.* ii (O.R.S. xxii), pp. 207–8.

⁵³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 416; xi. 162.

⁵⁴ *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* iii, p. 314; B. A. Lees, *Rec. of Templars in Eng.* p. cxxi.

⁵⁵ *Sandford Cart.* ii, pp. 207–8.

⁵⁶ *Hospitallers in Eng.* (Camd. Soc. [1st ser.], lxxv), 26; P.R.O., E 318/box 21/1156; printed in Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 43–5.

⁵⁷ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (2), pp. 185, 418; xxi (2), p. 161;

Cal. Pat. 1547–8, 69.

⁵⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1560–3, 545; 1575–8, p. 234; P.R.O., REQ 2/243/46.

⁵⁹ P.R.O., CP 25(2) 473/3 Chas. I/Hil., no. 18; *ibid.* PROB 11/108, f. 368; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 24, f. 446.

⁶⁰ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 47, 411; Blenheim Mun., box 89; Bladon par. reg. transcript (copies in O.R.O., Westgate Libr., and Bodl.), baptisms 1651; *D.N.B.*

⁶¹ Blenheim Mun., boxes 10, 87, 89; par. reg. transcript, burials 1674.

⁶² *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 874; Corpus Christi Coll., Oxf., MS. 320, ff. 24–6.

⁶³ P.R.O., PROB 11/108, f. 368; Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103; Blenheim Mun., box 87.

⁶⁴ Bladon par. reg. transcript, baptisms 1690, 1692, 1696, 1699, burials 1723, 1732, 1750; Woodstock par. reg. transcript, burials, 1698; Woodstock Boro. Mun., 55/1/9.

⁶⁵ Blenheim Mun., boxes, 10, 87, 89.

⁶⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 425.

⁶⁷ *Bk. of Fees*, ii. 821; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xi, pp. 353–4; below, Kidlington, Manors.

the d'Oillys by the Wheatfield family, who also held of them in Wheatfield.⁶⁸ In 1196 Henry of Wheatfield granted 5 yardlands in Hensington in dower to his sister-in-law Isabel, widow of Robert of Wheatfield, and her second husband Robert de Eversci.⁶⁹ The Wheatfield interest in Hensington apparently passed to Henry of Alney, who was the ward of Isabel and Robert de Eversci in 1196 and seems to have married a member of the Wheatfield family.⁷⁰ In 1279 the 5 yardlands were held of Thomas Kynne, the assign of Henry 'de Lanne', presumably a variant of de Alney.⁷¹

An undertenancy was created in the early 13th century when Henry of Alney sold the 5 yardlands to William Silkbart, from whom they passed before 1242 to William Langhals.⁷² The undertenant of 2 yardlands gave them to the Templars c. 1220–30, and in 1279 the Templars held 2 yardlands of William Langhals.⁷³ A third yardland was given to the Templars or the Hospitallers after 1279, for in 1512 the Hospitallers held a total of 13½ yardlands in Hensington.⁷⁴ The descent of the remaining 2 yardlands of the Wheatfield fee in the 14th century is unknown, but before 1437 they were held by Roger Mundy of London. The estate passed to Robert Croxford whose son John held in 1454, and descended with the Croxford land in Kidlington to Austin Gainsford, who sold it to William Rede in 1517.⁷⁵ Rede seems to have been acting for Roger Hamsterley, to whom he at once conveyed the estate. Hamsterley gave it to Merton College before his death in 1518.⁷⁶

Merton increased its Hensington estate in 1616–17 when it bought from John Whitton the freehold of 2½ yardlands, in which the college had already acquired a leasehold interest created by Edmund Gibbons.⁷⁷ In 1629 Merton bought from John Meads of New Woodstock an interest in a further 2 yardlands, the freehold of which was conveyed to the college by William Sellar in 1657.⁷⁸ Meads's grandfather, John Meads, had bought the 2 yardlands c. 1577 from Edmund Gibbons's brother Thomas.⁷⁹ Merton College retained its Hensington estate until 1885 when it was sold to the duke of Marlborough.⁸⁰

In 1086 Ansgar held 5 yardlands in Hensington of Odo of Bayeux.⁸¹ Nothing further is known of Ansgar or his descendants, and no overlord was recorded until 1279 when the estate was said, perhaps in error, to be of the fee of Robert d'Oilly.⁸²

By the late 12th century the estate was held by the Scorchbeef family of Shipton-on-Cherwell. One hide (4 yardlands) was held in 1199 by Denise Scorchbeef, and it descended with Shipton to Simon son of Geoffrey Scorchbeef, who soon after 1242–3 granted his interest in the estate to Oseney abbey.⁸³ The abbey had acquired half the hide, presumably from an undertenant, before 1242–3; the other half was given or sold to the abbey between 1243 and 1279, most of it in 1257 by Eustace son of Ralph, the remainder by Eustace son of Geoffrey.⁸⁴ Oseney retained the estate until Dissolution, when it passed to the Crown. The land was among the endowments of the first Oxford cathedral in 1542 but was not granted to the new foundation, and in 1546 it was sold to Leonard Chamberlain and John Blundell⁸⁵ and absorbed into Hensington manor.

The fifth yardland of Ansgar's estate passed to Roger Scorchbeef, perhaps the husband of Denise, who seems to have surrendered it to the Crown.⁸⁶ It was held in the late 12th century or the early 13th by John of Shipton, and then by Ailric the parker of Woodstock, on whose death without issue before 1242 it escheated to the Crown.⁸⁷ In 1263 Henry III granted it to his cook, Robert of St. James, who held it in 1279.⁸⁸ The yardland presumably escheated to the Crown which held it in 1512; in 1585 it was sold to Theophilus Adams and Thomas Butler of London, presumably speculators. They sold it almost at once, for in 1587 Sir Francis Walsingham and Francis Mills of Westminster sold the 'king's yardland' in Hensington to George Whitton.⁸⁹

Thomas Croft, by will proved 1488, gave to St. Margaret's chantry in Woodstock church land in Hensington which was described in 1512 as ½ yardland freehold of the Hospitallers' manor. It was sold to George Owen in 1549, but has not been traced thereafter.⁹⁰

ECONOMIC HISTORY. AGRICULTURE OF BLADON TOWNSHIP. There is no direct evidence for the medieval fields of Bladon township. The villein tenants in 1279 owed three ploughing services a year, presumably one for the autumn sowing, one for the spring, and one for the fallow, which suggests a three-course rotation of crops. The suggestion is supported by an analysis of the amount of grain sown on the demesne

⁶⁸ *V.C.H. Oxon.* viii. 266.

⁷⁰ *Cur. Reg. R.* i. 19, where Alney's name is spelled Abreto; two of his sons were surnamed Wheatfield: *Sandford Cart.* ii, pp. 251–2.

⁷¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 874: the reading is correct, see P.R.O., SC 5/Oxford/Tower/16 (2).

⁷² *Sandford Cart.* ii, pp. 273–4, 276; *Oxon. Fines*, p. 124.

⁷³ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 874.

⁷⁴ Corpus Christi Coll., MS. 320, ff. 24–6.

⁷⁵ Merton Coll. Mun., 3305, 3307–9, 3311–12, 3315.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 3316; *Reg. Ann. Coll. Merton.* (O.H.S. lxxvi), 478.

⁷⁷ Merton Coll. Mun., reg. 1.3, p. 325; *ibid.* lease bk. 6.2, pp. 577, 753; *ibid.* 6675.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* lease bk. 6.2, p. 96; *ibid.* 3304.

⁷⁹ P.R.O., REQ 2/26/20; REQ 2/122/3.

⁶⁹ *Oxon. Fines*, 2.

⁸⁰ Blenheim Mun., box 90.

⁸¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405.

⁸² *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 874.

⁸³ *Oxon. Fines*, 8; *Oseney Cart.* iv, pp. 147–8.

⁸⁴ *Bk. of Fees*, ii. 831; *Oseney Cart.* iv, pp. 148–9; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 874.

⁸⁵ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, p. 490; xxi (2), p. 161.

⁸⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 874.

⁸⁷ *Pipe R.* 1242 (ed. H. L. Cannon), 123; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* i, p. 164.

⁸⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1258–66, 303; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 874.

⁸⁹ Corpus Christi Coll., MS. 320, f. 25; P.R.O., C 66/1257, m. 30; B.L. Cott. Ch. XIII. 15; cf. Blenheim Mun., box 89.

⁹⁰ Corpus Christi Coll., MS. 320, f. 25v.; *Oxon. Wills* (O.H.S. xxxix), 38; *Cal. Pat.* 1548–9, 192.

in the 1240s: between 166 a. and 140 a. was sown each year, an area representing two thirds of a demesne of c. 230 a. or half a demesne of c. 300 a. The lower acreage is the more likely for a demesne of 2 ploughlands, which occupied about a third of the arable, then probably totalling c. 680 a.–700 a.⁹¹ Unless the demesne was already consolidated in the 1240s, all the arable in the township was cropped on the same three-course rotation, and was presumably divided into three fields.

In the later Middle Ages the fields were affected by the extension of Woodstock Park and by the consolidation and later alienation of the demesne,⁹² and in 1606 the tenants' land, both free and customary, was divided unevenly between three fields: Burleigh field (c. 221 a.) in the south-west, Church field (c. 165 a.) in the north-east, and Down field (c. 135 a.) in the south-east.⁹³ Most of the demesne arable was divided unevenly between two fields north of the Glyme, Bridge field (19½ a.) and Morehill field (60 a., or possibly 78 a.); there may have been a further 24 a. not assigned to any field. Morehill field, which was not recorded after 1606, was presumably merged with Bridge field, which by 1681 seems to have been treated as one of the town's regular fields. By the mid 18th century the fields were: Down field (107 a.), Burleigh field (215 a., including some meadow), Church field (147 a.), and Bridge field (83 a., including some meadow).⁹⁴ There is no record of the arrangement of the fields for cropping, except that in the earlier 17th century part of the heath was set out as extra sheep pasture when the Down field was fallow.⁹⁵ A reference to the wheat field and the stubble field in 1620 suggests that a three-course rotation was still followed.⁹⁶

There is plentiful meadow along the Glyme and the Evenlode, but only 14 a. were recorded in 1086.⁹⁷ In the 13th century tenants mowed the demesne meadow of Long Acre on the north bank of the Evenlode.⁹⁸ In 1606 there were 175 a. of meadow at Bladon, 110 a. of it at Long Acre which was within Wychwood forest. A total of 25 a. of former demesne meadow was, like the demesne arable, leased to tenants; it lay along the Glyme. The rest of the tenants' meadow lay along the Evenlode in South Mead and the Ham or at Sturt meadow at the confluence of the Glyme and the Evenlode.⁹⁹ By 1628 there was also a small amount of meadow in the south-east,¹ presumably along the Rowel brook which formed the boundary with Kidlington. The former demesne meadow was held in per-

manent parcels, but most of the other meadow was lot meadow until the mid 18th century.²

No pasture was recorded in the Middle Ages. In 1606 there were several pasture closes near the village, over 32 a. of leys in the open fields, and common pasture and 108 a. of furze on Bladon heath.³ In the mid 18th century the heath comprised 163 a., 29 a. common and the remainder divided into strips.⁴

Bladon contained woodland 1 league by ½ league in 1086,⁵ presumably Bladon wood. It seems to have been assarted in the 1240s, but had been replanted by 1256, and in 1279 was within the regard of Wychwood forest.⁶ In 1551 it was a coppice. It was taken into Woodstock Park in 1576.⁷ Burleigh wood was leased with Bladon manor in 1279 but later confirmed to Godstow abbey.⁸

In 1086 Bladon was said to contain land for 7 ploughteams, but only 5 were recorded, 2 on the demesne, operated by 2 *servi* and 3 on the tenants' land.⁹ There seems no obvious reason for the shortfall. Bladon contained woodland, but so did the neighbouring parishes of Combe and Hanborough where there was no such discrepancy between potential and actual teams; it is possible that land had recently been taken into Woodstock Park, but if so that extension or creation of the park had affected only Bladon and not the neighbouring parishes. In 1220 Bladon was assessed on 6 ploughlands, and there were 6 ploughlands or 24 yardlands there in 1279: 2 ploughlands in demesne, 11 yardlands held by serfs or villeins, 3 yardlands held by free tenants, and 2 yardlands of glebe.¹⁰ The increase in arable over that recorded in 1086 may have been due to assarting, probably from Burleigh wood. John of London had assarted 1 a. there in 1272, and the field names Breach and Breach furlong, recorded in Burleigh field from 1681, imply clearance of new land.¹¹ There is no direct evidence for the size of the medieval yardland, but the amount of seed sown in the 1240s on the 2 ploughlands of demesne suggests a yardland of about 26 or 27 field acres.¹² In 1606 the 14 customary yardlands ranged from 40 a. to c. 20 a., and in the later 17th century the 2 glebe yardlands totalled 41 a.¹³

By the end of the Middle Ages the demesne had been greatly reduced, consolidated in the area north of the Glyme, and divided among the customary tenants. Sixteenth-century tradition ascribed the division of the demesne among the tenants to an arrangement made to compensate them for land taken into Woodstock Park,¹⁴ and

⁹¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851; P.R.O., SC 6/962/4, discussed by A. Ballard, 'An Oxon. Village in the 13th cent.' *The Antiquary* n.s. iii. 129. Acreages are deduced from a survey of 1606: P.R.O., LR 2/224, ff. 40–53.

⁹² B.L. Lansd. MS. 27, ff. 94v–95; below.

⁹³ P.R.O., LR 2/224, ff. 40–53; figures for glebe added from O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 40, f. 65.

⁹⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 9, terrier 1681 and pre-inclosure survey c. 1765.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* B/M/208, f. 24.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* f. 24 and v.; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 34/1/35.

⁹⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405.

⁹⁸ P.R.O., SC 6/962/4; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851.

⁹⁹ P.R.O., LR 2/202, f. 36v.; LR 2/224, ff. 40–53.

¹ Blenheim Mun., box 5.

² *Ibid.* box 9. ³ P.R.O., LR 2/224, ff. 40–53.

⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 9, survey c. 1765.

⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405.

⁶ P.R.O., C 143/3, no. 34; E 32/251; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851.

⁷ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, f. 17; P.R.O., E 101/670/28.

⁸ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851; P.R.O., E 318/7/256; below, Cassington.

⁹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405.

¹⁰ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851; for the glebe, unrecorded in 1279, see O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 40, f. 65.

¹¹ P.R.O., E 32/137; Blenheim Mun., boxes 5, 9, 10.

¹² P.R.O., SC 6/962/4; *Antiquary*, n.s. iii. 129.

¹³ P.R.O., LR 2/224, ff. 40–53; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 40, f. 65.

¹⁴ B.L. Lansd. MS. 27, ff. 94v–95.

its reduction and consolidation may have been part of the same reorganization. In 1606 tenants of customary land held the former demesne or bury land by copy of court roll in parcels ranging from 22 a. of arable to 3 a., with 4 a. to $\frac{1}{4}$ a. of meadow.¹⁵ By 1682 the distinction between bury land and customary land seems to have been lost,¹⁶ and at inclosure in 1766 there were said to be only 16 yardlands, the number of the tenants' yardlands of 1279 and 1606, in the township.¹⁷

In 1086 the only tenants recorded were 8 *villani* and 18 bordars. By 1279 two small freeholds had been created, but the larger, of 2 yardlands, was already divided between 3 people. Eight servile yardlanders were presumably the successors of the 8 *villani* of 1086, and there were also 6 half-yardlanders and 5 cottars. They held by rent of 3s. 9d. a year and heavy services for each yardland, working daily from the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24 June) to Michaelmas, performing 3 boon works in autumn with 2 men, at only 1 of which the lord provided food, and ploughing 3 times a year. In addition they had to make hay in Long Acre and mow Law mead in Woodstock Park, and in winter they had to cut fodder for the king's deer. Each man was allowed a bundle of herbage, as much as he could lift on his scythe, each day that he mowed, a sheaf of corn each day that he reaped, and a faggot of wood each day that he cut fodder.¹⁸ The obligation to mow a meadow within the park was recorded in 1551, when the tenants of Bladon received 6d. or 2 gallons of ale for the service, and again in 1649 when the payment was 6d.¹⁹

In the mid 13th century and again in the earlier 14th the demesne was farmed by bailiffs. In the 1240s and 1260s its cultivation was exclusively arable, the chief crops being oats, sown on about half the land under crop, wheat, and barley. Some of the wheat and most of the oats were sold; the remainder were used for seed or consumed on the manor, except in 1263 when 18 qr. of wheat was sent to Oxford to the king's baker.²⁰ There were five servants, including four men to look after the oxen. A stray sheep, perhaps from a tenant's flock, was sold in 1246 and honey in 1247. Payments for pannage, presumably in Bladon wood, were received in most years. Some livestock was kept by 1310 when sheep and 32 hurdles for the sheepfold were bought and the sheep house was roofed. Crops that year included peas and dredge, and a hayward, two ploughmen, a carter, and a shepherd were employed on the demesne.²¹

Fourteen people were assessed for subsidy in 1306, at sums ranging from 8s. 6½d. to 7d.; at least 9 of them, assessed at 5s. or less, seem to

have been descendants of unfree tenants of 1279, and 1, assessed at 7s. 3d., of a free tenant. In 1327 the 14 assessments ranged only from 3s. 6d. to 1s., and only 5 surnames borne by 6 people were the same as those recorded in 1306 or 1279.²² Bladon's low assessment in 1334, £3 1s. 8d., suggests that the township was poorer than most others in the area.²³

A total of 15 men was assessed for subsidy in 1523 and 1524, only 9 of them in both years; the highest assessment was 5s. on £5 worth of goods. Four men were assessed on wages in 1523, only one in 1524. The assessments suggest a village in which a bad year could reduce many people to a level at which they were exempt from subsidy. There had been some improvement by 1535 when at least 16 people were assessed on goods valued at between £7 and £1.²⁴ In 1606 the largest estate in the township was 3¼ yardlands of free and customary land held by John Symons, whose uncle Thomas Symons had been one of two men assessed for subsidy on £5 worth of goods in 1581. It was divided after John's death in 1638 when 2 yardlands passed to his brother-in-law Thomas Woodward of New Woodstock.²⁵ An estate of 2½ or 3 yardlands held by Thomas Heathen in 1606 was split up soon afterwards.²⁶ The 3 copyhold yardlands held in 1606 by Robert Heynes, who had inherited them from his father John, passed intact before 1630 to William Hopkins, apparently a newcomer to the parish, who at his death held another yardland in Bladon and land in Hanborough and Great Rollright.²⁷ His sons and grandsons were among the most prosperous Bladon men in the 17th century, and one, Richard Hopkins (d. 1681), described himself as a gentleman. Some of the family remained in the parish until 1692 or later.²⁸

Later 16th- and 17th-century wills suggest mixed farming. The rector Robert Kirkby (d. 1570), who farmed his glebe at Bladon as at Stonesfield, made bequests of at least 18 sheep, 2 cattle, and small quantities of wheat, maslin, barley, and rye.²⁹ Most others who farmed a yardland or more left crops worth rather more than their cattle and sheep. Even Edward Busby (d. 1714), who had 8 cattle and 112 sheep worth c. £40, left wheat, barley, peas, and beans worth £46. Thomas Slatter (d. 1694), farmer of 1 yardland, left a large flock of sheep worth £42 and cattle worth £30, but his wheat, barley, peas, and beans were worth £110.³⁰ Richard Hopkins (d. 1687) and his son Richard (d. 1681), who farmed 2 yardlands, left stock worth slightly more than their corn, and John Symons (d. 1638) had apparently ceased to cultivate his 3¼ yardlands in Bladon; his corn, worth only £10, was on his ½ yardland in Hensington, but

¹⁵ P.R.O., LR 2/224, ff. 50–3.

¹⁶ Blenheim Mun., box 5.

¹⁷ C.J. xxx. 489

¹⁸ V.C.H. Oxon. i. 405; Rot. Hund. (Rec. Com.), ii. 851.

¹⁹ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, f. 17v.; O.R.O., CH IV/1.

²⁰ P.R.O., SC 6/957/5; SC 6/962/4, 6; Cal. Lib. 1260–7, 154.

²¹ P.R.O., SC 6/962/22.

²² Ibid. E 179/161/9, 10; there is no assessment for 1316.

²³ Lay Subsidy 1334, ed. R. E. Glasscock, 244.

²⁴ P.R.O., E 179/161/175, 198; E 179/162/235.

²⁵ Ibid. LR 2/224, f. 45; ibid. E 179/162/345; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 200, f. 67; Blenheim Mun., box 4.

²⁶ P.R.O., LR 2/224, f. 44.

²⁷ Ibid. f. 47; ibid. PROB 11/180, f. 112v.

²⁸ Blenheim Mun., B/M/208, ff. 157, 409 and v.; O.R.O., DIL V/c/4; ibid. MS. Wills Oxon. 34/1/35; below, Chari ties.

²⁹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 165, f. 56.

³⁰ Ibid. 116/3/34; 150/1/8.

he left 6 cows and 4 calves worth £25 and 152 sheep worth £66.³¹ Smaller farmers or craftsmen similarly seem to have concentrated on animal husbandry, perhaps because of the availability of pasture on the heath. One cottager in 1621 left 18 sheep, a cow, and 6 stocks of bees; he also had a linen wheel, yarn, and cloth, the only evidence for flax working in the township.³² A hen ostrich was offered for sale in 1757, presumably as a curiosity rather than as a supplier of feathers or eggs.³³ The stint on Bladon heath in 1606 was 12 cattle and 60 sheep to the yardland, but it was said in 1620 to be 8 cattle or horses to the yardland. By the later 18th century, although it was properly 6 horses or 12 cows and 60 sheep, the stint had been halved by agreement.³⁴ The cattle, looked after by a cowherd, were kept on the heath until Lady Day, on the nearby Hunmore in early May, and apparently on the heath again until after harvest. Sheep were not kept on the heath until 30 November.³⁵

There were 26 small closes in Bladon in 1606, containing c. 40 a. in all, the largest of them, Sheephouse close, being only 3½ a. All were pasture, and all, except Hanborough Bridge close at the confluence of the Glyme and Evenlode, adjoined the village.³⁶ There was little, if any, further inclosure before parliamentary inclosure of the township in 1767. In the years immediately before that inclosure the duke of Marlborough bought out most of the copyholders. The duke had no land in his own hand in Bladon in 1760, but before 1765 he had acquired 157 a.³⁷ In 1765 the duke bought 53 a. himself and John Moore, presumably acting for him, acquired another 53 a.; the following year the duke bought c. 202 a., including more than 2 yardlands (probably 152 a.) from Edward Ryves of Woodstock.³⁸ Thus when the duke and the rector petitioned for inclosure in 1766 they claimed to hold between them 13 of a total of 16 yardlands in the township.³⁹ The award, made in 1767, divided 727 a. among 12 landowners, the rector receiving 53 a. for glebe and 113 a. for tithe. By far the largest allotment was made to the duke of Marlborough for his 11¼ yardlands, 427 a., including all the land north of the Glyme and most of the south and west parts of the township. The remaining allotments ranged from William Maylard's 59 a. for 1½ yardlands and Elizabeth Cockin's 39 a. for 1 yardland to less than 1 a. for one odd land without common; most of the small allotments adjoined their owners' houses or old inclosures.⁴⁰

The dukes bought Maylard's estate from his son William in 1798, and Elizabeth Cockin's

from her successor H. J. North in 1833. They continued to buy smaller properties, mainly cottages and gardens, until by the mid 19th century they controlled practically the whole township, renting the glebe farm from the rector and Burleigh wood from the Dashwoods.⁴¹

A three- or four-course rotation of crops continued after inclosure. In 1771 the tenant of the glebe farm was required not to sow more than three of the five arable fields with corn each year, the other two fields being sown with grass or turnips or left fallow. Another farmer in 1775 was to pay an extra £5 an acre for land from which he took more than three crops of corn in succession, besides the usual extra rent for ploughing meadow or pasture.⁴² Wheat, oats, barley, beans, peas, clover, and sainfoin were grown, and at least one farmer kept cows and dairy equipment.⁴³ In 1801 the cultivated land in the township was evenly divided between arable and grass, but more than half the township was wood or plantation, 278 a. in Burleigh wood, the heath, and Blenheim Park.⁴⁴ Mid 19th-century improvements carried out by the Blenheim estate included draining arable fields and digging ditches for the 'floating' of Long Acre meadow to improve the hay.⁴⁵

In the 19th century much of the land, with land in Blenheim Park and elsewhere, was farmed directly by the Blenheim estate, probably from Home Farm in the south-west corner of Hensington. In 1853 Bladon farm, presumably based on the same farmstead, comprised 600 a.; it was a mixed farm growing corn and keeping 660 sheep and 88 pigs.⁴⁶ In 1851 there were only two farmers in Bladon, one (at Rectory farm) farming 96 a., the other farming 150 a.; in 1871 and 1881 there was only one, in 1871 farming 170 a., probably Manor farm,⁴⁷ which in 1880 comprised c. 134 a. of arable and c. 30 a. of pasture. In the 1890s the chief crops were wheat and barley, and the livestock cattle, sheep, and hens.⁴⁸ From c. 1900 there were generally two farms in the township, Manor and Rectory farms, but their acreages varied from tenancy to tenancy.⁴⁹ About half the land under cultivation in 1914 was arable and half grass. The main crops were barley (26 per cent), wheat (20 per cent), and oats (14 per cent); cattle and sheep were kept, although the number of sheep had declined since 1909.⁵⁰

In the 1950s the tenant of Manor farm (178 a.) kept a herd of dairy cattle and a flock of c. 150 sheep and lambs; his main crops were still barley, wheat, and oats, but he also grew sugar beet and other root crops. Rectory farm (c. 104 a.) was a dairy farm with a herd of Guern-

³¹ Ibid. 34/1/35; 167/3/13; 300/1/57.

³² Ibid. 296/1/108.

³³ Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 19 Nov. 1757.

³⁴ P.R.O., LR 2/224, ff. 46-49v.; Blenheim Mun., B/M/208, f. 23v.; ibid. box 10.

³⁵ Blenheim Mun., B/M/208, ff. 23v.-24.

³⁶ P.R.O., LR 2/224, ff. 40-53.

³⁷ O.R.O., land tax (QSD L 41); Bodl. map (MS) C 17: 49 (240).

³⁸ Bodl. map (MS) C 17: 49 (240); Blenheim Mun., boxes 4, 5, 9, 10.

³⁹ C.J. xxx. 489.

⁴⁰ O.R.O., incl. award.

⁴¹ Ibid. land tax; Blenheim Mun., boxes 6-9.

⁴² Blenheim Mun., box 10.

⁴³ Oxf. Jnl. 26 Oct. 1776; 11 Nov. 1786.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., HO 67/18.

⁴⁵ Blenheim Mun., E/P/42; J. E. G. Sutton, 'Floated Water Meadows adjoining Blenheim Park', *Top. Oxon.* no. 9.

⁴⁶ Blenheim Mun., E/A/9.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., HO 107/1730; RG 10/1448; RG 11/1511.

⁴⁸ Bodl. MS. Dep. b 158, item c, p. 105.

⁴⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1899 and later edns.).

⁵⁰ Orr, *Oxon. Agric.* statistical plates.

seys. Home farm (109 a. in Bladon, c. 320 a. in Blenheim Park, Kidlington, and Thrupp) was another mixed farm; barley and wheat were the chief crops and there was a herd of Ayrshire, Aberdeen Angus, and Hereford cattle.⁵¹ By 1967 Home farm had been reduced to 362 a., most of which was under barley; there was also a herd of 50 Jersey cows.⁵² Manor farm was mainly arable. The farmhouse for Manor farm was sold in 1972 and the Rectory farmhouse shortly afterwards, and in 1985 all the land in the parish was farmed from Home Farm and from Burleigh Farm in Cassington.⁵³

AGRICULTURE OF HENSINGTON. In the late 12th century and the 13th the arable in Hensington was divided into north and south fields, one on either side of the village.⁵⁴ The arrangement may have persisted into the early 16th century when north and south fields were recorded, although at the same date $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland was said to be dispersed in the four fields of Hensington.⁵⁵ By 1584, however, there were three fields, one called Hordley Hill and the Homeward field in the extreme north, the field north-east of the town, and the field south of the town.⁵⁶ The name of Hordley Hill and the Homeward field suggests that it had once been two small fields, and those may, with the north-east and south fields, have made up the four fields recorded in the early 16th century although four fields of such uneven size cannot have been cropped on a four-course rotation. Hordley Hill lay between the Glyme and the old Banbury road, adjoining Hordley in Wootton parish, and the Homeward field included the land south of the hill, on both sides of the Banbury road. The north-east and south fields were separated by the Woodstock-Shipton road. In the extreme south-west, adjoining Bladon village, was the Hide, which, although it formed part of the south field, was by the 16th century separated from it by Woodstock Park and the Grove closes.⁵⁷ In 1606 the king's yardland lay only in the north and north-east fields,⁵⁸ but there is no evidence that other yardlands were similarly placed. The extension of Woodstock Park during the Middle Ages may have affected Hensington's fields, but it seems that most of the land taken into the park was already woodland.⁵⁹

A comparatively large amount of meadow, 1 furlong by $\frac{1}{2}$ furlong on the manor and 3 a. each on the two smaller estates, was recorded in Hensington in 1086.⁶⁰ It presumably lay along the Glyme on the western boundary. Meadow at Inmead towards Stratford was recorded c. 1200 and three demesne meadows in 1512. In 1338 the Hospitallers' manor contained 30 a. of

meadow leased at 3s. an acre.⁶¹ By the late 16th century the meadow, along the Glyme and a small tributary in the north, was held in permanent plots, many of them inclosed.⁶²

A total of 17 a. of wood and underwood was recorded in Hensington in 1086, presumably the Hensgrove which was taken into Woodstock Park during the Middle Ages.⁶³ Four pasture closes near the park wall, called the Grove closes in the 16th century, had originally been wood.⁶⁴ No pasture was recorded in the Middle Ages, but in 1512 there was a common pasture called Hensington down, whose whereabouts are unknown, and another, smaller, pasture called Starting grove (2 a.) east of Woodstock borough and south of the Woodstock-Banbury road.⁶⁵ Hensington down was not recorded again; Starting grove was acquired by George Whitton, and he or his successors seem to have extinguished the right of common by 1688.⁶⁶

In the earlier 16th century the inhabitants of Hordley claimed rights of common in Hordley Hill in Hensington, rights which they maintained had been given to them as part of a general reorganization of the demesne towns following an extension of Woodstock Park in the Middle Ages.⁶⁷ From 1689 or earlier the right of common in the hill, later 74 a., was leased by the owners of Hordley to the owners of Hensington.⁶⁸

In 1086 Hensington was said to contain land for 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughteams, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ on Roger d'Ivri's manor and 1 each on Ansger's and Robert d'Oilly's land. Roger d'Ivri's tenant, William, had 2 teams in demesne, operated by 2 *servi*, and 4 *villani* had the remaining half team on their land. Robert d'Oilly's tenant, Peter, had his 1 ploughteam in demesne, operated by 1 *servus*; the 1 *villanus* and 2 *bordars* on that estate apparently had no team. No further information was given for Ansger's estate which was presumably cultivated by the fourth team.⁶⁹ By 1279 the estate which Roger d'Ivri had held in 1086 was reckoned at 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ yardlands, all of which were held by the Templars' villein tenants; one man held 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland, 6 held 1 yardland each, and 4 held $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland each. The abbot of Oseney's 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ yardlands were let to 1 free and 2 villein tenants, and the king's yardland to 1 free tenant. William Langhals may have retained 2 of his 5 yardlands in demesne; 2 yardlands were held of him by the Templars, and the remaining yardland was held in free marriage by 2 tenants; 6 other tenants held odd acres or cottages. The Templars' tenants paid only 3s. 2d. or 4s. a yardland, redeemed their sons, and were tallaged at the lord's will, but the abbot of Oseney's 2 villeins paid 10s. a yardland, performed an

⁵¹ Bodl. MS. Dep. b 158, item c, pp. 100–105.

⁵² *Oxf. Times*, 3 March 1967.

⁵³ Local inf.

⁵⁴ *Sandford Cart.* ii, p. 72; *Oseney Cart.* iv, pp. 149–50.

⁵⁵ Corpus Christi Coll., Oxf., MS. 320, ff. 24v., 25v.

⁵⁶ Merton Coll. Mun., 6675.

⁵⁷ P.R.O., REQ 2/26, no. 20; Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103.

⁵⁸ P.R.O., LR 2/224, f. 191

⁵⁹ B.L. Lansd. MS. 27, ff. 94v.–95.

⁶⁰ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405, 416, 425.

⁶¹ *Sandford Cart.* ii, p. 272; Corpus Christi Coll. MS. 320, f. 25v.; *Hospitallers in Eng.* (Camd. Soc. [1st ser.],

lxv), 26.

⁶² Merton Coll. Mun., 6675; Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103.

⁶³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405, 416, 425; B.L. Lansd. MS. 27, ff. 94v.–95.

⁶⁴ Merton Coll. Mun., 6675; Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103.

⁶⁵ Corpus Christi Coll. MS. 320, f. 25v.; P.R.O., E 134/25 Eliz. I/Hil. 4.

⁶⁶ P.R.O., STAC 5/W 77/7; Blenheim Mun., box 89.

⁶⁷ P.R.O., REQ 2/12, no. 137; B.L. Lansd. MS. 27, ff. 94v.–95.

⁶⁸ Blenheim Mun., boxes 10, 89.

⁶⁹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405, 416, 425.

autumn boon work with 1 man, the abbot supplying food, and gave 2 hens for churchscot and a heriot of their best animal.⁷⁰

Only three men, including Robert of St. James who held the king's yardland, were assessed for subsidy in 1306, at less than 1s. each; the low figures perhaps suggest some disaster in the township before that date. By 1316, when nine people were assessed at 2s. or 1s. 6d. each, the township had recovered somewhat, although in 1327 the ten individual assessments still ranged only from 1s. 10d. to 6d.; Hensington's assessment in 1334, 13s. 10d., was the second lowest in the hundred.⁷¹ Only four men were assessed for subsidy in 1523-4, one on wages, and only seven were assessed in 1535. By far the highest assessment in both years was John Warren's, on goods worth £12 in 1523-4 and £16 in 1535. He, or another man of the same name, held 4 yardlands of the Hospitallers in 1512 and 1546.⁷²

The king's yardland contained 30 a. of arable in 1606, and the Merton College yardlands in the late 16th century and the early 17th varied between 22½ a. and 32 a. The figures suggest that the 21¼ a. and 27 a. given to the Templars c. 1200 and in the mid 13th century may also have been yardlands.⁷³

The field names Peas and Bean furlongs recorded c. 1200⁷⁴ are the only evidence for medieval crops. The few surviving 16th- and 17th-century wills suggest mixed farming, the chief crops being wheat and barley; in 1628 a woman left 1 a. of vetches.⁷⁵ A 22-a. close belonging to George Whitton was planted with peas or pulse in 1604 and with wheat the following year.⁷⁶ Sainfoin was grown by 1721.⁷⁷ On the larger farms sheep and cattle were more important than crops. Walter Edwards in 1607 had 100 sheep worth £28 and 4 cattle worth £7, compared with wheat and barley worth only c. £16; Robert Tassell in 1600 left 51 sheep and lambs worth £12 and a tod of wool worth 18s. besides 3 cattle worth £6 and 24 cheeses worth 8s., compared with wheat and barley worth c. £11; Margaret Ayres in 1628 left 43 sheep worth £13 and 6 cattle worth £8, compared with crops worth c. £11.⁷⁸ In 1750 a farm which Sir William Thompson had kept in hand comprised c. 25 a. of wheat, c. 53 a. of barley, c. 27 a. of peas, c. 6 a. of vetch, c. 11 a. of oats, and c. 4 a. of rye grass; there was a flock of 236 sheep, but no cattle.⁷⁹ Despite the emphasis on livestock, the stint seems to have been low; in 1606 the king's yardland had common for 30 sheep and 4 cattle, and later evidence suggests a stint of only 2 cattle or horses and 32 sheep to the yardland in

the late 17th century and the 18th.⁸⁰

Mr. Whitton, presumably George Whitton of Hensington, was one of the targets of the projected uprising against inclosures in 1596.⁸¹ In 1578 he had the Grove close, between Woodstock Park wall, the Oxford road, and the Witney road; in 1583 he was accused of stopping two lanes or paths in Hensington, one of them running through closes, and in 1604 he had a 22-a. arable close.⁸² The concentration of land in the hands of the Nappers during the 17th century probably led to consolidation of holdings in the fields, if not to permanent inclosure. By 1663 the park north of the manor house (c. 6 a.) had been inclosed; the Great Close (later 15 a.) and six closes called the grounds were recorded in 1686, and by that date Napper seems to have consolidated his land in Woodstock piece (40 a.) and Little field (30 a.). By 1688 as much as 10 a. in Park Wall furlong and 34 a. in Mead's piece and Crabtree furlong had been consolidated, as had 44 a. in the Hide by 1714.⁸³ Consolidation obscured boundaries within the fields: as early as 1616 a jury found it impossible to distinguish definitely between Merton College's 2-yardland freehold estate and 2½ yardlands held by lease with it, and terriers of 1584, 1602, and 1616 vary in their description of the college yardlands.⁸⁴ In 1680 Merton sent men to settle the bounds of their Hensington estate, but there were further problems in 1709 when the college asked Napper to hold a court to review and note the bounds of its land.⁸⁵

In 1748 Merton agreed to the 'setting out of the quantity of land which belongs to the college at Hensington', and in 1752 paid a Mr. Wright for 'his extraordinary trouble over the estate at Hensington'.⁸⁶ The setting out may have been the final inclosure of the township, for a survey of the college estate c. 1750 listed 9 old inclosures totalling 25 a. and 14 new inclosures totalling 129 a., and a map of the township in 1750 shows it completely inclosed.⁸⁷

From 1753 the whole of Hensington was owned or controlled by the dukes of Marlborough, who usually let the land in three farms of 100 a.-200 a. and several smaller parcels.⁸⁸ A tenancy agreement of 1755 provided that the arable should be divided into four 'seasons', no more than two of which should be sown with corn each year, and that no more than two crops of corn should be taken in succession from one 'season'; wheat was to be preceded by a fallow. An almost identical agreement of 1756 provided that no more than two thirds of the arable was to be sown with corn each year. In 1760 a tenant was instructed to sow one field with turnips in

⁷⁰ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 874.

⁷¹ P.R.O., E 179/161/8-10; *Subsidy 1334*, ed. R. E. Glasscock, 242.

⁷² P.R.O., E 179/161/175, 198; E 179/162/235; E 318/21/1156; Corpus Christi Coll. MS. 320, ff. 24v.-25.

⁷³ Merton Coll. Mun., 6675; *Sandford Cart.* ii, p. 272; *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 149.

⁷⁴ *Sandford Cart.* ii, p. 272.

⁷⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 1/5/33; other wills indexed in D. M. Barratt, *Oxon. Probate Rec. 1516-1732* (Index Libr. xciv).

⁷⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 24, f. 444.

⁷⁷ Blenheim Mun., box 89.

⁷⁸ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 20/1/51; 65/2/26; 1/5/33.

⁷⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 10.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* boxes 5, 10, 89 (deeds of 1689, 1769, 1794); P.R.O., LR 2/224, f. 191.

⁸¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1595-7, 316, 343.

⁸² P.R.O., REQ 2/26, no. 20; *ibid.* E 134/25 /Eliz. I/Hil. 4; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 24, f. 444.

⁸³ Blenheim Mun., boxes 87, 89

⁸⁴ Merton Coll. Mun., 6675.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* Reg. 1.3, pp. 541, 683.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* Reg. 1.4, pp. 149, 162.

⁸⁷ Blenheim Mun., box 10; Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103.

⁸⁸ O.R.O., land tax (QSD L 150); Blenheim Mun., box 87 (survey 1747); Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103.

1761, with barley in 1762, and thereafter to allow it to revert to cow pasture. By 1772 the practice seems to have been to plant three quarters of the arable with corn, taking three crops in succession from each field.⁸⁹ At least two farmers kept sheep in the 1780s; one of them in 1788 also kept *c.* 46 pigs, a number of hens, and 13 turkeys. His crops included wheat, barley, oats, clover, rye, turnips, and vetches. Another farmer in 1817 had 120 ewes and lambs, fields planted with sainfoin and clover, and ricks of barley, oats, and wheat.⁹⁰

In 1801 Hensington contained 351 a. of arable, 217 a. of permanent grass (including some small meadows in Woodstock), and 7 a. of wood or plantation, presumably in Blenheim Park.⁹¹ The proportion of arable to grass was similar in 1847, 336 a. of arable to 180 a. of grass, with 23 a. of woodland.⁹² There were two farmers in the township in 1841 but only a farm steward in 1851. In 1871 one farmer had 236 a., employing 6 men, 3 boys, and 3 women, but in 1881 there was again only a farm bailiff, and in 1911 there were two farms, of 231 a. and 122 a.⁹³ Husbandry has on the whole been similar to that of Bladon, but in 1985 was mainly arable.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY. In 1086 Bladon manor included a pottery worth 10s., one of only three recorded in the country, and presumably a fairly large commercial operation. It may have produced the calcareous, gravel-tempered, pottery found on 11th-century sites in Oxford.⁹⁴ There is no later record of pottery making at Bladon, but by 1677 there was a lime kiln perhaps associated with a brickworks, in the Hide in Hensington, and in 1714 a Bladon lime burner had 5,000 bricks at his kiln.⁹⁵ The lease of the kiln site in the Hide, which by 1729 included a brick kiln,⁹⁶ was held in 1759 by Martin Maylard, a lime burner. It passed in 1765 to James Nixon, a mason who by 1768 was also a lime burner. Nixon acquired the freehold of the kiln site in 1768. In 1793 his son, another James, surrendered land called the claypits to his brother John who in 1800 held of the duke of Marlborough the brick and lime kilns, a brickyard, the claypits, and liberty to dig clay at Hanborough bridge as his predecessor had done.⁹⁷

There was an earthenware dealer in Bladon and a brickmaker in Hensington in the early 19th century, and two brickmakers in Hensington in 1841; in 1847 the brickyard, on the

southern edge of the Witney–Bicester road, was in the duke of Marlborough's hands.⁹⁸ There were still two brickmakers in Hensington in 1851, and in the 1850s clay from near High Lodge in Blenheim Park was used for bricks and tiles.⁹⁹

The Forest Marble in Bladon and Hensington has been quarried for building stone since the Middle Ages. A quarry in the Hide, perhaps near the later kiln site, was recorded *c.* 1200, and a mason held land in Hensington in the mid 13th century.¹ Twelve cartloads of stone from Bladon were used for Merton College library in 1378, and there was at least one mason in the township in 1415.² Several masons were recorded in both Bladon and Hensington in the 17th century and the early 18th. They included three generations of the Damary family, the first of whom, Anthony (d. 1614), worked on Woodstock palace from 1570 to 1605, and at least three members of the Nixon family, all called James (d. 1739, 1762, and 1792). A Hensington mason, Edmund Hanks, held land in the Hide in 1662.³ Bladon stone was used in Oxford, at the Sheldonian Theatre in 1666, at New College, Queen's, and All Souls in 1700, 1713–15, 1730, and 1745, and in 1695 it was recommended to Sir William Trumball for work at Easthampstead (Berks.).⁴ At least 10 masons were recorded in Bladon and 2 in Hensington between 1813 and 1838, 7 in Bladon and 2 in Hensington in 1841, and 11 in Bladon and 1 in Hensington in 1851; there seems to have been a slight decline later in the century, only 3 masons, a quarryman, and a stone cutter being recorded in Bladon and none in Hensington in 1871 and 5 masons and a stone cutter in Bladon in 1881.⁵ Bladon stone was much used by T. G. Jackson at Oxford, in the Examination Schools 1876–8, the Boys' High School 1880, Brasenose College 1882–1889, Lincoln College 1883–4, Trinity College 1883–1887, and Hertford College 1908.⁶

The most important quarries in Bladon were in a field north-east of the church, beside the Witney–Bicester road. Pit furlong and Mortar Pit furlong in Church field were recorded in 1620 and 1682, and in 1661 and 1665 men were accused of digging mortar pits in the common highway.⁷ About the same date there were short-lived stone pits in the north end of Hensington township, in a small area of Forest Marble there.⁸ There were other short-lived pits near Hanborough bridge in the 18th century.⁹ In 1774 there were 31 stone pits at the Church

⁸⁹ Blenheim Mun., boxes 10, 88.

⁹⁰ Ibid. box 10; *Oxf. Jnl.* 21 Feb., 9 Oct. 1784.

⁹¹ P.R.O., HO 67/18.

⁹² O.R.O., tithe map (S) 46. Figures are taken from the schedule.

⁹³ P.R.O., HO 107/889, 1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1448; RG 11/1511; O.R.O., D.V. X/22.

⁹⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405; *Oxon. Potters* (County Mus. pamphlet 13), 4.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 116/3/34.

⁹⁶ Ibid. Cal. Q. Sess. viii, p. 578.

⁹⁷ Blenheim Mun., boxes 5, 7, 10, 88.

⁹⁸ Par. reg. transcript, baptisms 1818–38; O.R.O., tithe map (S) 46; P.R.O., HO 107/889.

⁹⁹ P.R.O., HO 107/1730; E. Hull, *Geol. of Country around Woodstock* (Memoirs of Geol. Surv. sheet 45 SW.), 26.

¹ *Sandford Cart.* ii, p. 272; *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 149.

² W. J. Arkell, *Oxf. Stone*, 112; *Reg. Repingdon*, iii (L.R.S. lxxiv), p. 73 n.

³ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 17/3/32; 18/2/32; 33/4/42; 34/1/23; 48/3/24; 52/1/11; 125/3/24; 139/5/20; 143/3/22; 143/4/18; Bladon par. reg. transcript, baptisms 1699, burials 1701; Blenheim Mun., B/M/208, f. 102v.; *ibid.* box 5; *King's Works*, ed. H. M. Colvin, iv. 353.

⁴ Arkell, *Oxf. Stone*, 112–14; Hist. MSS. Com. 75, *Downshire*, i, p. 501.

⁵ Bladon par. reg. transcript, baptisms 1813–38; P.R.O., HO 107/889, 1730; *ibid.* RG 10/448; RG 11/1511.

⁶ Arkell, *Oxf. Stone*, 110–11.

⁷ Blenheim Mun., B/M/208, f. 27; B/M/209, ff. 28, 72; *ibid.* box 5.

⁸ Merton Coll. Mun., 6675; W. J. Arkell, 'Geol. Map', in D. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 294.

⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 6.



Begbroke Church from the south-east in 1820



BLADON: Hensington House from the south c. 1900



BLADON: Park Street c. 1920, looking north-east



BLADON: the school in 1958

field site, but only 12 were being worked and 3 of those were nearly exhausted.¹⁰ A few of the pits were being worked in 1876, but they seem to have been exhausted by the end of the century.¹¹ In 1922 H. A. Tolley, who worked a quarry in Hanborough, reopened the quarry in Park Lane, Hensington, but it produced only poor quality stone and was worked out by 1940. Tolley opened Diamond quarry in Grove Road in 1931, but that too produced inferior stone and was worked out by 1952.¹² The stone called Bladon stone used in several 20th-century buildings in Oxford and elsewhere came from quarries in Hanborough parish.¹³

Apart from the fulling mill in 1310,¹⁴ there is no evidence for cloth working in the parish. One man was surnamed 'le tanner' in 1320, and three glovers were recorded in the later 16th century and a fellmonger in 1682.¹⁵ Bladon also contained a locksmith in 1700 and the usual local craftsmen, including a carpenter in 1640, a blacksmith in 1706, and a cordwainer in 1782;¹⁶ tailors were recorded in 1619, 1651, 1700, and 1730, and a collar-maker died in 1724.¹⁷ Hensington, however, seems to have relied on craftsmen in Woodstock; none was recorded in the township.

Earlier 19th-century Bladon craftsmen included blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, a butcher, a baker, 2 horse dealers, and a bacon dealer, besides 3 glovers, 3 grounders, and a leather dresser, presumably working for Woodstock factories. A carpenter, a cooper, a millwright, and 2 glove workers were recorded in Hensington, but throughout the 19th century the hamlet was economically part of either Woodstock or Bladon.¹⁸ Most working men in both villages were agricultural labourers, many no doubt working on the farms of the Blenheim estate. The 38 railway labourers in Bladon in 1851 were presumably temporary residents. That year there were 53 gloveresses, the wives and daughters of labourers or craftsmen, in Bladon and 13 in Hensington. The 2 wood cutters and a wood labourer at Bladon were presumably employed in Blenheim Park.¹⁹ In 1871 the influence of Blenheim Palace on Bladon was clearer. Although about half the working men were still agricultural labourers, there were also 8 gardeners, 6 woodmen, 3 gamekeepers, a groom, a footman, and 2 housemaids in the village. The number of gloveresses had fallen to 29, and there was 1 leather presser. In 1881 there were 10 gardeners and 3 gamekeepers, 6 men worked on the railway, and there were only

19 gloveresses.²⁰ In 1891 the rector commented that most of his parishioners were farm labourers or worked in the Blenheim gardens.²¹

There were few changes in the early 20th century, although by 1907 the Bladon shops included a cycle agent, and the quarry owner was also a builder. Most men were still farm or garden labourers, or were employed in Woodstock glove factories; women did out-work for the glove factories.²² By 1955 there were 4 building firms employing over 20 people, whereas the 3 farmers employed only 10 men; 9 people were engaged in gloving, only 3 of them full-time, and 6 were employed in the Blenheim gardens. There were 4 grocers' shops in the village and 2 newsagents. Seven men, 3 of them at or near retirement age, worked in the quarry at Hanborough. Many people, however, worked outside the parish, 51 in Oxford factories.²³ In 1985 the shops reflected the increasing importance of the tourist trade, including two antique shops and a pottery besides a general shop and post office.

MILLS. There were two mills, probably a double mill, in Bladon in 1086, paying 14s. and 125 eels, and one on Robert d'Oilly's estate in Hensington.²⁴ The Hensington mill was not recorded again, but the field name Milnepat, in the north field c. 1200, suggests that it lay north of the village.²⁵ Repairs to Bladon mill were carried out, and two millstones bought, in 1247–8, and from 1249 the miller was paid 5s. a year wages. Eels were still received from the mill in 1245–6, but not in 1279, when the mill seems to have been in the hands of the farmer, John of London, and the fishery was leased to William the fisherman for 9s. a year and labour services.²⁶ Further repairs were made in 1310, by which date the mill included a fulling mill.²⁷

In 1606 the mill, a corn mill, was held by copy of court roll by Thomas Symons, who had inherited it from his father, another Thomas.²⁸ Before 1629 the freehold seems to have been acquired by Jerome Kyte (d. 1631) of Woodstock, who left it to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Edward Say (d. 1647);²⁹ it later passed to Robert Say (d. 1691), provost of Oriel College, Oxford, and to Robert's nephew Edward Say, who in 1692 sold it to Thomas Slatter of Bladon. Slatter (d. 1694) left the mill to his son Richard who in 1717 conveyed it to another Thomas Slatter, probably his brother, a maltster. Thomas Slatter left the mill to his son, another Thomas, who in 1769 sold it to the duke of

¹⁰ Ibid. box 10.

¹¹ O.S. Maps 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 12 (1880 edn.); Bodl. MS. Dep. b 158, item c, p. 145; O.R.O., D.V. VIII/279, X/22.

¹² Bodl. MS. Dep. b 158, item c, p. 146.

¹³ Ibid. p. 144; Arkell, *Oxf. Stone*, 114.

¹⁴ Above.

¹⁵ Bodl. MS. d.d. Ch. Ch. O.R. 127; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 189, f. 318; *ibid.* 37/1/5; 120/4/25; par. reg. transcript, burials 1580.

¹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 114/1/17; par. reg. transcript, baptisms 1698, 1700; burials 1640; Blenheim Mun., box 6.

¹⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 26/3/30, 130/1/13, 147/3/50; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 118, f. 278v.; par. reg. transcript, baptisms 1700.

¹⁸ Par. reg. transcript, baptisms 1818–38; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock b 1, p. 51; *ibid.* b 2, pp. 8, 59.

¹⁹ P.R.O., HO 107/889, 1730.

²⁰ Ibid. RG 10/1448; RG 11/1511.

²¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 105, ff. 63v.–64.

²² Ibid. c 777, f. 102; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1895–1907).

²³ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1895–1939); Bodl. MS. Dep. b 158, item c, ff. 135–6.

²⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405.

²⁵ *Sandford Cart.* ii, p. 273.

²⁶ P.R.O., SC 6/962/4; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851.

²⁷ P.R.O., SC 6/962/22.

²⁸ Ibid. LR 2/224, f. 53.

²⁹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 39/3/12; *Oxon. Visit.* 252; *Par. Colln.* 353.

Marlborough. The duke, having diverted the Glyme away from the mill, demolished it.³⁰ In 1611 the lessee was John Johnson, who left it that year to his wife and his son Philip. Philip died in 1666, leaving the mill to his son, another Philip; from the younger Philip the mill passed to his son, a third Philip Johnson, who was the miller in 1729.³¹

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. In 1279 John of London, who held Bladon manor at farm for life, had a three-weekly court and the view of frankpledge at Bladon, to which neither the sheriff nor the hundred reeve had entry.³² Profits of the court in the mid 13th century, when the manor was in the king's hands, ranged from 4s. to 16s. including 2s. cert money at the view of frankpledge; in 1310 they were 25s.³³ The one surviving medieval court roll, for a view of frankpledge in 1383, records the amercement of eight men for letting cattle into Long Acre meadow, and a case of assault and bloodshed.³⁴

Like those of the other demesne towns, the Bladon courts exercised a wide jurisdiction, in many ways similar to that of the king's central courts.³⁵ The courts appointed manorial officers, including a reeve or rent-collector, a constable, two tithing men, fieldsmen, and a hayward. Seventeenth-century courts regulated the agriculture of the township, making rules on stinting, and on the haining and breaking of pasture. Offences presented included overloading the common, digging stone pits in the highway, and making encroachments on roads or waste. In 1659 a man was amerced for bloodshed, and in 1619 and 1628 the jury presented the whole township for not repairing the butts or practising shooting, as required by statute.³⁶ Eighteenth- and 19th-century courts dealt only with the election of officers and the transfer of customary land.³⁷ By the 19th century courts were held at an inn, usually the Red Lion, whence they were removed at least temporarily in 1837 because of the landlord's political opposition to the Blenheim interest.³⁸ Courts were held until 1925.³⁹

In Hensington the abbot of Oseney held view of frankpledge for his tenants, who were quit of all suit to the county and hundred courts.⁴⁰ Two surviving court rolls record only placing of men in tithing, distraint to do homage, and one failure to repair a roof.⁴¹ The Templars and later

the Hospitallers presumably held courts for their tenants, and later lords of Hensington manor apparently held courts until the early 18th century;⁴² no records survive, and the courts had presumably ceased by the time that the duke of Marlborough acquired the manor in 1753.

Hensington and Bladon were separate units for poor-law administration in the 18th and 19th centuries. Bladon usually had two overseers, but between 1805 and 1817 only one was appointed each year.⁴³

Bladon raised *c.* £86 in rates in 1776, but between 1783 and 1785 average expenditure on the poor and other parish business was only £78. There had been a large increase in expenditure by 1803 when it totalled £392, or £1 5s. per head of population.⁴⁴ Expenditure reached £518, £1 8s. a head in 1813, and £535, again £1 8s. a head, in 1820, but was considerably lower in most other years between 1806 and 1830, falling as low as £225, 11s. a head, in 1826. It rose again in the 1830s, reaching £600, *c.* £1 7s. a head, in 1832.⁴⁵

In the 1780s a small sum was spent setting the poor to work, and in 1803 *c.* £39 was apparently spent on a workhouse,⁴⁶ perhaps to set one up. Sheets were bought for an inmate in 1806 and beer for the workhouse in 1812, but there is no other record of a workhouse in Bladon, and between 1806 and 1817 the overseers paid regularly for the repair of the poor's houses. They also paid the rent of the 'town house'.⁴⁷ There were 22 adults on regular out-relief in 1803, and the number rose to 26 or 27 in 1813 before falling to between 15 and 21 in 1817. There is some evidence for rounding between 1810 and 1817, but no more than 6 men or women were paid for 'yardland time' in any one week.⁴⁸

Poor-law records refer to a churchwarden or churchwardens and overseers of Hensington, apparently distinct from those for Bladon, although vestry minutes record only the election of a sidesman for the hamlet.⁴⁹ Hensington's total expenditure on poor relief was less than Bladon's, although in the early 19th century it was greater per head of population. The township raised £49 in rates in 1776, and an average of £51 between 1783 and 1785. In 1803 expenditure had risen to £98 or *c.* £1 6s. a head.⁵⁰ Expenditure rose to £189 or *c.* £1 12s. a head in 1818, but fell to as little as *c.* 7s. a head in 1825. Although expenditure rose again in the early 1830s, Hensington's rates remained lower than

³⁰ O.R.O., MS. Wills. Oxon. 150/1/8; Blenheim Mun., box 5.

³¹ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 37/2/35; 37/4/13; 137/1/19; Blenheim Mun., box 5.

³² *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851.

³³ P.R.O., SC 6/962/4, 22; SC 6/957/5.

³⁴ *Ibid.* SC 2/197/12.

³⁵ Below, Woodstock, Blenheim (Woodstock Manor).

³⁶ Blenheim Mun., B/M/208-10.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 211-24.

³⁸ *Oxf. Herald*, 21 Oct. 1837.

³⁹ Blenheim Mun., B/M/228, p. 384.

⁴⁰ *Oseney Cart.* iv, pp. 113-14; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 874.

⁴¹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Ch. Ch. O.R. 127; *ibid.* MS. Rolls Oseney 92.

⁴² P.R.O., REQ 2/243/46; Merton Coll. Mun., Reg. 1.3,

p. 683.

⁴³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Bladon c 5; *ibid.* Bladon P.C. II/i/1.

⁴⁴ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, pp. 406-7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 1818, pp. 358-9; *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 556, p. 138 (1822), v; H.C. 334, p. 173 (1825), iv; H.C. 83, p. 161 (1830), xi; H.C. 444, p. 156 (1835), xlvii; O.R.O., Bladon P.C. II/i/1.

⁴⁶ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Poor Laws*, H.C. Series I, vol. ix, reprinted in *H.C. Sessional Pps. of the 18th cent.*, lx. 192; *Poor Abstract*, 1804, p. 406.

⁴⁷ O.R.O., Bladon P.C. II/i/1.

⁴⁸ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, p. 406; 1818, pp. 358-9; O.R.O., Bladon P.C. II/i/1.

⁴⁹ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Bladon c 6; b 8; *ibid.* Bladon P.C. IV/ii/8, 11, 16, 49A.

⁵⁰ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, p. 406.

Bladon's.⁵¹ The hamlet had 9 adults on out-relief in 1803, but only 6 or 8 between 1813 and 1815.⁵²

At Bladon a parish council took over the vestry's remaining functions in 1894; Hensington Without had a parish meeting until 1951, and a parish council until 1985. Both Bladon and Hensington were in the Woodstock poor-law union from 1834 and the Woodstock rural district from 1894, but in 1932 Hensington was moved to Chipping Norton rural district and Bladon to Witney rural district. Both parishes became part of West Oxfordshire in 1974.⁵³

CHURCH. The Norman doorway which survived until 1802 shows that there was a church at Bladon by the 12th century.⁵⁴ It seems to have been the centre of the later Woodstock rural deanery until the mid 13th century.⁵⁵ In 1291, and probably much earlier, the parish included the township of Hensington and the borough of New Woodstock.⁵⁶ Despite attempts, notably in the 17th century, the early 19th, and in the 1930s to separate Woodstock from Bladon,⁵⁷ the borough church remained a chapel of ease. The removal of the centre of the rural deanery to Woodstock in the mid 13th century suggests that by then the borough church was already the ecclesiastical centre of the parish, and from perhaps as early as 1256 the incumbent at Bladon was sometimes called rector of Woodstock. After 1686, when a rectory house was built in Woodstock, the rectors usually lived in the borough.⁵⁸ The ecclesiastical parish was enlarged in 1877 when the rector took over formal responsibility for Old Woodstock, technically a hamlet of Wootton parish but effectively a suburb of Woodstock: the built-up area (c. 51 a.) was transferred from Wootton, together with land (354 a. from Dornford and Hordley farms) yielding a tithe rent-charge of £100. In 1951 more land near Old Woodstock (the area south of Akeman Street, between the Glyme and the wall of Blenheim Park) was transferred from Wootton to Bladon, and in 1953 a small area straddling the Oxford–Woodstock road in Kidlington civil parish was transferred from Ship-ton-on-Cherwell ecclesiastical parish to Bladon.⁵⁹

In 1241 the living was a rectory in the king's gift,⁶⁰ and the advowson descended with the

manor thereafter. The king or his tenant presented regularly, except in 1621 when John Whitton of Hensington had received a grant of the next presentation from the Prince of Wales, later Charles I.⁶¹ The advowson passed with the manor to John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, in 1705; the dukes presented thereafter, except in 1840 when John Benbow presented after a dispute with the duke, and in 1929 when the turn passed to Oxford University because the duke was a Roman Catholic.⁶²

The living was said to be worth 30 marks in 1241, but was valued at only £7 in 1254 and £10 in 1291;⁶³ in 1535 it was valued at £16 11s.⁶⁴ By the early 17th century its value had apparently risen to £80, and in 1753 it was said to be worth £130 a year.⁶⁵ The 2 yardlands of glebe were exchanged at inclosure in 1767 for 53 a., and at the same time the rector received 113 a. for the rectorial tithe of Bladon township.⁶⁶ The whole allotment, with the tithe of Hensington, was leased to the duke of Marlborough from 1767 for £190 a year, a rent raised in 1802 to £274 16s.⁶⁷ In 1806 the rector also received tithe from Burleigh wood (24 a.), Burleigh meadow (2½ a.), and Woodstock borough, besides an offering of 6d. a year from every family in the parish.⁶⁸ None of those payments was recorded again, and they were probably already of little value and difficult to collect. In 1831 the living was worth £329 net, but despite the commutation of the tithe of Hensington for a rent charge of £237 in 1847, its value was stated to be only £307 in 1851; in 1862, however, it was estimated at between £400 and £500.⁶⁹ When Old Woodstock was transferred to Bladon in 1877 the value of the living was increased to c. £530.⁷⁰ The glebe farm was sold c. 1920.⁷¹

Two thirds of the tithe of the d'Oilly demesne in Hensington was given to the church of St. George in the Castle, Oxford, by Robert d'Oilly or his successors, and passed, with the rest of that church's endowments, to Oseney abbey.⁷² The tithe was valued at 4s. in 1254, but its collection proved difficult, and in 1413 the abbey agreed with the rector for its commutation to a 5s. rent charge.⁷³ The 5s. was still paid in 1510, but had been lost by 1535.⁷⁴

The original rectory house was in Bladon, and in 1665 the rector was taxed on 6 hearths there,⁷⁵ but in 1686 Bishop John Fell gave the mayor and corporation of Woodstock a new house for

⁵¹ Ibid. 1818, 360-1; *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 556, p. 138 (1822), v; H.C. 334, p. 174 (1825), iv; H.C. 83, p. 161 (1830-1), xi; H.C. 444, p. 157 (1835), xlvii.

⁵² *Poor Abstract*, 1804, p. 406; 1818, pp. 360-1.

⁵³ O.R.O., RO 15, 229, 263; *Census*, 1851.

⁵⁴ J. Skelton, *Antiq. Oxon.* Wootton hund. 5.

⁵⁵ Lunt, *Val. Norw.* 307.

⁵⁶ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 31.

⁵⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 579, f. 46; *ibid.* MS. Dep. c 380, item a, p. 49; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39, f. 51; Woodstock Boro. Mun. 76/1, 2 Apr. 1675.

⁵⁸ P.R.O., E 32/251; *Reg. Chichele* (Cant. & York Soc.), i. 651; *Reg. Canc.* ii (O.H.S. xciv), 208.

⁵⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Bladon c 7, item e; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1732/1.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., JUST 1/695, rot. 25.

⁶¹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 67, no. 31.

⁶² Ibid. c 1732/1; d 754, 1840/3.

⁶³ P.R.O., JUST 1/695, rot. 25; Lunt, *Val. Norw.* 308;

Tax. Eccl. (Rec. Com.), 31.

⁶⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 185.

⁶⁵ B.L. Harl. MS. 843, f. 9v.; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 653, f. 84.

⁶⁶ O.R.O., incl. award.

⁶⁷ Blenheim Mun., box 10.

⁶⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 448; Bladon terrier (unnumbered).

⁶⁹ *Rep. Com. Eccl. Revenues* [67], pp. 776-7, H.C. (1835), xxii; O.R.O., tithe map (S) 46; P.R.O., HO 129/160; Woodstock Boro. Mun. 4/20.

⁷⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1732/1.

⁷¹ Bodl. MS. Dep. b 158, item c, p. 103; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1733/1; *ibid.* D.V. 1/15.

⁷² *Oseney Cart.* iv, pp. 7, 57.

⁷³ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oseney 369, translated in Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 282-4; Lunt, *Val. Norw.* 308.

⁷⁴ *Oseney Cart.* vi, p. 242; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 185.

⁷⁵ *Hearth Tax Oxon.* 114.

the rector in the borough,⁷⁶ and thereafter the Bladon house was used as the glebe farmhouse. It was rebuilt c. 1770, as a large stone house 33 ft. by 39 ft. with a slate roof.⁷⁷ The house survived, as a private house, in 1985.

Ralph de Hauvill, rector in 1241,⁷⁸ was presumably a relation of Geoffrey de Hauvill who held the manor. Most other 13th- and early 14th-century rectors were royal clerks, like John of London, who held the living for over 50 years from 1252 to 1306 and was also farmer of the manor,⁷⁹ or John of Hanborough, rector 1324–49, who was keeper of the king's works at Woodstock in 1334.⁸⁰ Although many 14th-century rectors resigned or exchanged the living after only a few years, there were two long incumbencies: John of Hanborough died as rector after 25 years, having failed twice to carry out an exchange and John Watts served from 1369 to 1409.⁸¹

In 1415 there was a Lollard in Bladon and another in Woodstock.⁸² Several 15th- and early 16th-century rectors were members of Oxford university and probably non-resident; some, like William Riley, instituted in 1409, were also pluralists.⁸³ Nicholas Newton, rector 1444–59, may have been the man of that name who was rector of Great Haseley and principal of an academic hall.⁸⁴ His successor, Philip Morgan, was certainly a member of the university, citing a Woodstock man to the chancellor's court for debt in 1466 and 1467.⁸⁵ In 1520 the rector, another graduate, was non-resident and had failed to provide a proper curate, leaving the service of the church to a friar; by 1526, however, there was a curate.⁸⁶ Leonard Hutchinson, rector 1534–41, was a non-resident pluralist and master of University College, Oxford, who in 1540 admitted that he had preached only twice and said mass only once since his induction. Like his predecessor he had failed to provide a suitable curate, although he claimed to have sent various preachers to declare the gospel.⁸⁷

Lands were given during the Middle Ages for an obit, a lamp, and a light in the church. They included the lamp acre in Hensington, held by the churchwardens in 1512, and perhaps also the acre in Hensington held in 1279 by the rector of the gift of Eustace the franklin.⁸⁸

The rector from 1546 to 1570 was Robert

Kirkby, possibly the Oxford graduate of that name who had been a monk at St. Mary's abbey, York.⁸⁹ Bladon and Hensington wills made in 1550, 1557, and 1559 had moderate Catholic declarations of faith, but one of them was witnessed not by Kirkby but by Martin Cave, a curate.⁹⁰ Kirkby was also rector of Stonesfield, where he farmed the glebe, as he did at Bladon; he was buried at Bladon where he seems to have lived, at least at the end of his life.⁹¹ Richard Harris, rector 1577–1610, held Somerton in plurality from c. 1596;⁹² he employed a curate for Woodstock, Anthony Noble, who wrote or witnessed a Hensington will in 1596 and a Bladon one in 1602. Both those wills and others made in 1607 and 1611 start with long Protestant declarations of faith.⁹³ Edward Evans, rector 1610–21, may have been the 'noted preacher' of that name in the university.⁹⁴

From 1625 to 1641 the living was held by the pluralist John Prideaux, rector of Exeter College and regius professor of divinity, later bishop of Worcester. He apparently preached at Bladon or Woodstock once a quarter, but employed a curate the rest of the time. In 1633 the curate claimed to preach every third week, although he admitted that at harvest time there had been no sermon for six weeks, an omission which suggests that he farmed the glebe.⁹⁵ Until c. 1650 Bladon was served by rectors or curates with royalist and Anglican sympathies; a parishioner's will made in 1648 contains an exceptionally long declaration of faith, largely taken from the Prayer Book.⁹⁶ Francis James, inducted in 1648 on the orders of the House of Lords, was evicted in 1649 and lived 'poor and bare' until 1660 when he petitioned for the restoration of the living.⁹⁷ Robert Ferrers, appointed late in 1649, seems to have served the cure until 1655 or later.⁹⁸

After the Restoration a succession of rectors who were academic pluralists, visiting the parish occasionally but usually leaving it to the care of curates,⁹⁹ included Henry Savage, 1662–72, and Thomas Good, 1672–8, masters of Balliol College, and Thomas Marshall, 1678–83, rector of Lincoln College.¹ Matthew Griffiths, rector of a London church, who was buried, at Lewis Napper's expense, in the Hensington aisle at Bladon in 1665, may have acted as curate; he is said to

⁷⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1733/1.

⁷⁷ Ibid. c 448, Bladon terrier.

⁷⁸ P.R.O., JUST 1/695, rot. 25.

⁷⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1247–58, 151; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iv, pp. 250–1; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 460.

⁸⁰ *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 89.

⁸¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1334–8, 1; 1343–5, 476; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 460.

⁸² *Reg. Repingdon*, iii (L.R.S. lxxiv), p. 73 n.

⁸³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 460; Emden, *O.U. Reg.* to 1500, 1617.

⁸⁴ Emden, *O.U. Reg.* to 1500, 1359.

⁸⁵ *Reg. Canc.* ii (O.H.S. xciv), 208, 225; Emden, *O.U. Reg.* to 1500, 1313, where not all the references are to the same Philip Morgan.

⁸⁶ Emden, *O.U. Reg.* to 1500, 112; *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* i, 130.

⁸⁷ O.A.S. *Rep.* (1930), 293–5: the charges may, however, relate to Woodstock not Bladon.

⁸⁸ *Chant. Cert.* 34; Corpus Christi Coll. MS. 320, f. 26; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 874.

⁸⁹ Emden, *O.U. Reg.* 1501–40, 335; O.A.S. *Rep.* (1912), 94.

⁹⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 150, f. 55v.; 181, f. 281; 182, f. 39. ⁹¹ Ibid. 185, f. 56.

⁹² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 24, f. 446.

⁹³ Woodstock Boro. Mun. 22/3/3; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 11/2/53; 20/1/51; 29/2/57; 37/2/35.

⁹⁴ *D.N.B.*

⁹⁵ Ibid.; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 55, f. 271.

⁹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 14/2/3.

⁹⁷ *L. J.* x, 546; *Alum. Oxon.* 1500–1714, 799; *Wood's Athenae*, ed. P. Bliss, ii, 203; *Walker Revised*, ed. A. G. Matthews, 298; *Hist. MSS. Com.* 6, 7th Rep., *House of Lords*, p. 106.

⁹⁸ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 298.

⁹⁹ Curates signed chwdns' accts. in 1664, 1665, 1679, 1681, 1688–1691: O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Bladon, c 6, *passim*.

¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1661–2, 275; *Wood's Athenae*, ed. Bliss, iii, 957–9; iv, 170–4; *Alum. Oxon.* 1500–1714, 581, 975.

have died of a seizure caused by excitement while urging his congregation to 'study to be quiet and follow your own business'.² In 1673 the churchwardens spent 6d. going to Oxford to get a minister.³ Humphrey Prideaux, rector 1683-6, although resident at Christ Church, Oxford, served Bladon and Woodstock himself, with the assistance of a curate who lived in Woodstock. Prideaux supervised the building of the new house for the rector in Woodstock.⁴ Robert Cocks, rector 1715-35, preached fairly frequently at Bladon between 1716 and 1718, repeating the same sermon several times.⁵

Although most 18th- and 19th-century rectors paid some attention to Bladon, usually taking a few services and signing the churchwardens' accounts, the major part of their time was given to Woodstock, where some, such as Benjamin Holloway the younger, 1739-77, William Mavor, 1810-40, and Joseph Bowles, 1840-7 were much involved in town life and politics.⁶ From 1774 or earlier there was only one Sunday service at Bladon, attended in 1787 by only c. 30 people but by 80-100 in 1831.⁷ Communion services there were reduced from 5 or 6 to only 3 or 4 a year in the course of the later 18th century, but the number of communicants remained fairly steady at c. 20 until the 1830s when it fell to 14-15, despite the presence of a curate by 1831.⁸

In 1847 Bishop Samuel Wilberforce had to investigate the 'shameful and indecorous performance of Divine Service' by the rector, Joseph Bowles, in Bladon church; his fault was perhaps the same as that of his successor, G. W. St. John, who rushed through the Bladon service in order to get to Woodstock for the service there; St. John also altered the time of the Bladon service from 2 p.m. to one less convenient for the parishioners, and later in his incumbency ceased to take any services at Bladon or Woodstock.⁹ In 1854 he quarrelled with the parishioners over the cleaning of the chancel.¹⁰ By 1851, however, St. John or his curate had increased the number of Sunday services at Bladon to two, attended by an average of 100 people in the morning and 200 in the afternoon, out of a total population of 484 in Bladon and 236 in Hensington.¹¹ The relatively small congregations were later blamed on the prevalence of dissent. In 1862 Bladon was served by a resident curate, and by 1866 there was a monthly Com-

munion service for c. 25 communicants, a number which rose to 36 in 1875.¹²

Under St. John's successor, Arthur Majendie, 1876-95, Bladon and Woodstock experienced the revival in religious life characteristic of the mid 19th century. Majendie employed two curates, one for Bladon and one for Woodstock; he increased the number of Communion services at Bladon to three a month, and then, by 1893, to one a week; he was responsible for the virtual rebuilding of the church in 1891. He also built a church room or hall, the freehold of which was conveyed to the parochial church council by his daughter Miss D. Majendie in 1938.¹³ Under his successor, J. E. G. Farmer, some ill feeling was caused in the village by the 'sacerdotalism' of the high church curate J. A. Rivington, 1895-8, which particularly annoyed the strong Methodist community.¹⁴

Relations between Bladon and Woodstock have occasionally been strained in the 20th century. In 1933 the need for the rector to work at Bladon was described as 'a tremendous handicap to the work of the church', and the burial of Sir Winston Churchill at Bladon in 1965, with the consequent influx of money and visitors to the church there, aggravated the difficulty resulting from the rector's decision to move the curate from Bladon to Woodstock.¹⁵ A curate's house at Bladon was acquired on lease from the duke of Marlborough in 1958, but was given up in 1962.¹⁶

There was a chapel in Hensington by c. 1200, and a fugitive took sanctuary there c. 1240.¹⁷ By the 16th century there were two chapels in Hensington. One, dedicated to St. John, belonged to the Hospitallers, and, with its garden, was held in 1512 by a hermit, John Glass; in 1546 Glass, no longer described as a hermit, held the chapel and garden by copy of court roll.¹⁸ The other was a chapel of ease to Bladon in 1530 and 1536.¹⁹ In 1585 it was called St. Nicholas's; earlier it may have been dedicated to St. Thomas Becket, giving its name to the nearby St. Thomas's Lane recorded in 1512,²⁰ but, like St. Thomas's church, Oxford, suffering a change of name at the Reformation.²¹ The chapel was disused by 1585, and thereafter the inhabitants of Hensington were buried, and presumably worshipped, at either Bladon or Woodstock.²²

The medieval church of *ST. MARTIN*,²³

² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Bladon c 6, f. 7; *Wood's Athenae*, ed. Bliss, iii. 711-13. He was not rector of Bladon: O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 67, no. 34.

³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Bladon c 6, f. 13v.

⁴ *Life of Humphrey Prideaux* (1748), 10, 12-13, 16.

⁵ Bodl. MSS. Rawl. E 214-15.

⁶ Below, Woodstock, Church.

⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 565, f. 237; c 327, f. 159v.; b 38, f. 226; *Rep. Com. Eccl. Revenues* [67], p. 776, H.C. (1835), xxii.

⁸ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 567, f. 175v.; d 569, f. 171; d 575, f. 156; d 577, f. 165; d 581, f. 149; b 39, f. 51.

⁹ *Wilb. Letter Bk.* (O.R.S. xlvii), pp. 78, 130-1; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 36, f. 151v.; c 335, f. 51; below, Woodstock, Church.

¹⁰ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Bladon, c 5, p. 120.

¹¹ *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 55; *Census*, 1851.

¹² O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 83; c 341, f. 76; c 1733/1; d 180/1, f. 142.

¹³ Ibid. c 347, f. 61; c 350, f. 52; c 359, f. 57; c 1733/2; Bodl. MSS. Dep. b 158, item c, p. 12; c 380, item a, p. 42; *In Memoriam: Arthur Majendie* (Woodstock, priv. print. [1895]); copy in Bodl. 11126 e.171 (9).

¹⁴ Bodl. MS. Dep. 380, item a, pp. 51-3.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 49; *ibid.* item b.

¹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1733/1.

¹⁷ *Sandford Cart.* ii, p. 272; P.R.O., JUST 1/695, rot. 22d.

¹⁸ Corpus Christi Coll. MS. 320, f. 24; P.R.O., E 318/Box 21/1156.

¹⁹ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* ii. 53; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, vii, p. 559.

²⁰ P.R.O., C 66/1257, m. 30; Corpus Christi Coll. MS. 320, f. 24v.

²¹ Cf. *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 391-2, 404.

²² Par. reg. transcript; O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Woodstock b 1, b2, c 4, c 5; *ibid.* MSS. Wills Oxon. 150, f. 155; 182, f. 39; 184, f. 174v.; 1/5/33; 11/2/53; 14/2/3; 20/1/51; 58/2/76.

²³ Invocation recorded in 1463; *Cal. Papal Reg.* xi. 653.

demolished in 1802, comprised a chancel with north chapel, a clerestoried nave with south aisle and porch, and a west tower; the south aisle was separated from the nave by an arcade of three bays.²⁴ A 12th-century outer doorway to the south porch, presumably not in its original position, was the oldest part of the fabric. The 15th-century windows in the south aisle and south wall of the chancel were probably inserted c. 1445 when the 'nave and belfry' were repaired or rebuilt.²⁵ The clerestory was presumably added at the same time. Two mid 16th-century wills left money for the repair of Bladon church, one of them for the lead.²⁶

Minor repairs were carried out regularly in the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1680 the rector, Thomas Marshall, 'repaired and beautified' the chancel, and in 1717 the parish made substantial repairs to the north wall of the nave.²⁷ By 1802, however, the church was in such a bad state that plans for repair were abandoned in favour of a complete rebuilding, and the medieval church was demolished that year. The new church, completed in 1804, comprised a small chancel with a vestry room on its south side, a wide nave, and a west tower. It was longer than the medieval church. Most of the cost of the building was borne by the duke of Marlborough.²⁸ The medieval font, possibly 12th-century, seems to have been lost after 1813.²⁹ In 1891 the church was restored under the direction of Sir Arthur Blomfield. The chancel was completely rebuilt, in 14th-century style, at the expense of the rector, A. Majendie; the nave was remodelled in the same style, with two narrow aisles with timber arcades, and a south porch; the tower was refenestrated and given pinnacles.³⁰ In 1893 Majendie gave a lych gate in memory of his mother.³¹ In 1937 a statue of St. Martin was placed in a niche over the porch.³²

The old church had a ring of three bells, of 1670, c. 1470, and 1629; they were not rehung in the new church, but were recast with extra metal at the Whitechapel foundry in 1883 to make a new ring of six bells.³³ A silver chalice and cover, recorded in 1664, had been lost by 1819 when the rector, William Mavor, gave a silver communion cup and paten.³⁴

The churchyard was extended northwards in 1902.³⁵ Immediately north of the tower are the graves of members of the Spencer-Churchill family, including those of Sir Winston Churchill and his father Lord Randolph Churchill. The

wrought-iron gates in the north wall of the churchyard were presented in 1965 by a group of 15 Oxfordshire blacksmiths.³⁶

NONCONFORMITY. Apart from one recusant in 1577 and one or two protestant dissenters in 1682 and 1683, no nonconformist was recorded in Bladon until 1820 when the house of John Sumner, later a Methodist local preacher, was licensed as a meeting house.³⁷ At first the Bladon Methodists were organized jointly with those of Combe, but by 1836, when another house in Bladon was licensed, they were a separate group, with two local preachers. A chapel, on the north side of the main road, was built in 1843, when there were 69 members of the church in Bladon; until then they had often attended services at Freeland.³⁸ Attendance on Census Sunday 1851 was 42 adults and 56 Sunday school children in the morning, and 94 adults and 30 children in the evening, when there was no service at the parish church.³⁹ Numbers fell in the 1850s, probably because of competition from the Primitive Methodists and perhaps also from the Wesleyan Reformers who were very strong in Woodstock,⁴⁰ but they rose again in the 1860s, and had reached 62 by 1877. In that year a new chapel was built, in 13th-century Gothic style to designs by W. Ranger,⁴¹ and the old chapel was converted into a school-room.

An out-house in Bladon was licensed for Primitive Methodists in 1847,⁴² and although no return was made in 1851 the congregation seems to have been meeting in 1857 when the rector reported two dissenting chapels, apparently both in Bladon.⁴³ A Primitive Methodist chapel was recorded in 1864, but the surviving building in Providence Place bears the date 1868.⁴⁴

Later 19th-century reports of the strength of Bladon Methodism do not distinguish between Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists. In 1866 the rector complained that the only man of influence in Bladon, a small farmer and tradesman, supported dissent. There were two or three Methodist local preachers in the village in 1871, and in 1891 the only farmer in the parish was a Methodist, as were two of the three shopkeepers.⁴⁵ In 1895 the Methodists protested vigorously at the 'High Anglicanism' of the curate at the parish church.⁴⁶ Methodism was still strong in Bladon in 1985.

²⁴ Description based on drawing in J. Skelton, *Antiq. Oxon.* Wootton hund. 5; Blenheim Mun., box 10.

²⁵ Lincs. R.O., Episc. Reg. xviii, f. 65.

²⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 181, f. 281; 184, f. 305v.

²⁷ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B 400 c, f. 217v.; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Bladon c 6, ff. 55v., 56.

²⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 10; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 65, no. 96; *ibid.* MS. Don. d 142, f. 25; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Bladon b 8, f. 86.

²⁹ Bodl. MS. Don. d 142, f. 25.

³⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1732/2; subscription list in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317 (5).

³¹ Bodl. MS. Dep. b 158, item c, p. 10.

³² *Ibid.* c 383, notes from P.C.C. min. bk. Sept. 1937.

³³ *Ch. Bells Oxon.* 48-9; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Bladon c 6, ff. 10v., 12; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 36, ff. 283v., 299v., 307v.; Bodl. MS. Dep. c 383, P.C.C. min. April 1883.

³⁴ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Bladon, c 5, p. ii; c 6, f. 5.

³⁵ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1732/1.

³⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1732/2; Bodl. MS. Dep. c 380, item b.

³⁷ *Returns of Recusants, 1577* (Cath. Rec. Soc. xxii), 110; *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 65, n. 259.

³⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 644, f. 225; *ibid.* MSS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circuit b 1; e 3; c 21, item b, f. 79; datestone on bldg.

³⁹ *Ch. and Chapel, 1851*, no. 56.

⁴⁰ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circuit b 2-4; below, Woodstock, Prot. Nonconf.

⁴¹ *Oxf. Times*, 3 Oct. 1877.

⁴² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 647, f. 47.

⁴³ *Ibid.* d 179, f. 62.

⁴⁴ *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1864); recut datestone on bldg.

⁴⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, ff. 83v., 84; P.R.O., RG 10/1448; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 105, ff. 63v.-64.

⁴⁶ Bodl. MS. Dep. c 380, item a, pp. 51-3.

The Primitive Methodist chapel closed after the Methodist union of 1932,⁴⁷ and was in 1985 a private house. The former Wesleyan chapel became the Methodist church, and in 1985 was served from Kidlington.

EDUCATION. The £1 10s. a year left by Peter Hopkins, by will proved in 1643, for the education of poor children, was presumably paid to the keepers of dame schools, like the schoolmistress who died in 1701.⁴⁸ During most of the 18th century the money seems to have been used for apprenticing.⁴⁹ In 1774 the rector reported that he and the parish sent 10 or 12 children to school,⁵⁰ but there is no further evidence for a school until 1808 when 6 children attended an endowed school, presumably supported by Hopkins's charity, and 48 others paid a small sum weekly.⁵¹ In 1815 there were only 15 boys and 15 girls at school, but in 1818 there were 60 very young children in the day schools, 6 of them supported by Hopkins's charity, which had increased from £1 10s. to £1 15s.⁵²

Sunday schools provided the only education for many Bladon children. In 1802 60 children attended, and in 1815 the parish supported the boys while the rector paid for the girls.⁵³ By the early 1830s day school education had virtually ceased to exist and from 1831 to 1833 Hopkins's charity money was paid to the boys' Sunday school.⁵⁴ Most unusually Anglicans and Methodists co-operated in running the Sunday schools, the children separating after school to attend their own places of worship. Methodists inaugurated their own Sunday school in 1843 when they built a chapel. There was said to be no day school in the village at that date,⁵⁵ but a dame school for six children was reported in 1834⁵⁶ and again in the early 1850s, when it was described as 'most inefficient'; it may have been in the schoolroom destroyed by fire in 1853.⁵⁷

In 1858 the duke of Marlborough built a village school and teacher's house north-west of the church. The school was placed under the management of the duke's chaplain, probably because the then rector, G. W. St. John, took little interest in the parish. Six children were educated by Hopkins's charity, the remaining 78 paid 1d. or 2d. a week.⁵⁸ The school, later known as the Duchess of Marlborough's from

the support of Frances Anne Emily Spencer Churchill, duchess of Marlborough, received a government grant from 1860.⁵⁹ The building was originally designed for 64 children, but there were 72 on the roll in 1868 and an attendance of 96 on inspection day in 1871.⁶⁰ Attendance was probably usually lower; in 1868 average attendance was only about three quarters of the younger and half the older children on the roll,⁶¹ an unusually large number of absentees for the area. By 1888 the school could take 110 children, although average attendance was only 84.⁶² The buildings were enlarged in 1889 or 1890 to accommodate 130 children, and by 1895 had room for 172 children (124 boys and girls and 48 infants) and an average attendance of 133.⁶³

From the first opening of the new school the curate was allowed to use the premises for Sunday and evening schools. The evening school was recorded again in 1866 and in 1878, and the Sunday school in 1866 when a few young people who had left the day school attended it.⁶⁴

The school belonged to the dukes of Marlborough until 1937 when it and the teacher's house were conveyed to the parochial church council.⁶⁵ Numbers had fallen to 65 by 1938, and in 1940 the school was reorganized as a junior school with 49 pupils, the seniors going by bus to Woodstock. By 1954 the parochial church council was unable to maintain the school's aided status, and it became a controlled Church of England school.⁶⁶ Attendance, which had risen to 66 in 1954, was only 42 in 1983.⁶⁷

In 1904 a Scheme of the Charity Commissioners converted Peter Hopkins's educational charity into the Peter Hopkins Educational Foundation; under a new Scheme of 1971 the foundation was allotted 37 shares in the Charities Official Investment Fund, producing c. £1 a year.⁶⁸

John Enders (d. 1843), by will dated 1839, gave £3 a year for the education of poor children of Bladon and New Woodstock. Payment was withheld until after a court order of 1878, but in the 1880s and 1890s the charity yielded c. £3 3s. 7d. a year for the school. The charity was registered in 1962 as providing £3 a year for education in New Woodstock and Bladon, although New Woodstock seems never to have benefited.⁶⁹

⁴⁷ Ibid. b 158, item c, p. 127.

⁴⁸ 12th Rep. Com. Char. 317; O.R.O., Bladon P.C. VI/i/2, 9; Par. Reg. transcripts, burials 1701; below, chars.

⁴⁹ O.R.O., Bladon P.C. VI/ii/2-3.

⁵⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 565, f. 239v.

⁵¹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 707, f. 207.

⁵² Ibid. c 433, f. 230; *Educ. of Poor Digest*, H.C. 224, p. 719 (1819), ix (2).

⁵³ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 567, f. 175v.; c 433, f. 230.

⁵⁴ Ibid. b 38, f. 227; *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, H.C. 62, p. 741 (1835), xliii.

⁵⁵ J. James, 'Reminiscences of Early Bladon Methodism', *Wesley Methodist Mag.* 1927.

⁵⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39, f. 52.

⁵⁷ P.R.O., ED 7/101/22; *Oxf. Chron.* 2 July 1853.

⁵⁸ P.R.O., ED 7/101/22.

⁵⁹ *Educ. Grant to Each Par.* H.C. 101, p. 78 (1862), xliii.

⁶⁰ *Returns relating to Pars.* H.C. 114, pp. 342-3 (1867-8), liii; *Returns relating to Elem. Educ.* H.C. 201, p. 322 (1871),

iv.

⁶¹ *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202-I], p. 336, H.C. (1868-9), xiii.

⁶² *Rep. of Educ. Cttee. of Council, 1888-9*, [C. 5804-I], p. 622, H.C. (1889), xxix.

⁶³ Blenheim Mun., papers in wooden chest in estate office; *Rep. of Educ. Cttee. of Council, 1891-2* [C. 6746-I], p. 690, H.C. (1892), xxviii; *Schs. in Receipt of Parl. Grants, 1895-6*, [C. 8179], p. 188, H.C. (1896), lxv; *Public Elem. Schs. 1906* [Cd. 31382], p. 524, H.C. (1906), lxxxvi.

⁶⁴ P.R.O., ED 7/101/22; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 83v.; c 344, f. 59v.

⁶⁵ Bodl. MS. Dep. c 381: unfoliated pages in front of vol.

⁶⁶ Ibid. c 382, blue folder.

⁶⁷ Inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.

⁶⁸ O.R.C.C., Kimber files; Char. Com. file 309579.

⁶⁹ Char. Com. file 309619; O.R.O., Bladon P.C. XI/i/3;

Bodl. MS. Dep. c 382, blue folder; Par. reg. transcript; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Bladon, b 7, p. 49.

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. Robert Cundall, by will proved 1559, charged his estate in Bladon with 6s. 8d. a year and Thomas Godfrey, by will proved 1747, charged his estate with £1 a year for the poor of Bladon.⁷⁰ Both charities had been lost by 1825. In 1606 the inhabitants of Bladon held three houses, built on part of the lord's waste, probably on land once part of the Green, for the use of the poor of the township.⁷¹ Those or other houses were conveyed by William Fletcher and Mary Baldin to the churchwardens and overseers in trust for the poor in 1765, and were repaired by the overseers in the early 19th century.⁷² They were not reported as a charity in 1825.

During the 17th century and the earlier 18th a number of bequests were made to form a stock for the poor. Richard Stockman, by will proved 1620, left £5; John Symons, by will proved 1638, £5; William Hopkins, by will proved in 1639, £3 6s. 8d.; Henry Hopkins, by will proved 1643, £20; Mary Hopkins (d. 1649) £1 13s. 4d.; Gervase Broadgate, by will proved 1713, £5; Sir Thomas Crisp (d. 1714), £5 and Thomas Loughton, by will proved 1722, £5.⁷³ Another Henry Hopkins, at an unknown date, apparently gave £5 or £10.⁷⁴ In 1796 the sum of £40, the surviving capital of those and at least one otherwise unrecorded charity, was added to £27 collected at the opening of a new organ in the church, and invested in £100 3 per cent consols.⁷⁵ The income was used in 1825 for a dole of bread at Easter.⁷⁶ In 1896 the income was £2 15s. 3d.⁷⁷

Peter Hopkins, by will proved 1643, charged his yardland in Bladon with £3 a year, half for schooling,⁷⁸ half for distribution among the poor or for apprenticing.⁷⁹ After a dispute with Hopkins's heirs over his power to charge land held in tail, the charity was confirmed by a Chancery decree of 1693.⁸⁰ By 1825 only 25s. was assigned

to the poor, and that was added to the bread charities described above.⁸¹

William Hopkins of Oxford, a member of the Bladon family, by his will proved 1681, left £200 to buy land, the income to benefit 'honest and true' servants in Bladon, or, failing suitable applicants, for apprenticing.⁸² In 1825 the income of £10 a year, from land in Rotherfield Greys, was distributed by the churchwardens.⁸³ In the 19th century the money was more often used for apprenticing than for rewarding servants.⁸⁴

James Nixon, by will proved 1800, left £300, subject to his wife's life interest, as a bread charity. The bequest was found to be irregular, and in 1830, after protracted litigation, only £11 18s. 3d. remained for the charity.⁸⁵ That capital was transferred to the official trustee for charitable funds in 1863, and in 1896 yielded 4s. 9d. a year.⁸⁶

Sophia Brown, by will proved 1861, gave £100, the income to be distributed to the poor on Good Friday.⁸⁷ In 1896 the charity had an income of £2 9s. 4d.⁸⁸

In 1877 the vestry decided that the poor of Hensington should not benefit from the Bladon charities.⁸⁹ By a Scheme of 1965 the Brown, Nixon, 'small donations', and Peter Hopkins non-educational charities were amalgamated into one charity for the benefit of poor people resident in the area of the ancient parish of Bladon; the William Hopkins charity was to continue to be distributed to servants, in accordance with the testator's will.⁹⁰ In 1969 the Peter Hopkins rent charge was redeemed for the sum of £75. In 1970, under a new Scheme, the William Hopkins charity for servants was amalgamated with the other parish charities to form the Bladon parochial charities for relief in need. In 1979 £39.83 was distributed to the poor.⁹¹

CASSINGTON

CASSINGTON parish lies on the north bank of the river Thames at its confluence with the Evenlode, and covers 2,299 a. (930 ha.) of alluvium, river gravel, and Oxford clay. It contains the hamlet of Worton and the site of the deserted medieval hamlet of Somerford.⁹² The parish boundary follows the Thames on the south, streams of the Evenlode on the west, and

field boundaries on the east and north-east; in the north the parish extends into Burleigh wood which in the later 13th century was claimed by both Cassington and Bladon, and the boundary there is probably later than that in the rest of the parish. The streams which form the southern part of the eastern boundary were straightened in the earlier 19th century, and were in 1982

⁷⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 183, f. 208v.; 130/3/8.

⁷¹ P.R.O., LR 2/224, f. 40; Bodl. map (MS)C 17:49 (240).

⁷² O.R.O., Bladon P.C. XXV/i/1; *ibid.* II/i/1.

⁷³ *Ibid.* MSS. Wills Oxon. 200, f. 67; *ibid.* 32/2/29; 59/3/43; 139/5/1; P.R.O., PROB 11/180, f. 112v.; PROB 11/541, f. 205v.; Oxf. Univ. Arch., Chancellor's Ct. Wills BE-BV, Hyp/B/21; G.E.C. *Baronetage*, iv. 12.

⁷⁴ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 40, f. 64.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Bladon b 8, f. 76.

⁷⁶ 12th Rep. Com. Char. 319.

⁷⁷ O.R.O., Bladon P.C. XI/i/3.

⁷⁸ Above, Educ.

⁷⁹ O.R.O., Bladon P.C. VI/i/2.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* VI/i/5, 9.

⁸¹ 12th Rep. Com. Char. 317.

⁸² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Oxf. St. Mary the Virgin c 25,

no. 4.

⁸³ 12th Rep. Com. Char. 317.

⁸⁴ O.R.O., Bladon P.C. III/i/1-19; III/v/1-7.

⁸⁵ 12th Rep. Com. Char. 319; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Bladon c 5, p. 66; *ibid.* Bladon P.C. IX/i/1-4.

⁸⁶ O.R.O., Bladon P.C. XI/i/3.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* Misc. Ri. III/1.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* Bladon P.C. XI/i/3.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Bladon c 5, p. 199.

⁹⁰ O.R.C.C. Kimber files.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*; Kimber, MS. Rep. on review of Oxon. par. chars.

⁹² O.S. Maps 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 16, XXVII. 13, XXXII. 4, 8, XXXIII. 1, 5 (1881 edn.); 1/10,000, SP 41 SE., SW, SP 40 NE., NW. (1981 edn.); 1/50,000, sheet 164 (1979 edn.).

little more than drainage ditches. By the end of the 18th century the main branch of the Evenlode flowed out of Cassington parish to Eynsham mill and then turned west to flow past Cassington mill, cutting off the south-west corner of the parish.⁹³ The Thames has also changed its course slightly, leaving a small strip of Cassington, once an island, on its southern bank. A small brook which rises on Bladon heath and flows south through the parish to the Thames formed the boundary between the townships of Cassington and Worton; the southern part of its course was straightened at inclosure in 1801. A smaller stream flows from north to south through Cassington village and then through drainage ditches into the Thames.

The land rises from 60 m. on the wide alluvial flood plain of the Thames to high points of 111 m. on Worton heath and 102 m. in Burleigh wood on the northern boundary, and 98 m. at Purwell Farm in the west. Along the western boundary the land slopes steeply down to the Evenlode at 65 m. Most of the parish is open farmland, but Burleigh wood and Worton heath on the northern boundary were both wooded in 1982. The latter was a 19th- and 20th-century plantation, having been rough pasture and furze in 1797.⁹⁴ Burleigh wood was said to have been taken into Wychwood forest by Henry II, and although by 1300 the Evenlode formed the eastern boundary of the forest, leaving Burleigh outside it, the area has remained woodland.⁹⁵

Until the building of the Oxford northern bypass, the A 40, which opened in 1935,⁹⁶ the main road from Oxford to Eynsham and the west ran south of the Thames, and only local roads ran through Cassington. One, the medieval 'king's way', called in 1310 the king's road from Bladon bridge to Oxford and in the 18th century Woodstock Way,⁹⁷ ran through Burleigh wood and over the open fields to the northern edge of Cassington village where it turned east into Yarnton parish; the section between Cassington village and Yarnton was known as the Port Way from the 13th century.⁹⁸ Another road entered the parish from Eynsham, crossing the Evenlode by a bridge as early as 1215, and ran north-east through Cassington village to meet the king's way; the section of the road between the parish boundary and Cassington mill was a causeway by 1316.⁹⁹ There was a ford at the mill in 1767, but it seems to have been replaced by a bridge by 1797.¹ Both roads were substantially altered at inclosure in 1801, the road to Bladon being straightened and

moved eastwards, that to Eynsham being moved c. ¼ mile to the north. Until it was stopped at inclosure, a third road, called Hastings Way in 1797, crossed the north-east corner of the parish, running from Burleigh wood to Yarnton where it was known as Frogwelldown Lane; it was replaced by a footpath on a slightly different course. A minor road from Cassington to Worton also survives as a footpath. The name Somerford, given both to the hamlet which lay just north of the Thames² and to a meadow across the Thames in Cumnor parish, implies a seasonal crossing of the river there. No evidence for such a north-south route survives in Cassington, but a riding on the boundary between Cumnor and Wytham, running south from Somerford meadow, was said c. 1800 to be the former 'church road' from Cassington to Cumnor.³ Although the association with any church is certainly incorrect, the name may preserve a memory of an earlier route from Cassington to Cumnor and Abingdon.

Between 1800 and 1802 the duke of Marlborough built a short canal from the Thames to a wharf on the Cassington to Eynsham road.⁴ The main railway line from Oxford to Worcester, built between 1851 and 1853, crosses the northern part of the parish; a branch line to Witney, running across the southern part of the parish, was opened in 1861.⁵ A halt at Cassington, on the Witney line, was opened in 1936, moved in 1948, and closed, with the line, in 1962.⁶ Cassington men supplied, and presumably bought from, Oxford market in the 17th century, and in the later 19th century and the earlier 20th carriers' carts ran from Cassington to Oxford once or twice a week. There was no post office until c. 1915.⁷

Streams and wells presumably supplied both Cassington and Worton with water from the time of the earliest settlements in the parish. As late as 1934 there were complaints that some of the wells, upon which villagers still relied, were polluted by their proximity to rubbish pits.⁸ An electricity supply was connected in 1934.⁹

Cassington was not inclosed until 1801, and until that date the parish was farmed from houses in the village; detailed maps of 1797 and 1801 show no outlying farmhouses.¹⁰ There was a barn in Burley Breach, north of the modern Burley Farm, in 1604,¹¹ but it was not there in 1797. The existing L-shaped farmhouse and outbuildings were built soon after inclosure (the date 1801 is on one of the roof timbers), but the builders re-used earlier material including 18th-

⁹³ Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington Map 1; cf. J. Rocque, *Map of Berks.* (1761).

⁹⁴ Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington Map 1; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 16, XXVII. 13 (1881 edn.).

⁹⁵ V. Steed, 'Burleigh Wood in Bladon and Cassington', *Top. Oxon.* xi. 4-5; C. Y. K. Akerman, 'View of the Ancient Limits of Wychwood Forest', *Archaeologia*, xxxvii. 424-5.

⁹⁶ *Social Services in Oxf. District*, ed. A. F. C. Bourdillon, ii. 410; Ch. Ch. Arch., A 71.

⁹⁷ *Cal. Close*, 1307-13, 210; *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, p. 288; Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington Map 1.

⁹⁸ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 297, 301.

⁹⁹ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 60; ii, p. 98.

¹ Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington Map 1; cf. Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797).

² County Mus., P.R.N. 5489; the stream to the west, now the main stream of the Evenlode, was much smaller in the Middle Ages.

³ Berks. R.O., DP/45/18/3.

⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 37; O.R.O., incl. award.

⁵ E. T. MacDermot and C. R. Clinker, *Hist. G.W.R.* i. 249, 261, 289.

⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 512, p. 172k; County Mus., P.R.N. 10749.

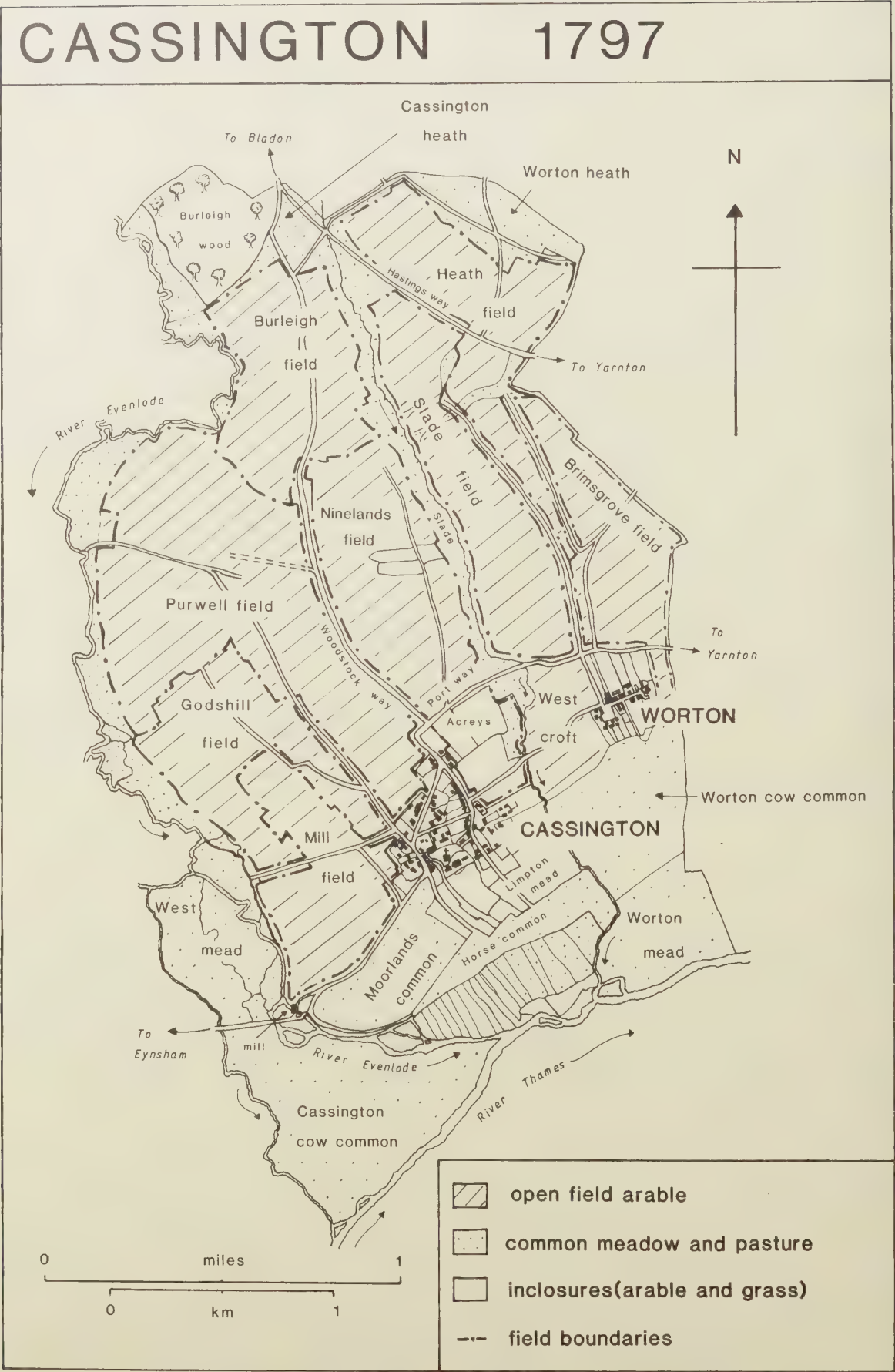
⁷ *Wood's City of Oxf.* i (O.H.S. xv), 53; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.).

⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 512, p. 172e.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 172f.

¹⁰ Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington Map 1; O.R.O., incl. award.

¹¹ Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington B 4.



century beams, doors and mouldings, and a datestone of 1605. Purwell Farm, whose plan is almost identical to that of Burley Farm, was also built immediately after inclosure, again re-using 18th-century materials.¹² The materials may have come from houses in Cassington village demolished by the Blenheim estate. Jericho Farm was built in 1804.¹³

The areas of gravel terrace in Cassington, like those elsewhere in the upper Thames valley, attracted early settlement. There are three in the south, one extending from Cassington mill into the western part of Cassington village, the two others covering the eastern part of the village and the fields between there and Worton village; a fourth patch of gravel lies further north around Purwell Farm.¹⁴ All four areas have produced pottery and other evidence of occupation from the Neolithic to the early Anglo-Saxon period.¹⁵ In the south the Iron Age finds suggest two settlements, one centred on a large ring ditch, possibly a fort, near Cassington mill, and the other north-west of the modern village. Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon material found in the same areas suggests similar settlement patterns in those periods, the Romano-British settlement probably being quite dense. The Anglo-Saxon name 'caersentun', meant 'tun where cress grows'. At Purwell Farm at least 21 burials, c. 20 small working huts in 2 groups, and 2 pottery kilns, all of the 6th or 7th century, have been excavated, and a settlement on the site in the late Anglo-Saxon period gave rise to the medieval field name Francwordy, 'Franca's farm or homestead'.¹⁶ None of the archaeological finds can be dated closely enough to show how much of the gravel was occupied at any time, or whether occupation in any one place was continuous. The most likely interpretation of the evidence seems to be a pattern of comparatively small, shifting settlements, both in the south part of the parish and at Purwell Farm.

In 1086 a total of 30 tenants and 2 *servi* was recorded in Cassington and a total of 13 tenants in Worton; in 1279 there were 46 tenants in Cassington, 19 in Worton, and 7 in Somerford, including some free tenants who may not have lived in the parish.¹⁷ That probably marked the peak of medieval population, for Somerford seems to have been deserted in the early 14th century; 4 men were assessed for subsidy there in 1306 but it was not recorded thereafter although there may have been a house there in the 16th century.¹⁸ Its site is marked by a hollow way, house platforms, and the boundary ditches of gardens and crofts. In 1377 only 64 people paid poll tax in Cassington, 63 in Worton,

suggesting that although the population of the parish as a whole had fallen by about a third since 1279, that of Worton had risen slightly. By 1525, however, Cassington, with 24 or 25 men assessed for subsidy, was about twice the size of Worton where between 11 and 14 men were assessed.¹⁹

In 1642 a total of 75 men in the parish took the protestation oath and 2 refused; 202 adults were reported in 1676.²⁰ In 1774 the population was said to be 252; by 1801 it had risen to 374, and it continued to rise to 428, only 75 of whom lived in Worton, in 1831. It fell to 381 in 1841, but rose to 454, including transient railway labourers, in 1851. Thereafter it fell steadily to a low point of 293 in 1921, and then rose to 699 in 1971 as commuters from Oxford moved into the village. By 1981 the population had fallen slightly to 662.²¹

Cassington village is divided by a small stream into two parts, known in the 20th century as the upper and lower village although both are on the same level; they may have been called west and east ends in the 16th century when property in the east end of Cassington was recorded.²² The main village streets, the Yarn-ton or Eynsham road and Bell Lane, form a V pointing northwards; a footpath, diverted southwards in the 19th century by the building of the school, links the upper and lower village. The upper village centres on a large, roughly triangular green. The surname 'at green' recorded in 1316²³ suggests that the green was an early feature of the village topography, but its exact form has changed from time to time. In 1797 it was smaller and further north than in 1982, on land later occupied by the 19th-century school and vicarage garden. On the western side of the green is a row of 18th- and 19th-century terraced cottages, including the Red Lion inn, of local rubble with thatched or tiled roofs. There is another terrace of similar date on the west side of the Yarn-ton road, north of the green, and a short terrace of heavily restored houses, some occupied as almshouses in 1982, in Church Lane. The church lies on the southern edge of the upper village, north-west of the former manor house, Reynolds Farm, and away from the main streets. The 19th-century village school stands on the north-east side of the green, and south of it is its later 20th-century replacement. The other notable 19th-century addition to the upper village was Manor Farm, formerly Cassington House, a red brick building of two storeys with attics, set back from the road in a large garden.

The lower village centres on a small green. On the east side of it is the former Bell inn, from

¹² Blenheim Mun., boxes 31, 37; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 187.

¹³ Ch. Ch. Arch., MS. Estates 84, f. 87. The Jericho House used from 1773 for inoculations by a Cassington apothecary was at Jericho in North Oxford: *Oxf. Jnl.* 18 Dec. 1773; 28 Sept. 1776.

¹⁴ Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid and drift, sheet 236 (1938 edn.).

¹⁵ Paragraph based on reports in *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 242, 256, 334, 357, 363, 370; *Oxoniensia*, i. 201; iii. 20, 30, 165; v. 2-12, 163; vii. 61-70, 104-7; viii/ix. 193-6; xi. 5-26; xv. 104; xvi. 1-4; xxiii. 130; xxiv. 98; xxv. 131; xxvi. 1-4;

xxix/xxx. 190; xxxi. 32-3; *Medieval Archaeology*, vi/vii. 1-15; County Mus., P.R.N. 3966, 12932.

¹⁶ *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 254, 472, 478.

¹⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405-7, 426; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 854-5.

¹⁸ *P.R.O.*, E 179/161/8, 10; *ibid.* SP 12/198, ff. 108-109v.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* E 179/161/42, 175, 198; E 179/162/59.

²⁰ *Protestation Returns*, 76-7; *Compton Census*, ed. Whitman, 423.

²¹ *O.R.O.*, MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 564, f. 85; *Wilb. Visit.* 28; *Census*, 1801-1971.

²² *P.R.O.*, C 1/1450, nos. 1-2.

²³ *Ibid.* E 179/161/8.

which a datestone of 1688 has been recovered. On the south is the Old Manor, an L-shaped building of coursed rubble with a stone tiled roof, built c. 1735 by Roger Bouchier, fellow of Worcester College, Oxford. It comprises a large room, called in 1783 a dining room, which rises almost the full height of the house, two smaller rooms on the ground floor and two on the first floor, all with their original panelling. The kitchen and servants' quarters were in an out-building across a small courtyard. The house has no connexion with any manor; its name, first recorded c. 1930, may have been given it by the historian Henry Minn who occupied the house from that date.²⁴ In Horsemere Lane, leading south from the green, are a number of 18th-century cottages, including Bell Cottage dated 1727 and Thames Mead Farm, the former Godstow manor house.²⁵ In Bell Lane, which runs north from the green to the Yarnton road, is Lime Cottage, a substantial 18th-century house extended in the 19th century, and a terrace of largely 18th-century cottages repaired in 1836. Several terraced cottages and a larger house, Ivydene at the start of the footpath to Worton, were added to the lower village in the 19th century, as was the Primitive Methodist chapel of 1870 on the footpath between the upper and the lower village.

Since the 1920s Cassington, like other villages near Oxford, has grown considerably. Much of the development has been along the Eynsham road, where 12 council houses were built c. 1930. There has been much infilling in the village, notably at the Tennis, west of Bell Lane, and in Elms Road in the upper village, and in Bell Close and St. Peter's Close in the lower, where estates of council and private houses have been built.

Worton consists of a single street; at its west end is the Old Rectory, a small 17th- or 18th-century building of local rubble which was greatly enlarged c. 1840;²⁶ it was in the earlier 19th century the farmhouse for the rectory estate. At the east end of the street is Rectory Farm, dated 1808 and surrounded by modern farm buildings. Between the two houses are several 19th- or possibly 18th-century cottages, recently restored.

The earliest recorded alehouse was one on or near the site of Somerford in 1587; the lord of the manor, Henry Allnut, owned an alehouse in 1689.²⁷ Five or six alehouses, one in Worton, were licensed in the 1750s and 1760s, and in 1774 they were named as the Bell, the Chequers, the Red Lion, the Crown, and the Mason's Arms. The Mason's Arms seems to have closed in 1775 and the Crown, in Worton, before

1796.²⁸ The Barge, at the canal wharf on the Eynsham road, built for 'the accommodation of the trade', opened c. 1804 and closed before 1872.²⁹ The Bell closed in the late 1970s and was converted into a private house; the Chequers and the Red Lion remained open in 1982.

Henry II visited Cassington between 1180 and 1189 when a writ was dated there,³⁰ and he may have been there earlier in his reign when the manor was held by his chamberlain Geoffrey de Clinton. Charles I and his army marched through the parish, probably along Frogwell-down Lane, in 1644 when they escaped from Oxford,³¹ but otherwise Cassington does not seem to have been directly involved in the campaigns of the Civil War. During the interregnum several prominent Royalist clergy took refuge in the village.³² James II passed through the village in 1686.³³

The parish wake on the Sunday after St. Peter's day (30 June) was recorded in the early 18th century; in 1932 it was marked by a procession of the Buffaloes Friendly Society to the church. On the Monday and Tuesday following the wake a small fair was set up on the village green.³⁴ A provident club was started in 1877 by the trustees of the parish charities,³⁵ but no further record of it has been found. A village hall of wood and galvanized iron was built on the south side of the village green in the 1920s; in 1954 a playing field and pavilion were opened on the north-west side of the village.³⁶

MANORS AND OTHER ESTATES. In 1086 *CASSINGTON* was held of Odo of Bayeux by Wadard, who held two estates of 2½ hides each, and by Ilbert de Lacy, who held 6 hides.³⁷ One of Wadard's manors passed, with Cogges, to Mannasser Arsic, who held it in 1103.³⁸ Robert Arsic was overlord in 1212 and 1220, and in 1242 the manor was held of the Arsic fee.³⁹ In 1279 it was held of the Arsics' successor, Robert de Grey, but there is no further record of the overlordship and in 1320 the manor was held of the king in chief.⁴⁰

Before 1123 the Arsics had granted their manor in *CASSINGTON* to the elder Geoffrey de Clinton, who in turn enfeoffed his brother William.⁴¹ The mesne lordship thus created passed from Geoffrey de Clinton to his son Geoffrey and to the younger Geoffrey's son and grandson, both called Henry de Clinton.⁴² The younger Henry died without issue in 1232-3, and Cassington passed to his sister Agnes and her husband Warin de Brakenham, who in 1242 conveyed it to William de Cauntelo of whom the manor was held in 1256.⁴³ From William de

²⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 36; *Oxf. Jnl.* 2 Aug. 1783; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1931).

²⁵ Below, Manors.

²⁶ Ch. Ch. Arch., MS. Estates 84, f. 83.

²⁷ Blenheim Mun., box 37.

²⁸ O.R.O., vctls' recogs.

²⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 37; H. Compton and K. Belston, 'Cassington Canal', *Rly. and Canal Hist. Soc. Jnl.* xii. 57.

³⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1413-16, 104.

³¹ Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.*, 305-6.

³² Below, Church.

³³ Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 269.

³⁴ *Par. Colln.* 76; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 512, p. 109.

³⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cassington c 8, item c.

³⁶ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. d 512, p. 149; d 513, p. 230e.

³⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405-7.

³⁸ *Cartae Antiquae* (Pipe R. Soc. N.S. xxxiii), pp. 154-5.

³⁹ *Cur. Reg. R.* vi, p. 340; ix, pp. 22, 363, 448; *Bk. of Fees*, ii. 822, 835.

⁴⁰ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 854; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* vi, p. 141.

⁴¹ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 43, 91.

⁴² *Ibid.* pp. 91-2; *Cur. Reg. R.* vi, p. 340.

⁴³ *Oxon. Fines*, 237; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* i, p. 96.

Cauntelo the mesne lordship seems to have passed to his son George and then to George's nephew and coheir John of Hastings,⁴⁴ but no further record of it has been found.

William de Clinton was succeeded as demesne tenant by his sons Ralph and Jordan (d. 1189) and by Jordan's son William (d. c. 1197).⁴⁵ From the younger William the manor passed to his son, another William de Clinton (d. by 1238) whose heir was Nicia de Clinton, wife of William of Paris.⁴⁶ Nicia seems to have given Cassington to her son, another William of Paris, who held it in 1242–3 and who, before his death in 1255, conveyed it to William Montagu.⁴⁷

About 1269 William Montagu exchanged Cassington with Philip Basset and his wife Ela Longespee for their lives. Philip died in 1271, and in 1279 Ela held Cassington.⁴⁸ On her death in 1297 the manor reverted to William Montagu's son Simon, Lord Montagu,⁴⁹ from whom it passed to his son William (d. 1319); William's relict Elizabeth evidently retained the manor in dower until her death in 1354, when it reverted to William's grandson William (d. 1397), earl of Salisbury.⁵⁰ The last William was succeeded by his nephew John Montagu, earl of Salisbury, on whose execution in 1400 Cassington escheated to the Crown and was granted to John Cornwall for life.⁵¹ In 1409 it was restored to John Montagu's son Thomas, earl of Salisbury (d. 1428).⁵² Thomas's heir was his daughter Alice, wife of Richard Neville, who had at least an interest in Cassington in 1446, but in 1448 the manor was held by Thomas's widow Alice Chaucer and her third husband William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and in 1450 Alice Chaucer made a settlement of it.⁵³ It presumably passed to her son John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, for her grandson Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, held Cassington at his forfeiture in 1504.⁵⁴ The manor then passed, with the dukedom and earldom of Suffolk, to Charles Brandon⁵⁵ who sold it back to the Crown.

In 1557 the manor was sold to Edward Mylner and Nicholas Pynde who presumably sold it to Richard Yate from whom it passed in 1561 to Richard Gunter and in 1563 to John Warner.⁵⁶ Warner died in 1565 and was succeeded by his nephew Thomas Norwood who in 1574 sold the manor, then called Moat farm, to his tenant Vincent Coventry.⁵⁷ Coventry died in 1610, having sold part of the property, and in the same year his son and heir John mortgaged the manor to Edmund Reynolds of Oxford who apparently

foreclosed on the mortgage in 1612. On his death in 1630 Reynolds bequeathed his interest in Cassington to his nephew William Reynolds.⁵⁸ In 1633 a dispute over the ownership was settled when John Coventry granted the manor to William Reynolds for the residue of a term of 1,000 years created in 1610.⁵⁹ There is no further reference to the Coventry interest in the manor, and Reynolds presumably acquired the freehold, if Edmund Reynolds had not already done so in 1610. William Reynolds was succeeded before 1665 by his son Christopher whose son and heir Edmund sold most of the estate, no longer described as a manor, to John Greenway in 1700. Greenway, a member of a long established Cassington family, died in 1742 and was succeeded by his son John who died without issue in 1775 and was succeeded by his nephews Randolph (d. 1785) and Henry Greenway. Henry sold the estate in 1799 to George Spencer, duke of Marlborough.⁶⁰ The dukes of Marlborough, who had built up a large estate in Cassington, were described as lords of the manor throughout the 19th century and were the largest landowners in the parish in 1982.

William Montagu obtained licence to crenellate his manor of Cassington in 1317.⁶¹ The house, which stood within a moat south-east of the church, presumably decayed in the later 15th century when the lords of the manor no longer used it as an occasional residence. The site was in 1982 marked by a mound about 20 yards east of the surviving farmhouse, Reynolds Farm, a coursed rubble building of two storeys with attics. The main range, which runs north-south, has a three-room plan with a small projection on the west; it was probably built in the early 17th century. The house was extended to the north-west in the 18th century and to the north-east in the early 20th century, at about which time the roof of the old house was renewed. The cellars probably once extended further south⁶² and there may have been a room above them. The pigeon house west of the house may be of the 17th century. The earthworks of three fishponds survive in a field south of the house. The house was retained by Edmund Reynolds when he sold the rest of his Cassington estate in 1700.⁶³

Wadard's second 2½ hide manor of CASSINGTON was held in 1235 of the honor of St. Valery.⁶⁴ Richard, king of the Romans, confirmed a grant of land in Cassington in 1270, and the overlordship was recorded again in

⁴⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1374–7, 271; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* i, p. 85; ii, pp. 16–21.

⁴⁵ *Pipe R.* 1197 (P.R.S. viii), 40; for the Clinton family, see *F.C.H. Oxon.* xi, 123.

⁴⁶ *Oxon. Fines*, 67; *Cur. Reg. R.* xvi, p. 82.

⁴⁷ *Bk. of Fees*, ii, 822; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* i, p. 96.

⁴⁸ *Oxon. Fines*, 244; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* i, p. 272; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 854.

⁴⁹ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1257–1300, 346; *Cal. Pat.* 1281–92, 479; *Complete Peerage*, ix, 77–82; xii, 365.

⁵⁰ *Complete Peerage*, xi, 385–98; *Feud. Aids*, iv, 163, 178; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* vi, p. 141; x, p. 147. A sale to Simon Burley in 1388 did not take effect: *Cal. Inq. Misc.* v, p. 132.

⁵¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1399–1401, 322, 336; 1401–5, 94.

⁵² *Cal. Close*, 1405–9, 444.

⁵³ P.R.O., CP 25(1)/191/28, no. 24; *Cal. Close*, 1447–54, 38–9, 211–12.

⁵⁴ *Complete Peerage*, xii (1), 443–53; *Cal. Pat.* 1494–1509, 260, 265; *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, iii, p. 425.

⁵⁵ *Complete Peerage*, xii (1), 454.

⁵⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1557–8, 154; 1560–3, 20, 545.

⁵⁷ P.R.O., C 142/141, no. 46; *Cal. Pat.* 1572–5, p. 237.

⁵⁸ P.R.O., C 142/331, no. 104; C 142/548, no. 47.

⁵⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 33.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1317–21, 29.

⁶¹ Inf. from Prof. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill.

⁶² Par. reg., burial reg. 1742

⁶³ *Bk. of Fees*, ii, 822.

1279, 1300, and 1325.⁶⁵ In 1414 and 1490 the manor was said to be held of the honor of Wallingford.⁶⁶

The mesne lordship of the manor, later 1 knight's fee, passed to Walkelin Wadard, apparently Wadard's son, and to Walkelin's daughter Helewise. It then passed to Helewise's son by her first marriage, Walkelin Hareng, and his coheirs, Stephen of Fritwell and John Brown, of whom the manor was held in 1247.⁶⁷ In 1279 it was held of Stephen's son Richard of Fritwell and William Brown,⁶⁸ but there is no later record of the mesne lordship.

In the late 12th century the demesne tenants of half the fee were Helewise's daughter by her second marriage, Avice Avenel, and her husband Richard de Vernon (d. 1195), who gave the manor to William de Brai in marriage with their daughter Isabel.⁶⁹ In 1247 the manor was held by Robert and Cecily Bagot, but shortly afterwards their son William sold it to Peter Ashridge who gave it to Godstow abbey.⁷⁰ Richard de Vernon, grandson of Richard and Avice, confirmed the grant to Godstow c. 1255, but in 1279 the abbess held directly of Richard of Fritwell and William Brown.⁷¹ Thereafter the descent followed that of Godstow's other Cassington manor⁷² into which it was absorbed.

The other half of the St. Valery fee may have been held in the late 12th century by Amisius of Woodstock, whose son John sold land in Cassington to Philip Pady of Oxford before 1252.⁷³ Philip was succeeded by John Pady whose son Edmund held the $\frac{1}{2}$ knight's fee in 1279.⁷⁴ Henry Pady, presumably Edmund's heir, sold the estate c. 1284 to Michael Meldon who held $\frac{1}{2}$ fee of the earl of Cornwall in 1300.⁷⁵ In 1324 Michael settled his Cassington property on his son William, who held it in 1350.⁷⁶ William died c. 1362 and was succeeded by Walter of Coxwell who in 1365 conveyed Cassington to Thomas Cheyne.⁷⁷ The manor then seems to have descended to Thomas's son Henry (d. 1397), to Henry's nephew Roger Cheyne (d. 1414), and to Roger's son John, who in 1444 sold it to John Elmes.⁷⁸ From John Elmes the manor passed to his son John (d. 1491), and then, with the manor of Papley in Warmington (Northants.)⁷⁹ to the younger John's son William (d. 1504), to William's son John (d. 1541), to John's son Edmund (d. 1602), to Edmund's son Thomas (d. 1632),

to Thomas's son William (d. 1641), and to William's son Arthur, who in 1661 conveyed it to Henry Allnutt.⁸⁰ In 1692 Henry Allnutt conveyed the manor to his youngest son, another Henry, who sold it in 1711 to John Churchill, duke of Marlborough.⁸¹

The 6 hides in CASSINGTON held by Ilbert de Lacy in 1086 were later held of the honor of Pontefract.⁸² In 1235–6 the manor was held of Ilbert's descendant John de Lacy earl of Lincoln, and in 1242 of John's son Edmund, earl of Lincoln.⁸³ On the death of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, in 1311, the knight's fee in Cassington passed to his daughter Alice and her husband Thomas, earl of Lancaster.⁸⁴ Thereafter the overlordship of the fee descended with the earldom, and later dukedom, of Lancaster. It was last recorded in 1361 when Cassington was among the lands assigned to Blanche, daughter and coheir of Henry, duke of Lancaster, and her husband John of Gaunt.⁸⁵

William de Clinton held 1 knight's fee of the honor of Pontefract, along with his estate of the Arsic honor, in 1235–6, but three quarters of it had been alienated by 1242–3 when William of Paris held only $\frac{1}{4}$ fee.⁸⁶ That $\frac{1}{4}$ fee later descended with William's other Cassington manor, into which it was absorbed, to the Montagus and their successors. A mesne tenancy may have been created in the mid 13th century, for in 1255 William of Paris was said to have held of William Mauduit,⁸⁷ but there is no other record of such a mesne tenancy.

The remaining three quarters of the Pontefract fee was held in 1242–3 by William son of Peter⁸⁸ whose family can be traced in Cassington from the later 12th century and may have held a manor under the Clintons. Richard of Cassington was recorded in 1170 and 1172;⁸⁹ his son William married Gillian Rampan, a descendant and perhaps heir of William Rampan who was associated with Geoffrey de Clinton in the mid 12th century.⁹⁰ By 1204 William son of Richard had been succeeded by his son Peter,⁹¹ presumably the father of the William who held in 1242–3. In 1279 William son of Peter held the land, presumably $\frac{3}{4}$ fee, of the honor of Pontefract.⁹² William died before 1295 and was succeeded by his son William who may have been the William Rampan who held the $\frac{3}{4}$ fee in 1311.⁹³ Soon afterwards the manor, reduced to $\frac{1}{4}$

⁶⁵ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 264–5; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 854; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, p. 479; *Cal. Pat.* 1324–7, 195–6.

⁶⁶ P.R.O., C 138/7, no. 19; *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, i, p. 243.

⁶⁷ P.R.O., JUST 1/273, m. 31; *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 413.

⁶⁸ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 854.

⁶⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com.* 24, *Rutland*, iv, pp. 24–5; for the Vernons see *V.C.H. Bucks.* iv. 89, 141.

⁷⁰ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 280–2; P.R.O., JUST 1/373, m. 31.

⁷¹ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, p. 280; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 854.

⁷² Below.

⁷³ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 110, 267; *Oxon. Fines*, 159.

⁷⁴ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, p. 264; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 797, 854.

⁷⁵ *Oxon. Fines*, 215; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, p. 479; *Earldom of Cornwall Accts.* 1296–7, i (Camd. 3rd ser. lxvi), 143.

⁷⁶ P.R.O., C 143/167, no. 10.

⁷⁷ *Black Prince's Reg.* iv. 452, 454; P.R.O., CP

25(1)/190/22, no. 4.

⁷⁸ P.R.O., SC 2/197/16; *ibid.* C 138/7, no. 6; *ibid.* CP

25(1)/191/28, no. 17; for the Cheyne fam. see *V.C.H. Bucks.* iii. 341.

⁷⁹ *V.C.H. Northants.* iii. 117–18.

⁸⁰ P.R.O., C 142/66, no. 58; C 142/408, no. 120; C 142/492, no. 87.

⁸¹ O.R.O., Allnutt I/10; *Blenheim Mun.*, box 30.

⁸² *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 380, 407.

⁸³ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 449; ii. 822; Sanders, *Eng. Baronies*, 138.

⁸⁴ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* vi, p. 141.

⁸⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1360–4, 204.

⁸⁶ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 449; ii. 838.

⁸⁷ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* i, p. 96.

⁸⁸ *Bk. of Fees*, ii. 838.

⁸⁹ *Pipe R.* 1170 (P.R.S. xv), 68; 1172 (P.R.S. xviii), 19.

⁹⁰ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 251–3; *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 92;

Oseney Cart. i, p. 425; iv, pp. 60–1.

⁹¹ *Pipe R.* 1204 (P.R.S. n.s. xviii), 118–19.

⁹² *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 854–5.

⁹³ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 302–4; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* v, p. 156.

fee by grants to Godstow abbey, seems to have been granted to Michael Meldon, holder of part of the St. Valery manor, of whom both the abbess of Godstow and William son of Peter held before 1316.⁹⁴ Michael Meldon and his successors retained part of the Pontefract fee: in 1361 Michael's son William held $\frac{1}{4}$ fee and in 1428 Thomas Cheyne held $\frac{1}{2}$ fee which had been William Meldon's.⁹⁵

During the 13th century Godstow abbey built up an estate which amounted to $\frac{1}{2}$ fee of the Pontefract manor and $\frac{1}{2}$ fee of the St. Valery manor.⁹⁶ The abbey retained the estate, later described as a manor, until the Dissolution⁹⁷ when it passed to the Crown. In 1544 it was sold or mortgaged to 19 men, apparently London merchants, among them Richard Allen, perhaps the man of that name who in 1559 conveyed the Godstow manor of CASSINGTON to his sons Thomas and Richard.⁹⁸ They sold it in 1562 to Richard Gunter, owner of the former Montagu manor. In 1563 Gunter conveyed both manors to John Warner from whom they passed to Thomas Norwood.⁹⁹ Norwood sold the Godstow manor in 1573 to a Cassington yeoman, Richard Greenway, who divided it among his four sons, John, Robert, Richard, and Thomas.¹ One quarter of the manor descended in the Greenway family to Francis Greenway (d. 1717), who was succeeded by his cousin John Greenway, owner of the former Montagu manor,² with which that quarter of the Godstow manor descended thereafter. Another quarter remained in the Greenway family until 1691, then passed through various hands until it was bought in 1781 by Richard Tawney of Oxford. The executors of Tawney's great great nephew, another Richard Tawney, sold it in 1867 to Christ Church, Oxford.³ The remaining two quarters were split up in the 17th century; most of the land seems to have been bought by the dukes of Marlborough in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The Godstow manor house was apparently at the southern edge of the village on the site now occupied by Thames Mead Farm. It may have been the house leased to William Meldon in 1350 which then comprised a hall with two cellars, a kitchen, a dovecot, two granges, a chamber with a loft above for the mower, and a stable.⁴ The house, which then contained six bays of building,⁵ was divided in 1604 between Robert and Richard Greenway. The surviving house has a datestone of 1607 on one wing. The main building, which is partly timber-framed and partly stone, is a long range which was

apparently once a single house but is now divided into two. The southern part contains a panelled room of c. 1700.

In 1086 Roger, presumably Roger d'Ivri, held Worton of the fee of William FitzOsbern, and Robert, presumably Robert d'Oilly, held of him.⁶ The township seems in fact to have been divided between Roger d'Ivri and Robert d'Oilly, who both held in chief after the forfeiture of William FitzOsbern's son Roger in 1075. Before c. 1127 Robert d'Oilly or his successor gave land in WORTON, later $\frac{1}{2}$ knight's fee, to the church of St. George in the Castle, Oxford. It passed, with that church's other endowments, to Oseney abbey in 1149.⁷ At the Dissolution it passed to the first Oxford cathedral and then, in 1546, to Christ Church which held it, with other Cassington property, until it was sold in two parts in 1952 and 1954, by which time manorial rights had long since lapsed.⁸

The other $\frac{1}{2}$ fee in WORTON descended with the rest of Roger d'Ivri's lands to the honor of St. Valery, and was held in the early 13th century by Robert, count of Dreux, and from 1237 by Richard, king of the Romans, and his son, Edmund earl of Cornwall. The overlordship was last recorded in 1324.⁹

In 1237 the tenants of the manor were Philip Miller, perhaps the Oxford burgess of that name, and Philip Ridi, who held of the gift of William Fremcurt.¹⁰ By 1279 it had passed to John de Eu, a prominent Oxford burgess, from whom it seems to have passed to Henry Pady, holder of half the St. Valery fee in Cassington, and so, with Henry's Cassington manor, to Michael Meldon who held $\frac{1}{2}$ fee in Worton in 1300.¹¹ In 1324 Michael Meldon settled his Worton land on his son Michael.¹² In 1346, however, the manor was held by another John de Eu.¹³ The next known lord was Thomas Stratford who conveyed it before 1428 to John Barton. It then passed, under the terms of John Barton's will, to his son John, and then c. 1450, to William Fowler of Buckingham.¹⁴ By 1457 it had been acquired by the younger John Elmes¹⁵ and thereafter it descended with the Elmes manor of Cassington.

The rectory estate, comprising a house, c. 3 a. of arable and 1 yard of meadow, and most of the great tithes,¹⁶ was held by Eynsham abbey. Two thirds of the tithe of the Arsic manor of Cassington, however, was granted to Cogges priory by Mannasser Arsic c. 1103, and Oseney abbey received the tithes of 1 hide of demesne in Worton until c. 1172. Agreements were later reached with both houses whereby Eynsham

⁹⁴ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 303-4, 314-15.

⁹⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1360-4, 204; *Feud. Aids*, iv, 196.

⁹⁶ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 240-319.

⁹⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 193.

⁹⁸ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix, p. 77; *Cal. Pat.* 1558-60, 75.

⁹⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1560-3, 395, 402, 545; P.R.O., C 142/141, no. 46.

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1572-5, p. 66; P.R.O., C 142/392, no. 135.

² *Blenheim Mun.*, boxes 33-4.

³ *Ch. Ch. Arch.*, Cassington B, 1-72.

⁴ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, p. 318.

⁵ *Ch. Ch. Arch.*, Cassington B, 4.

⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 426.

⁷ *Oseney Cart.* iv, pp. 7, 27-8, 88.

⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 217; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xxi (2), p. 334; *Ch. Ch. Arch.*, Cassington A 74.

⁹ *Bk. of Fees*, i, 613; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 855; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, p. 479; P.R.O., C 143/163, no. 14.

¹⁰ *Bk. of Fees*, i, 613.

¹¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 855; *Oxon. Fines*, 226; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, p. 479; *Cal. Close* 1307-13, 12; *Earldom of Cornwall Accts.* 1296-7, i (Camd. 3rd ser. lxi), 142.

¹² P.R.O., C 143/163, no. 14.

¹³ *Feud. Aids*, iv, 178.

¹⁴ P.R.O., C 1/18, no. 64.

¹⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, i, p. 243.

¹⁶ *Ch. Ch. Arch.*, MS. Estates 146, ff. 402, 411.

received the tithe in return for payments of 10s. to Cogges and 2s. to Oseney.¹⁷ Both payments had been lost by 1535.¹⁸

After the Dissolution the rectory land and tithes passed to Christ Church, which leased the property to a succession of tenants, many of them non-resident, who included Michael Townsend of Cassington (1544), Sir Thomas Spencer of Yarnton and his widow Jane (1683–1711), and Gilbert Mabbott, his son, and grandson (1739–1834),¹⁹ until 1877 when the college started to farm the estate directly. The great tithes were commuted at inclosure in 1801 for 248 a.²⁰ which was absorbed into the college's other Worton property. When Worton Rectory farm was sold in 1954 it comprised 366 a.²¹

The medieval rectory house was presumably in Cassington village. In 1539 it was a messuage called Bedwyns on which a tithe barn had been built, near the vicarage house, and it continued to be so described in Christ Church leases.²² In 1795 the rectory house was described as a handsome building of rough cast stone with sash windows and a stone slate roof; the outbuildings included a brewhouse, stables, the tithe barn, and a dovecot, but there is no evidence where it was;²³ it may already, like the later Rectory Farm, have been in Worton.

Burleigh wood and the adjoining Burleigh meadow were said to have escheated to Henry II on the felony of William the chamberlain.²⁴ In 1267 Henry III granted the wood, and presumably the meadow, to Godstow abbey, but in 1274 and 1279 both were held by the farmer of Bladon, who claimed that they belonged to that manor.²⁵ Godstow recovered the estate in 1306 and 1310,²⁶ and retained it until the Dissolution when it passed to the Crown. In 1553 Burleigh mead, and presumably also the wood, was granted to George Owen of Godstow.²⁷ In 1609 both wood and meadow were held by Sir William Spencer of Yarnton,²⁸ and they descended with Yarnton manor, being divided at the end of the 17th century between Sir Robert Dashwood, who held two thirds, and Benjamin Swete who held one third.²⁹ Swete's third passed through a number of hands and was sold in 1771 to George Spencer, duke of Marlborough; the duke acquired the remainder of the wood by exchange with Sir Henry Dashwood at inclosure in 1801.³⁰

ECONOMIC HISTORY. Cassington and Worton appear to have had separate sets of fields

throughout their history, but nothing is known of the medieval fields of Worton. By the 13th century Cassington was divided into two fields, part of whose boundary was a green way, possibly the green way leading to 'Burwell' recorded c. 1285. In 1244 one division seems to have been a north field.³¹ The name Old field, recorded in the later 13th century for a furlong near Burleigh wood,³² may preserve the memory of an earlier arrangement, perhaps a separate field for the settlement at Purwell. The arable was extended in the early Middle Ages by assarting, presumably from Burleigh wood, and by ploughing the land along the Thames and Evenlode.³³ The organization of the fields was presumably affected by the consolidation of the Clinton, later Montagu, demesne, which had begun before 1152, when Geoffrey de Clinton granted land in his demesne furlong of Battmoor (Battmoor) north-east of the village. A furlong north of the village was called Inland c. 1285, and William Montagu's demesne land lay in the same area in the late 13th century.³⁴ The 18th-century field names Long Berry and Short All or Hall furlongs, both in the west,³⁵ probably also represent former demesne. Godstow abbey, too, consolidated part of its holding, often buying or exchanging land to create a solid block in the fields; by the late 13th century the abbey held as many as 10 a. 'lying together' in one furlong, and blocks of 5 or 6 a. in others.³⁶

The alluvial land along the Thames and the Evenlode provided plentiful meadow, and there was pasture in the Slade and Battmoor between Cassington and Worton and on the heaths in the north-east of the parish. In 1086 there were 53 a. of meadow in Cassington, fairly evenly divided among the manors, and 48 a. in Worton, and several furlongs of pasture in each township.³⁷ In the 13th century meadow was sold separately from the arable, a process which may account for the fact that only 7 a. of meadow were recorded on the Montagu demesne in 1320 and only 12 a. in 1354, whereas in 1350 Godstow abbey held 13 a. of meadow in Farnhulle (Varnell) and unspecified amounts in West Mead, Rowenhay, and three small islands. Most of the Cassington meadow was lot meadow, and all, or nearly all, of it lay along the Evenlode.³⁸ Worton meadow lay along the Thames.³⁹ Cassington men had the right to common in some of the Eynsham meadows along the Evenlode, and the customs were regulated by an agreement of 1328, after a dispute.⁴⁰

Before 1600, probably in the later Middle

¹⁷ *Oxoniensia*, xlvii. 46, 50; *Oseney Cart.* iv, pp. 112–13.

¹⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 210.

¹⁹ Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington A, *passim*.

²⁰ O.R.O., incl. award.

²¹ Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington A 74.

²² *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 252.

²³ Ch. Ch. Arch., MS. Estates 146, f. 411.

²⁴ V. Steed, 'Burleigh Wood in Bladon and Cassington', *Top. Oxon.* xi [4–5]; *Cal. Close*, 1302–7, 389.

²⁵ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 239–40; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 46, 851.

²⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1302–7, 389; 1307–13, 210.

²⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 193; *Cal. Pat.* 1553, 260–1.

²⁸ P.R.O., LR 2/202, f. 38v.; *ibid.* C 142/315, no. 173.

²⁹ O.R.O., Dash XV/i/48; Blenheim Mun., box 31; *Three Oxon. Pars.* 292.

³⁰ Blenheim Mun., box 31; O.R.O., incl. award.

³¹ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 255, 269, 272, 295–6.

³² *Ibid.* pp. 288, 290, 305, 308; Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington Map 1; *ibid.* viii. b 88.

³³ P.R.O., E 164/20, f. 67: *assartis* is translated 'hedged in' in *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, p. 297; Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington Map 1; *ibid.* viii. b 88.

³⁴ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 91–2; *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 295–6.

³⁵ Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington Map 1; *ibid.* viii. b 88.

³⁶ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 240–319, esp. p. 301.

³⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405–7, 426.

³⁸ P.R.O., C 134/65, no. 3; C 135/127, no. 12; *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 317–18.

³⁹ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 296–7.

⁴⁰ Below, Eynsham, Econ. (agric.).



CASSINGTON: the village centre c. 1930



COGGES PRIORY



COMBE: the village green from the south in 1825



COMBE: the United Methodist Free chapel and cottages at West End c. 1920

Ages, much of the land south of Cassington village was converted to meadow and pasture, and the fields were reorganized for a three course rotation. There is evidence for a six-fold division of the arable in the 17th century, and it seems likely that each of the earlier fields had been divided into three. In the northern part of the township the divisions corresponded to the northern part of the later Purwell field (called Allslad field or West field), the later Burleigh field, and the later Ninelands field (called Slade field). The arrangements in the south are less clear and may have changed from time to time, perhaps as more land in the southern part of the later Mill field was brought into cultivation. One division, probably corresponding to the southern part of Purwell field, was called Allslad field; another, which included the south-east part of Godshill field, was called Feather field.⁴¹ The six fields thus created were cultivated on a three-course rotation, two being left fallow each year, and they were sometimes described as the first, second, and third fields.⁴² It appears that the two Allslad fields were later united to form the single, large Purwell field, creating the five open fields recorded in 1797, but the divisions in the south continued to be flexible, and a different arrangement, including a Feather Bush field, was recorded in 1794. Worton was in 1797 divided into three open fields, Brimsgrove field, Slade field, and Heath field, and an area called West Croft which was cropped every year.⁴³

In 1086 each of Wadard's two Cassington manors, with land for 3 ploughteams, was worked by 3 teams, 2 in demesne and 1 on the tenants' land held by 4 villeins and 1 bordar.⁴⁴ On Ilbert de Lacy's manor, with land for 6 ploughteams, there were 2 teams in demesne and 4 worked by the 14 villeins and 6 bordars. In Worton there was land for 5 ploughteams, and there were 2 teams in demesne and 3 on the tenants' land held by 8 villeins and 5 bordars. All the manors had risen in value since 1066, Wadard's from £3 to £5 each, Ilbert's from £4 to £6, and Worton from £4 to £6.⁴⁵

Before 1279 much of the demesne in Cassington and almost all that in Worton had been granted to tenants, and several freeholds had been created in Cassington. On the Montagu manor in Cassington, composed of one of Wadard's manors and a quarter of Ilbert de Lacy's, Ela countess of Warwick held only 1 ploughland in demesne; 8 *servi* held 1 yardland each, and 7 free tenants held a total of 7 yardlands, their individual holdings ranging from $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland to 2 yardlands; in addition 8 cottars, 7 of them in Somerford, held 1 cotland each. Godstow abbey, whose manor included half of Wadard's other manor and half of Ilbert de Lacy's, had kept 9 yardlands in demesne; one serf held $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, presumably 2 yardlands, and 5 men who

seem to have been free tenants held a total of $5\frac{1}{2}$ yardlands. No demesne land was recorded on Edmund Pady's manor, equivalent to half of Wadard's second manor, and the only tenants were 6 villein yardlanders and 7 cottars. The remaining quarter of Ilbert de Lacy's Domesday manor, which was presumably held by William son of Peter, seems to have comprised the holdings of 5 free tenants, amounting to $2\frac{1}{2}$ yardlands and *c.* 17 a., but the description may be incomplete. In Worton 9 of the abbot of Oseney's 10 yardlands and all of John de Eu's 10 yardlands were held by villein yardlanders; the tenure of the abbot's tenth yardland was not recorded.⁴⁶

In 1320 there were 96 a. of arable in demesne on the Montagu manor in Cassington, probably equivalent to the ploughland recorded in 1279. There were 15 customary or bond tenants, presumably including cottars, who paid money rents slightly higher than those recorded in 1279; they all performed mowing, haymaking, and hoeing services, and 7 of them also ploughed, reaped, gathered stubble, and carted hay, corn, and wood. An unspecified number of free tenants paid *c.* £1 12 s., 2 lb. of pepper, and 100 pickerell.⁴⁷ In 1354 there were 100 a. of arable, apparently in demesne; no services were recorded, but rents were worth 20s. and perquisites of court 12d.⁴⁸

Michael Meldon's Cassington manor in 1324 comprised 8 messuages, 2 tofts, 1 yardland and 7 a. of arable, all freehold, and rents worth 37s., 1 lb. of pepper, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of cummin, equivalent to the quarter of Ilbert de Lacy's Domesday manor which William son of Peter had held in 1279, and 17 messuages, 1 toft, 1 ploughland, 6 yardlands, 24 a. of arable, 20 a. of meadow, and 4 a. of pasture, equivalent to the half of one of Wadard's manors which Philip Pady had held in 1279; the ploughland, which was not recorded in 1279, may have been demesne, while the 6 yardlands were presumably still held in villeinage.⁴⁹ Bondmen on the Godstow manor still owed works, including 9 days' mowing a year, in 1350⁵⁰ but there is no later record of such services.

By 1312 there was freehold land in Worton, presumably on the Meldon manor, which had been held by John de Eu in 1279, and by 1324 almost half the manor seems to have been alienated, for Michael Meldon's holding comprised only 6 messuages, 5 yardlands, 38 a. of arable, and 10 a. of pasture.⁵¹

From the 16th century or earlier the yardland was considered to be 20 a., actual yardlands varying from 20 a. to 23 a.⁵² Earlier medieval yardlands may have been slightly larger; the 96-a. or 100-a. demesne ploughland on the Montagu manor suggests a yardland of *c.* 25 a.⁵³ A decrease in the size of the yardland, at least in

⁴¹ Blenheim Mun., boxes 32, 34, 37.

⁴² Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington B 4; P.R.O., WARD 5/33.

⁴³ Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington Map 1; *ibid.* MS. Estates 146, f. 411.

⁴⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405-6. The later descent of Wadard's property (above, Manors) proves that the two entries in Domesday Book do refer to two separate estates.

⁴⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 407, 426.

⁴⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 854-5.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., C 134/65, no. 3.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* C 135/127, no. 12. ⁴⁹ *Ibid.* C 143/167, no. 10.

⁵⁰ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 317-18.

⁵¹ P.R.O., C 146/745; C 143/163, no. 14.

⁵² Blenheim Mun., boxes 32, 34, 37; O.R.O., MS. Archd. Oxon. b 40, f. 82; Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 2838.

⁵³ P.R.O., C 134/65, no. 3; C 135/127, no. 12.

Cassington township, might explain the increase in the number of yardlands at a time when the amount of arable land decreased. In 1279 only c. 50 yardlands were recorded in Cassington, a total which accords with the number of Domesday ploughteams, but in the later 18th century there were said to be 60 yardlands in the township. In Worton there were 20 yardlands from 1279 onwards.⁵⁴

The medieval field names peselond (peas land), banlond (bean land), bereland (barley land), and flexey (flax island or inclosure) and linton (flax inclosure) indicate some of the crops grown, and lambcupe (lamb shelter) suggests that sheep were also kept. An estate leased in 1350 included an ox house, a cow house, and a sheep house.⁵⁵

William Montagu, his widow Elizabeth, and Michael Meldon had the highest assessments for the earlier 14th-century subsidies, three or four times the average assessment for the parish. In 1306 and 1327 Michael Meldon's assessment was notably lower than William or Elizabeth Montagu's, and in 1327 it was only 6d. more than the highest of the tenants' assessments. In 1306 the sums assessed in Worton were similar to those in Cassington, but in 1316 and 1327 average assessments in Worton were considerably higher than those in Cassington, 4s. 3d. compared to 2s. 2d., and 3s. 6d. compared to 2s. 4d.⁵⁶ For the subsidy of 1334 Worton, with a smaller population, was assessed at £3 6s. compared with Cassington's £4 13s. 2d.⁵⁷

John Montagu, earl of Salisbury, had a house in Cassington in 1400 which he presumably occupied occasionally, but his successors do not seem to have maintained it.⁵⁸ As none of the Meldons' successors seems to have lived in Cassington, there was no resident lord of the manor until the Godstow and Montagu manors were sold to local yeomen in the later 16th century. In 1524–5 the wealthiest man in the parish was Robert Marsh, farmer of the rectory, who was assessed for subsidy at 40s. on goods, almost half the total assessment for the township. The next highest assessment, John Townsend's, was only 7s. At the other end of the social scale, 7 or 8 men paid at the landless labourer's rate. In Worton the highest assessment was only 4s., and there were 4 landless labourers.⁵⁹ In 1535 John Townsend's son Michael was one of the two richest men in the parish. Michael bought a lease of the rectory from Oxford cathedral in 1544; he died in 1554 and was succeeded by his son Robert, who held 5 yardlands and c. 30 a. of land and had goods worth c. £182 at his death in 1598.⁶⁰ Robert's son and grandson,

both called Francis Townsend, held land in the parish in the 1620s and 1630s.⁶¹

The later 16th century was marked by the break-up of the former Godstow and Montagu manors. In 1552 the only substantial freehold on the former Montagu manor was Michael Townsend's, amounting to 2½ yardlands and c. 30 a. of arable; there were then 9½ copyhold yardlands.⁶² In 1560 Richard Yate sold a yardland which was thenceforth independent of the manor, and in 1574 Vincent Coventry sold 3½ yardlands to Richard Cherry, whose descendants were prominent in Cassington throughout the 17th century. The residue of the manor, known as Moat, later Reynolds, farm, was assessed at only 6 yardlands in 1699.⁶³ The former Godstow manor of 12 yardlands, all held in demesne, was divided into four parts of 3 yardlands each in 1591 and 1604, and two of those 3-yardland estates were later split up.⁶⁴ The Meldon manor in Cassington and the manors in Worton, on the other hand, remained intact. The Christ Church manor of Worton comprised 8 copyhold yardlands and 2 leasehold yardlands throughout the 17th century and the early 18th; the manors sold by Henry Allnutt to the duke of Marlborough in 1711 comprised at least 11 copyhold yardlands and a demesne farm in Cassington and at least 8½ copyhold yardlands in Worton.⁶⁵

The chief crops recorded in the late 16th century and the 17th were wheat, barley, peas, and beans; oats and hemp were also grown, and garden crops included carrots, parsnips, turnips, cabbages, and onions.⁶⁶ Although the parish was mainly arable,⁶⁷ most farmers kept some cattle, sheep, and pigs. The few large flocks and herds recorded usually formed only a small proportion of a farmer's wealth, but Robert Townsend (d. 1598) owned 18 cattle and 2 calves worth £35 and 131 sheep worth £26 compared with corn worth £40. Similarly Stephen Seale (d. 1658) owned cattle worth £21, 129 sheep and lambs worth £24, and oats, peas, and wheat worth only £20. Richard Greenway (d. 1610) had 97 sheep and lambs worth £14 and 8 cows worth £18 compared with corn worth only £19, but he died in his father's lifetime, and may not be typical. Thomas Seale (d. 1609), a member of a wealthy yeoman family, owned 12 cows, a bull, and 7 bullocks, but they were worth only £39 compared with £175 for his malt, corn, and hay.⁶⁸ Three farmers sued for tithe in 1633 were alleged to have had flocks of 100 or more sheep and herds of 8 or 10 cows.⁶⁹

In Cassington township in the mid 16th century the stint in the fields for a yardland was 8 cows and an unknown number of sheep; in the

⁵⁴ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 854–5; Ch. Ch. Arch., MS. Estates 146, ff. 402, 411.

⁵⁵ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 306, 317–18.

⁵⁶ P.R.O., E 179/161/8, 9, 10.

⁵⁷ R. E. Glasscock, *Subsidy 1334*, 242.

⁵⁸ *Cal. Inq. Misc.* vii, pp. 26–7; above, Manors.

⁵⁹ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 252; P.R.O., E 179/161/175, 198.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., C 142/258, no. 122; *ibid.* E 179/162/235; B.L. MS. Hargrave 302, f. 27; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 180, f. 226; 300/3/28.

⁶¹ P.R.O., C 3/419, no. 152; B.L. MS. Hargrave 302, f. 55; Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 2838, 3643.

⁶² P.R.O., LR 2/196, ff. 163–6.

⁶³ *Ibid.* C 142/338, no. 34; Blenheim Mun., boxes 32, 33.

⁶⁴ P.R.O., C 142/392, no. 135; Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington B 4; C 1–4.

⁶⁵ Blenheim Mun., box 30; Ch. Ch. Arch., bk. of evidences, i, p. 270.

⁶⁶ P.R.O., WARD 5/33; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 25/3/28; 61/2/28; 25/3/28; 144/3/9; 120/1/38; MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 29, f. 86.

⁶⁷ *Wood's City of Oxf.* i (O.H.S. xv), 53.

⁶⁸ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 25/3/28; 58/4/37; 61/2/28; 300/3/28; P.R.O., C 142/392, no. 135.

⁶⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 29, ff. 83–88v.

17th and 18th centuries it was 3 cows, 1 horse, and 20 sheep.⁷⁰ There were also Lammas commons, in 1794 1 horse or 2 cows for each yardland.⁷¹ Other commons were sold separately from yardlands and seem to have been rights to pasture in the meadows along the Evenlode. At the end of the 18th century West mead and the pasture south of the village were open to cows and horses between 12 August and old Lady Day; Mill Ditch meadow, Grove meadow, and Varnells between Lammas and new Lady Day; Wersey mead, Great Burham, and Little Burham were open to sheep between Lammas and new Lady Day. Cows were allowed on the cow common between 3 May and 24 February and horses on the horse common between 1 June and Lady Day. Sheep were allowed on most of the meadow and pasture from 22 November; Slade heath was commonable to sheep all year round and to horses and cows at open times.⁷² The lot meadow was allotted by drawing straws of different lengths.⁷³

The stint in Worton seems to have been the same as in Cassington. There was additional grazing in Battmoor lot mead and in Worton meadow after the hay harvest, in the cow common between 3 May and new Lady Day, and in the Slade and Worton Heath all the year round.⁷⁴ There was a shepherd in the township in the late 16th century.⁷⁵

Both Cassington and Worton were cropped on a three-course rotation until 1794 when they changed to a four-course rotation; Briar furlong (10 a.) in Cassington and West Croft (20 a.) in Worton were cropped every year. The crops were barley, beans, wheat, and fallow, not necessarily in that order. The arable, estimated at 1,194 a. in 1797 but at only 534 a. in 1801, was good corn land, but the meadows along the Thames were low-lying and liable to damage from standing water.⁷⁶

Most of the early inclosure in Cassington and Worton was around the villages, but in the later 13th century Godstow abbey acquired a close of arable, meadow, and pasture between Somerford and Worton meadow.⁷⁷ The site of Somerford remained inclosed, and by the late 18th century there were three small closes (c. 3 a. each) in Ninelands field, and three larger ones (c. 10 a., c. 7 a. and c. 18 a.) in Acreys, east of Cassington village; Great Limpton meadow, south of the village, was also inclosed. Otherwise the parish remained in open fields, estates being scattered in strips of an acre or less.⁷⁸ Between 1801 and 1804 a total of c. 1,985 a., including some old inclosures, was inclosed by Act of parliament and divided among 21 landholders. The largest allotment, c. 1,169 a., was made to

the duke of Marlborough for his freehold lands; the duke also received c. 161 a. for lands and common rights held by lease from Christ Church. Christ Church as rector received c. 248 a. for tithe, and the college and its five copyhold tenants in Worton received c. 131 a. The vicar was allotted c. 128 a., of which c. 68 a. was for tithe and 60 a. for glebe. Three freeholders, including the miller John Patrick, each received between 30 a. and 40 a., and nine others received allotments ranging from 9 a. down to less than 1 a. A series of exchanges involving old as well as new inclosures resulted in the creation of several small, compact holdings adjoining houses in Worton and Cassington while almost the whole of the north and west parts of the parish passed to the duke of Marlborough and most of the east and south-east to Christ Church.⁷⁹

Inclosure raised the value of land; the Christ Church estate in Worton, worth c. £177 before inclosure, was worth c. £283 shortly after it. In 1807 the clay land throughout the parish was valued at 10s.–12s. an acre, the warmer gravel at 30s.–35s., and the meadow at 30s.–45s. Between 1836 and 1863 the tenant of the Christ Church rectory estate drained and manured much of the land, but in 1858 another college estate in Worton was in need of draining and, like much of the land in the neighbourhood, 'rather foul'.⁸⁰ The parish was cultivated in several farms, mainly by tenants of the duke of Marlborough and Christ Church, although some of the freehold farms created at inclosure survived for much of the 19th century. In 1851 there were 14 farms, 4 of them of 200 a. or more, 5 between 100 a. and 199 a., and 5 under 100 a., the smallest being only 15 a.⁸¹ By 1871 their number had been reduced to 9: Manor farm of 525 a., the rectory farm (360 a.), Purwell farm (272 a.), Jericho farm (230 a.), the glebe farm (130 a.), and 4 others ranging from 30 a. to 12 a.⁸²

Farming remained mixed with pasture predominating. In 1914 as much as 81 per cent of the agricultural land in the parish was permanent grass, used mainly for stock raising, the number of sheep having declined markedly since 1901. Wheat (24 per cent), barley (19 per cent), and oats (16 per cent) were the chief crops on the arable; the swedes, turnips, and mangolds were presumably grown as fodder.⁸³ Between 1920 and 1941 Christ Church, which had taken its Worton estate in hand, kept a herd of dairy short horns, 95 cows and heifers and 35 bulls in 1941, as well as some sheep. During the Second World War the arable was slightly increased, and by the late 1940s there were 636 a. of arable to 1,111 a. of pasture, the arable presumably in

⁷⁰ P.R.O., LR 2/189, f. 166; O.R.O., Dash. III/xiv/12–13; Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington C 1; Blenheim Mun., boxes 34, 37.

⁷¹ Blenheim Mun., box 37.

⁷² Ch. Ch. Arch., MS. Estates 146, f. 440.

⁷³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 512, p. 101.

⁷⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 30; Ch. Ch. Arch., MS. Estates 146, f. 440.

⁷⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 50/2/38.

⁷⁶ Ch. Ch. Arch., vii. b 88; *ibid.* MS. Estates 146, f. 411; P.R.O., HO 67/18.

⁷⁷ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 296–7.

⁷⁸ Blenheim Mun., E/P/24; *ibid.* map of Hen. Greenway's estate, 1797.

⁷⁹ O.R.O., incl. award.

⁸⁰ Ch. Ch. Arch., MSS. Estates 64, ff. 334, 347; 84, ff. 13; Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 92.

⁸¹ P.R.O., HO 107/1730.

⁸² *Ibid.* RG 11/1515; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1877); Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 512, f. 151.

⁸³ Orr, *Oxon. Agric.* statistical plates; *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202–I], p. 341, H.C. (1868–9), xiii.

the centre of the parish around Cassington village and between it and Purwell, as it had been in 1936. Cattle were kept on all the farms, but only two farms still kept sheep.⁸⁴

There was some clothworking in the parish in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. The mill was occupied by fullers in 1581 and 1588; the miller who died 1639 was also a clothworker, and the name Rack furlong, recorded in 1699 and 1797 for the furlong next to the mill, presumably took its name from the racks for drying fulled cloth.⁸⁵ A North Leigh man who died in 1676 had a broadloom at Cassington.⁸⁶ A fuller and clothworker who died in 1682 had had his own workshop; weavers were recorded in 1704, 1711, and 1728 and a narrow weaver in 1726.⁸⁷ Other men followed the usual village occupations; carpenters died in 1641 and 1723, a blacksmith in 1721, and tailors in 1621 and 1639. A shoemaker died in 1727, and a Cassington cordwainer sold shoes in Oxford in 1750.⁸⁸

The building of the canal and wharf between 1800 and 1802 brought river and canal trade to Cassington.⁸⁹ Barges with coal and salt from Warwickshire reached the wharf from the Oxford canal via the Duke's Cut at Wolvercote, and in the 1830s others came from the south-west via the Thames and Severn canal. Several boatmen lived in the parish between 1813 and 1840,⁹⁰ and the wharfinger in 1825 had his own barge, but the wharf itself was usually let to coal merchants. In 1834 the wharf was let to the Oxford Canal Co. for 10 years, but the arrangement was not sufficiently profitable for the company to renew the lease. A few barges used the canal as late as 1865, but no coal merchant was recorded after 1862, and the canal had probably gone out of use by 1870.⁹¹ In the later 19th century there were usually 6 or 7 railway labourers or plate-layers in the parish. Otherwise the parish remained predominantly agricultural, most men being employed as labourers, with a few carpenters, masons, and other service trades.⁹²

Exploitation of the gravel along the Thames began in the 1930s and continued for c. 30 years,⁹³ but had ceased by 1982. The presence of the main A 40 road, built through the parish in 1931 and 1932, has attracted some light industry to the south-west corner of the parish, notably at the junction with the Eynsham road; firms established there include the Evenlode Truck

Centre (1951) and Smith's Ready Mix Concrete Ltd. In Cassington village is the headquarters of the building firm Cassington Builders and of Trinity Plant Hire.

In 1086 there were two mills on Wadard's manors. One, probably in Somerford, descended with one of the manors to the Clintons and the Montagus. It was repaired in 1198, and valued at 20s. in 1320 and at 13s. 4d. in 1354,⁹⁴ but it was not recorded thereafter.

The other mill descended with Wadard's other manor to Richard de Vernon, to William de Brai, and to William Bagot and so, c. 1245, to Peter Ashridge, but was excluded from Peter's sale to Godstow abbey,⁹⁵ having already been sold to the overlord, Edmund, earl of Cornwall. In the later 13th century the mill was maintained and the profits taken by the steward of the St. Valery manor in Yarnton,⁹⁶ but before 1291 Edmund gave the mill, a double one, to Rewley abbey.⁹⁷ At the Dissolution the mills passed to the Crown, which granted a 21-year lease of them in 1555.⁹⁸ Before 1611 the mills were acquired by Thomas Yate who sold them in that year to William Wise. In 1637 Hugh Wise died seized of the mills and was apparently succeeded by his son Stephen.⁹⁹ A miller, William Johnson, who died in 1675 seems to have been a tenant.¹ The miller, and presumably owner, in 1778 was John Patrick, and he or another man of the same name held the mill at inclosure in 1801.² The mill remained in the Patrick family until c. 1862 when it passed to George Homan, whose brother and heir William sold it in 1873 to Andrew Hedges, in whose family it remained until it ceased working in 1943.³ The mill was rebuilt in the earlier 19th century and greatly enlarged by the Hedges family, the last extension being dated 1888. It was equipped with steam machinery to augment the water power. In 1962 the site was converted into a caravan park.⁴

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. The Montagus, and presumably their predecessors the Clintons, held courts for their manor, to which in 1279 the sheriff of Oxfordshire had entry once a year to hold view of frankpledge and collect 4s. certainty money.⁵ In 1320 pleas and perquisites of court were worth 4s.; in 1354 only 12d.⁶ There is no later record of the court, which presumably

⁸⁴ Ch. Ch. Arch., MSS. Estates 64, f. 371; 146, ff. 471-513; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 513, f. 50b; Land Util. Surv. Map, sheets 94, 105.

⁸⁵ *Witney Ct. Bks.* (O.R.S. liv), 96, 120; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 127/1/10; Ch. Ch. Arch., vii. b 88.

⁸⁶ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 45/3/9.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 56/5/7, 87/6/10, 155/4/31; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 512, p. 189; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Dew c 3.

⁸⁸ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 4/6/44, 5/5/6, 9/1/10, 139/4/47, 151/2/3, 298/2/1; Oxf. City Arch., F.5.2, f. 263.

⁸⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 37; O.R.O., incl. award; H. Compton and K. Belsten, 'Cassington Canal', *Jnl. of Rly. and Canal Hist. Soc.* xii. 53-8.

⁹⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 672 (transcript of par. reg.), ff. 32-40.

⁹¹ Compton and Belsten, 'Cassington Canal'; H. J. Compton, *Oxf. Canal*, 103-4; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 562, f. 47.

⁹² P.R.O., HO 107/1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1448; RG 11/1515; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 562, ff. 49, 54-60; *Wilb. Visit.* 28;

Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric. p. 341.

⁹³ D. Benson and D. Miles, *Upper Thames Valley*, 84.

⁹⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405-6; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 854.

⁹⁵ *Pipe R.* 1198 (P.R.S. N.S. ix), 194; Hist. MSS. Com. 24, *Rutland*, iv, p. 24; P.R.O., C 134/65, no. 3; C 135/127, no. 12.

⁹⁶ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 280-1.

⁹⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 699; *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, 74; *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 44.

⁹⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1554-5, 167.

⁹⁹ P.R.O.; CP 25(2)/340/9 Jas. I East. no. 5; *ibid.* C 142/557, no. 36.

¹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 38/1/20.

² *Oxf. Jnl.* 7 Feb. 1778; O.R.O., incl. award.

³ Deeds in possession of Mr. and Mrs. R. Partridge, Cassington Mill.

⁴ Inf. from Mr. and Mrs. R. Partridge.

⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 854.

⁶ P.R.O., C 134/65, no. 3; C 135/127, no. 12.

ceased with the disintegration of the manor in the 16th century. Godstow abbey claimed suit of court from its tenants,⁷ but no court records survive. The courts probably ceased at the Dissolution.

Courts were also presumably held for the St. Valery manor. In 1279 the tenants attended view of frankpledge at Yarnton once a year, Richard, earl of Cornwall (d. 1272), having withdrawn their twice-yearly suit from the great hundred court of Wootton, and in 1296–7 perquisites of 12d. were recorded from the view of frankpledge for Cassington tithing.⁸ The tenants continued to attend the honor court, at Thrupp, in the 15th and 16th centuries; business included the presentment of nuisances and of breaches of the assize of bread and of ale and the recording of land transactions.⁹ Records of the Cassington manor court survive only for the 17th and 18th centuries, when it was held by the Elmes family and their successors the Allnutts and the dukes of Marlborough. It met in one of the tenants' houses, and its business included the presentment of encroachments, obstructions, and other nuisances and the election of a constable and tithingman. The amount of business declined in the 18th century. From 1732 or earlier until 1802 the dukes of Marlborough treated Cassington as part of their honor of Woodstock and held view of frankpledge for all their tenants there.¹⁰

Oseney abbey presumably held courts for its manor of Worton, having been freed from suit to the hundred court by Henry III.¹¹ Christ Church held courts for its Worton manor until 1774. In 1717 each tenant owed 2d. a year headsilver and a further 2d. for each yardland held, but the payment was not recorded thereafter, and in the later 18th century the only business seems to have been the recording of land transactions.¹²

In 1324 Michael Meldon owed suit to the three-weekly court at North Oseney for his Worton manor,¹³ but the suit was not recorded thereafter, and was presumably combined with the suit owed to Thrupp for the Elmes's Cassington manor.

Cassington spent £55 on poor relief in 1776, an average of £113 a year between 1783 and 1785, and £309, or c. 16s. per head of population, in 1803. Between 1803 and 1834 the per capita rate varied from as much as c. £1 17s. in 1817, when the total expenditure was £743, to c. 15s. in 1825, but was usually rather high for the region. In 1831 the rate was c. £1 a head, total expenditure being £384 10s.¹⁴ In the 1780s a

small sum was spent on setting the poor to work, and in 1803, when there were 14 adults and 31 children on regular out-relief, the parish spent £4 on materials to employ them. Between 1813 and 1815 the numbers on regular out-relief varied from 17 to 21.¹⁵

Cassington was included in Woodstock poor law union in 1834, and in Woodstock rural district in 1894. In 1932 it was transferred to Witney rural district and in 1974 to West Oxfordshire. The vestry's functions were taken over by a parish council in 1894.¹⁶

CHURCH. Cassington church was founded before 1123 by the elder Geoffrey de Clinton. It lay within the parish, or area of jurisdiction, of Eynsham abbey, which retained burial rights and took half the offerings made on St. Peter's day, the new church's patronal festival. Cassington church was called a chapel as late as 1406, and an annual payment of 20d. for burial rights was made to Eynsham until the Dissolution.¹⁷ In 1980 the benefice was united with that of Freeland but in 1985 was transferred to Eynsham.¹⁸

At the church's foundation Geoffrey de Clinton agreed that Eynsham should appoint the priest, and the abbey, having appropriated the rectory in the late 12th century, retained the advowson of the vicarage until the Dissolution. Claims by Isabel de Clinton in 1203 and by her son William de Clinton in 1219 were unsuccessful.¹⁹ The advowson was granted to Christ Church in 1546, but in 1584 the presentation was made by Edward Payne and Robert Townsend. Charles I presented in 1632 on the appointment of the previous incumbent to a bishopric and in 1638 by lapse and deprivation for simony.²⁰ Thereafter Christ Church presented regularly, and the dean and chapter remained joint patrons of the united benefice in 1988. The early 12th-century living was a rectory, the priest having been given all the tithes of Cassington and Worton. The appropriation of the church in the late 12th century reserved a vicarage of 5 marks a year which in the early 13th century comprised small tithes, tithe of the mill and fishery, altar offerings, and 2 yardlands.²¹ In 1254 the vicarage was assessed at only 2 marks; it was not separately valued in 1291, but in 1526 it was said to be worth £9 gross, and in 1535 £12 net.²² In the earlier 17th century the vicar claimed tithe of all animals, of milk, and of garden produce, as well as an Easter offering of 2d. from each adult parishioner.²³

⁷ e.g. *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i. 316.

⁸ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 854; *Earldom of Cornwall Accts.* 1296–7, i (Camd. 3rd ser. lxxv), 147.

⁹ P.R.O., SC 2/197, nos. 16, 46; SC 2/212, nos. 3, 18, 20. Blenheim Mun., box 37.

¹¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 855.

¹² Ch. Ch. Arch., 3 d 1 11. ¹³ P.R.O., C 143/163, no. 14.

¹⁴ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, pp. 406–7; 1818, pp. 359–60; *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 556, p. 138 (1822), v; H.C. 334, p. 173 (1825), iv; H.C. 83, p. 161 (1830–1), xi; H.C. 444, p. 156 (1835), xlvii.

¹⁵ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, p. 407; 1818, p. 360.

¹⁶ O.R.O., RO 15; RO 229.

¹⁷ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 43; ii, p. 252; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 460; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, p. 490.

¹⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1823/3; *Oxf. Dioc. Yr. Bk.* (1986 and later edns.).

¹⁹ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 43, 399, 405; *Cur. Reg. R.* ii. 228; viii. 159; ix. 253–4; x. 73.

²⁰ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xxi (2), p. 333; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 68, f. 61; c 264, ff. 119v., 150.

²¹ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 46–7; *Rot. Welles*, i (L.R.S. iii), 52–3.

²² Lunt, *Val. Norw.* 307; *Subsidy 1526*, 268; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 183.

²³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 29, ff. 83–88v.

The living was said to be worth £66 13s. 4d. in the 1640s, but less than £50 in 1707.²⁴ At inclosure in 1801 the vicar received 60 a. for his 2 yardlands of glebe, c. 68 a. for tithe of formerly open field land, and a rent charge of c. £1 8s. for tithe of old inclosure, bringing the value of the living to c. £97 a year in 1824.²⁵ The living was augmented by Queen Anne's Bounty in 1826, 1828, and 1830 to meet benefactions from Christ Church and private individuals, and in 1831 it was worth c. £166 net.²⁶ It was not valued in 1851, but was said c. 1870 to be worth £299 net; it was further augmented in 1908.²⁷

The early 13th-century vicarage included a house and garden.²⁸ In 1593 the house comprised a hall, parlour, study, kitchen, and buttery.²⁹ During the 18th century it was used as a farmhouse, and by 1792 was out of repair. It was rebuilt in 1793 as a square farmhouse of two storeys with attics, having four rooms on each floor.³⁰ It continued to be used as a farmhouse until 1888 when it was greatly enlarged by the vicar, Godfrey Faussett, who bought land to extend the site and encased the old house in a new building.³¹

During the Middle Ages there were some long incumbencies, notably those of Thomas of Woodstock, 1303–27, John Hacche, 1405–33, and William Full, 1508–34, but many vicars exchanged the living after only three or four years. Most were resident, John Hacche, for instance, farming the rectorial tithes in 1415, but Geoffrey of Aulton was given licence for absence c. 1345, and in the later 15th century at least three vicars, graduates and canon lawyers, lived in academic halls in Oxford.³² Another canon lawyer, Thomas Fishwick, vicar 1501–8, asked to be buried at Cassington, and his immediate successors seem to have been resident.³³

In 1237 there was a recluse or anchoress in the parish.³⁴ In the earlier 16th century bequests were made to the rood light, to the light before the high altar, and to the torches.³⁵

Robert Ford, a former Eynsham monk, was vicar from 1545, until his death in 1557.³⁶ In 1558 the parish seems to have been in the charge of a curate, James Wilson, who died in 1559; the conformist William Milton or Gibbon, vicar of Yarnton, may also have served Cassington oc-

asionally.³⁷ William Spencer, vicar from 1576 or earlier to 1584, was non resident for at least part of his incumbency, leasing the vicarage to a lay tenant.³⁸ His successor John Evans, 1584–93, lived in the vicarage house and farmed his glebe, and the early 17th-century vicars also appear to have been resident.³⁹

From 1622 to 1875 the living was held by a succession of members of Christ Church resident in Oxford, many of whom gave little if any attention to the parish. The first of them, Richard Corbett, vicar 1622–32, was renowned for his 'fine and fancy preaching', but it is unlikely to have been heard much in Cassington as Corbett was dean of Christ Church until 1628 and bishop of Oxford from 1628 to 1632, when he became bishop of Norwich.⁴⁰ His successor George Aglionby in 1633 brought suits against three parishioners for non-payment of tithes.⁴¹ Jasper Mayne, vicar 1639–73, left £100 to the poor of the parish, but seems to have had little else to do with it.⁴²

During the Civil War and Interregnum Cassington, under Mayne's curates Peter Gunning (1644) and Richard Sherlock (1646–52), both former chaplains of New College, was a royalist centre where other royalist clergy took refuge.⁴³ Mayne was deprived in 1648, but Francis Markham, admitted by the Triers in 1654, may have been another royalist sympathizer, the man of that name expelled from a studentship at Christ Church in 1650.⁴⁴

Most of the vicars between the later 17th century and the mid 19th were chaplains of Christ Church who lived in college, spending at most one or two nights a week in Cassington. Most of them claimed to serve the church themselves, but in practice many services were taken by curates, by other clergy from the university, or by neighbouring incumbents.⁴⁵ The curates, often recent graduates, usually lived in Oxford and were poorly paid; in 1737 the stipend was less than £20 a year.⁴⁶ On many occasions between 1755 and his death in 1771 Gilbert Mabbott, lessee of the rectory estate, acted as unpaid curate.⁴⁷ Services remained the same throughout the period, morning and evening prayer with one sermon on Sundays and Holy Communion three or four times a year.

²⁴ Bodl. MS. Dep. d 72, f. 182; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 155, f. 40b.

²⁵ O.R.O., incl. award; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2214, no. 20.

²⁶ C. Hodgson, *Acct. of Queen Anne's Bounty* (2nd edn.), pp. cccxxii, cccxxiii; Ch. Ch. Arch., MS. Estates 64, f. 311; *Rep. Com. Eccl. Revenues* [67], pp. 776–7, H.C. (1835), xxii.

²⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 103, ff. 195–6.

²⁸ *Rot. Welles*, i (L.R.S. iii), 52–3.

²⁹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 164/4/1.

³⁰ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 327, p. 160; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 58, f. 55; Ch. Ch. Arch., MSS. Estates 64, ff. 320–1; *ibid.* 84, ff. 1–5.

³¹ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. c 103, ff. 195–6; c 512, pp. 58, 87. A new house proposed c. 1870 was not built.

³² Lincs. R.O., Episc. Reg. vii, f. 76; Emden, *O.U. Reg. to 1500*, s.v. William Conway, Richard Dever (Devot), Reynold Stone; *Reg. Canc.* (O.H.S. xciv), 326–7.

³³ Emden, *O.U. Reg. to 1500*, s.v. Thomas Fishwike; *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* i. 128; ii. 57.

³⁴ *Close R.* 1234–7, 489.

³⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 179, ff. 157, 175.

³⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 3, 27; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 182, f. 89.

³⁷ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 183, ff. 272v., 204; O.A.S. *Rep.* (1911), 92–3.

³⁸ P.R.O., C 3/113, no. 13; O.A.S. *Rep.* (1912), 108.

³⁹ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 25/3/28; 25/3/39; 164/4/1; MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 40, f. 82; for list see Oldfield, 'Clerus Oxf. Dioc.', f. 417.

⁴⁰ *D.N.B.*

⁴¹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 29, ff. 83–9.

⁴² Oxf. Univ. Arch., Hyp. 13/30; *D.N.B.*

⁴³ Bodl. MS. Dep. d 72, f. 289; *Wood's Life and Times*, i (O.H.S. xix), 151; *Wood's City*, iii (O.H.S. xxxvii), 191; *Walker Revised*, ed. A.G. Matthews, 81, 298.

⁴⁴ *Walker Revised*, 25; he was probably not the rector of Creaton (Northants.); *Alum. Oxon. 1500–1714*, 970.

⁴⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. e 276, ff. 12v.–13v., 26–8, 31v.

⁴⁶ *Secker's Visit.* 34; *Alum. Oxon. 1500–1714*, s.v. Ric. Blackway, Jos. Gascoigne, Ric. Taylor, Sam. Cripps, Chris. Hobson, Mark Hall.

⁴⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 128, ff. 133, 136; d 555, f. 97; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. e 276, ff. 61v.–74.

The number of communicants was at first comparatively high, 30–40 in 1738 and 50–60 in 1768, perhaps a reflection of Mabbott's influence, but by 1778 numbers had fallen to 10–15, and by 1784 to 6, although in the last year the curate reported that ordinary congregations had doubled.⁴⁸ In 1814 an anonymous parishioner complained to the bishop that the vicar 'grossly and shamelessly' neglected his Sunday duty. There was often only one service, and when there were two, one was at noon and the other at 2 p.m., making it impossible for those who lived at a distance from the church to attend both. Moreover, the service was rushed through in under an hour 'like a ploughboy reading a ballad'.⁴⁹ The complaint seems to have had little, if any, effect; in 1825 the vicar lived in Taunton (Som.), his curate in Kiddington.⁵⁰

Thomas Forster, vicar 1824–67, although non-resident, took a considerable interest in the parish, being responsible for the first restoration of the church in 1841–2 and playing an important part in the establishment of a school in 1852.⁵¹ In 1831 he claimed that over half the adults in the parish came to church regularly and the remainder occasionally, but in 1834 he was dissatisfied with the number of communicants, which had fallen to 12–14 from 25 in 1831.⁵² On Census Sunday in 1851 there were 73 adults and 40 Sunday school children at the morning service and 49 adults and 40 children at the afternoon, out of a population of 454. In 1854 the number of communicants had fallen to 10–12 and congregations averaged only 60–70 adults and 50–60 children, a decline which Forster attributed to the demoralization of the agricultural labourers by the many 'vicious and irreligious' railway labourers temporarily in the parish.⁵³

By 1866 Cassington was in the charge of a curate who lived in the rectory house, or farmhouse, in Worton. He had introduced a second sermon on Sundays and increased the number of Communion services from four to seven a year; congregations had improved slightly, averaging 80–90.⁵⁴ Godfrey Fausset, vicar 1875–1909, lived in the enlarged vicarage house from 1888; he was responsible for the restorations of the church in 1876 and 1901–2, and during his incumbency both congregations and communicants increased.⁵⁵

The church of *ST. PETER*⁵⁶ is built of rubble, now rendered, with ashlar quoins; it comprises chancel, aisleless nave with north and south porches, and central tower. A blocked doorway in the north wall of the chancel may have led to a medieval vestry. The church was built in the early 12th century and much of that

structure, including the lower stages of the tower, the walls of nave and chancel with four consecration crosses, the stone groined vaulting in the chancel and four windows, three on the north of the nave and chancel and one on the south, survives. The font is also of the early 12th century. Part at least of the tower had to be rebuilt in the mid 12th century.⁵⁷ In the earlier 14th century the church was remodelled, an upper stage and spire being added to the tower, new windows inserted in nave and east wall of the chancel, and the north porch built. The work was probably financed by the Montagu lords of the manor whose arms survived in a chancel window in the 17th century. The same window contained the arms of England, perhaps implying that the benefactor was William Montagu, earl of Salisbury from 1344, who between 1341 and 1349 was married to Joan of Kent, granddaughter of Edward I.⁵⁸ The south porch, timber-framed with an arcade of trefoiled arches on each side, was added in the 15th century, as was the rood screen whose frame survived between the tower and chancel in 1982.⁵⁹ Plain, medieval bench ends in the nave, claimed as late 13th-century and amongst the oldest in the country, may also be 15th-century.⁶⁰ Early in the 15th century a doom was painted or repainted at the east end of the nave, and late in the same century other paintings, probably of St. Barbara and St. Margaret, were added in the splays of the east nave windows.⁶¹ All the paintings were much decayed in 1982. Also in the early 15th century windows were inserted in the south wall of the tower and chancel, and the nave and south porch were re-roofed.

The chancel was said to be ruinous *c.* 1520,⁶² but was presumably repaired soon afterwards. The north and south doors were replaced in the 16th century: both survived in 1982, the south one decorated with a 16th- or 17th-century painting of the implements of the Passion. Repairs to the spire, steeple, and tower were ordered in 1757, and repairs, including reroofing the nave and repairing the steeple, were carried out between 1805 and 1810.⁶³ Despite that work, it was alleged in 1841 that Cassington church was in a worse condition than any other in the deanery: the pews and reading desk were in a poor state, and the low floor of the ringing chamber cut the chancel off from the nave making services read at the altar inaudible.⁶⁴ Repairs, including the removal of the ringing chamber floor and the restoration of the tower arches, were carried out in 1841 and 1842. Between then and 1846 stained glass from Christ Church was inserted into the windows, and late 17th-century altar rails may have been

⁴⁸ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 555, f. 97; d 558, f. 105; d 561, f. 85; d 566, f. 55; c 327, p. 160.

⁴⁹ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 661, ff. 120–1.

⁵⁰ Ibid. b 8, f. 11.

⁵¹ Ch. Ch. Arch., MS. Estates 64, ff. 332, 344–6.

⁵² O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 49; b 39, f. 71.

⁵³ *Ch. and Chapel, 1851*, no. 79; *Wilb. Visit.* 28; *Census, 1851*.

⁵⁴ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 107.

⁵⁵ Ibid. c 353, f. 77; c 356, f. 83; c 374, f. 72.

⁵⁶ Recorded before 1123; *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 43; *Par. Colln.* 76.

⁵⁷ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 43, 91–2.

⁵⁸ Bodl. MS. Wood B 15, f. 100; *Complete Peerage*, xi. 389–90; cf. Pevsner, *Oxon.* 522, where the work is attributed to Lady Montacute in 1318.

⁵⁹ Apparently moved from the sanctuary after 1876: O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1754: architect's rep.

⁶⁰ F. E. Howard and F. H. Crossley, *Eng. Ch. Woodwork* (1927), 297, 302; cf. Pevsner, *Oxon.* 522–3.

⁶¹ E. T. Long, 'Wall-paintings in Oxon. churches', *Oxonienia*, xxxvii. 93.

⁶² *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* i. 128.

⁶³ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. d 13, f. 31; c 58, ff. 72–3; c 154, ff. 47, 61v., 117v.

⁶⁴ Ch. Ch. Arch., MS. Estates 64, ff. 330, 332, 336.

erected.⁶⁵ The architect was H. J. Underwood. During the work late 15th-century paintings were discovered on the tower walls and on some of the roof timbers.⁶⁶

In 1876 and 1901 the church was restored, largely on the initiative of the vicar Godfrey Fausset. The work included rebuilding the top of the tower, renewing the floor, repairing the chancel walls and roof, renovating the seats and placing canopied 17th-century stalls from Christ Church under the tower, and removing ceilings in nave and chancel. In 1901 the nave roof and windows were repaired, the north porch was restored, and a vestry was built on the south side of the chancel. The architect of both restorations was G. F. Bodley.⁶⁷ The south porch was restored between 1917 and 1922 when the blocked trefoiled arches were opened up. In 1970 the roof of its northern bay was raised to reveal the chevron mouldings of the 12th-century south doorway.⁶⁸ The pulpit and lectern were made c. 1920 by a local carver.⁶⁹

The windows contain several roundels of medieval and 16th-century stained glass, all brought from elsewhere during the 19th century: there was no stained glass at all in the church in 1825.⁷⁰ Some, notably the early 16th-century roundel with the arms of the see of York, came from Christ Church. There are also several 16th-century Flemish panels depicting biblical scenes. The medieval glass includes a late 14th-century figure of St. Paul which may be from an Oxford workshop, a 14th-century head of Christ, and two early 14th-century deacon saints, all of high quality.⁷¹ The glass was restored and two 16th-century panels replaced in 1971.⁷²

There are six bells, the earliest dating from 1640. Until one was recast in 1953 the whole ring was by James Keene or his son Richard.⁷³ The clock, which has no face, is early 18th-century.⁷⁴ On the floor at the east end of the nave is a brass, a cross fleury, to Roger Cheyne (d. 1414) and on the east wall of the nave is a late 16th-century shroud brass to Thomas Neal, professor of Hebrew at Oxford, erected in 1590. The monuments include, on the south wall of the nave, a marble plaque surmounted by an urn, to Francis Seale (d. 1720) of St. Clement Danes, London, and, on the north wall of the chancel, a plaque to William Mabbott (d. 1812), lessee of the rectory.

The plate includes a pewter flagon dated 1672

and a 17th-century Dutch or Low German brass almsdish with a representation of Adam and Eve. The two brass candelabra came from Christ Church.⁷⁵

NONCONFORMITY. In 1592–3 two women were returned as recusants in Cassington; one of them, Mary Boone, remained in the parish until 1624, and other members of that family were returned as recusants until 1635. The Catholic Reynolds family held an estate, later Reynolds farm, in the parish from c. 1612, but were not returned as recusants until 1619. William Reynolds and his wife Elizabeth were among the six recusants in the parish in 1624.⁷⁶ William and Edmund Reynolds refused the Protestation oath in 1641. In 1676 there were four papists, among them, presumably, Christopher Reynolds, who with two others was returned as a recusant in 1682 and 1685.⁷⁷ Although he sold most of his land in 1700, Edmund Reynolds the younger remained in the parish until 1723 or later, possibly as undertenant of the rectory, and he and other members of the family were among the two or three recusants reported in Cassington in the early 18th century.⁷⁸ In 1738, however, the three or four papists in the parish were 'of the lowest rank', and in 1759 and 1768 the only papist was an ageing labourer.⁷⁹ The remains of a chapel at Reynolds Farm apparently survived until the early 20th century.⁸⁰

Six dissenters, at least three of them Anabaptists, were reported in Cassington in the 1680s,⁸¹ but there is no further record of protestant nonconformity in the parish until 1820 when the vicar reported one Baptist family, who had left by 1823.⁸² In the 1830s Cassington people attended an 'Anabaptist' meeting house in Yarn-ton licensed by H. B. Bulteel,⁸³ and in 1829 J. Hinton, presumably the minister of the Baptist chapel in St. Clement's, Oxford, signed the application for a meeting house licence in Cassington, but there is no further evidence of Baptist activity there. Between 1827 and 1843 at least eight other applications for meeting houses were made, two of them certainly, and the rest probably, by Wesleyans whose numbers in that period fluctuated between one and twelve.⁸⁴ In 1854 the vicar reported that itinerant preachers often visited cottages in the parish and that there might be as many as 50 dissenters, and in 1872 over half the population was said to attend three

⁶⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 58, f. 122; MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1754; b 70, ff. 162v.–163; Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. d 512, pp. 38, 43; d 513, p. 226.

⁶⁶ Parker, *Guide*, 132 n.

⁶⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1754; Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington A 65.

⁶⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1754.

⁶⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 512, pp. 14b, 14h.

⁷⁰ Ibid. d 172, f. 18.

⁷¹ *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, G.B. i. 56–8.

⁷² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1754.

⁷³ *Ch. Bells Oxon.* 71.

⁷⁴ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1754.

⁷⁵ Evans, *Ch. Plate*, pp. xxix, 31.

⁷⁶ *Recusant Roll, 1592–3* (Cath. Rec. Soc. xviii), 259; H. E. Salter, 'Oxon. Recusants', *O.A.S. Rep.* (1924), 22, 29, 31, 33, 35, 40, 42, 54.

⁷⁷ *Protestation Returns*, 76–7; *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 423; *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 66–7.

⁷⁸ *Par. Colln.* 76; W.O. Hassall, 'Papists in Oxon.' *Oxonien-sia*, xii. 80; O.R.O., Cal. Q.S. Rolls, ix, ff. 422v.–476v., 765–774v.

⁷⁹ *Secker's Visit.* 34; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 555, f. 97v.; d 558, f. 105v.

⁸⁰ Stapleton, *Cath. Miss.* 194; inf. from Prof. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, Reynolds Farm, Cassington.

⁸¹ *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 66; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 708, f. 106v.

⁸² O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 578, f. 47v.; d 580, f. 53v.

⁸³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 18, f. 90; cf. *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 255; below, Yarn-ton, Nonconf.

⁸⁴ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 645, ff. 54, 82, 105, 154, 175; c 646, ff. 143, 192; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Oxf. Methodist Circuit.

dissenting meetings.⁸⁵ Ranters or Primitive Methodists were reported in 1866 and built a chapel in 1870.⁸⁶ It had closed by 1982.

EDUCATION. William Plasterer, by will proved 1711, bequeathed £20 to teach poor children to read, and Henry Alnutt, by will dated 1724, left the residue of his estate at Goring to teach, clothe, and apprentice boys from Cassington and four other parishes.⁸⁷ There was a schoolmaster in Cassington by 1729, and throughout the 18th century a small school for four boys was maintained by Alnutt's charity.⁸⁸ The number of boys was increased to six c. 1824.⁸⁹

By 1808 about 30 other children paid to attend the school, but in 1815 only 12 children, 8 boys and 4 girls, attended, and a further 12 attended another school.⁹⁰ In 1818 it was reported that the poor of the parish lacked sufficient means of education; there was only the charity school for four boys and a Sunday school for c. 80 children.⁹¹ Before 1831 the vicar established a day school attended by 29 children, including 6 boys supported by Allnutt's charity and 2 girls by Plasterer's.⁹² By 1833 the number of charity boys had been increased to 10, but total attendance had fallen to 20, compared with a total of 44 children attending the Sunday school.⁹³

In 1853 a new school and master's house were built jointly by the parish, Christ Church, and the Alnutt trustees. The site, in the centre of the village, was given by the duke of Marlborough.⁹⁴ In 1854 the school was attended by 25–30 children in addition to the charity children; there was also a school for 15–20 children kept by a dissenter, presumably a Methodist,⁹⁵ but it was not recorded again. An evening school, supported by the vicar and the duke of Marlborough, was started in 1859 and in 1867 was attended by as many as 30 children who were taught reading, writing, geography, and scripture.⁹⁶

The day school, described as a National school in 1866, received a parliamentary grant from 1867, when average attendance was 57 although there was accommodation for only 47.⁹⁷ In 1871 the school was still overcrowded; although accommodation had been increased to 62, average attendance was 69.⁹⁸ It was enlarged in 1876 for 84 children, but by 1890 the opening

of a school at Eynsham had reduced Cassington's numbers to 52.⁹⁹

Cassington school was reorganized as a junior school in 1926, the older children going to Gosford Hill school in Kidlington. A new school was built in 1973, and in 1983 the roll was 69.¹

The income from the Alnutt charity was 40s. throughout the 18th century, but had risen to £6 by 1825 as a result of the inclosure of Goring in 1809. In 1825 each of the six boys educated by the charity also received a suit of clothes at Easter and, if appropriate, an apprenticeship premium of £20.² The number of boys benefiting from the charity was increased to 10 c. 1833.³ A Scheme of 1877 for all the Cassington charities provided that up to £40 might be used to pay or supplement the school fees of deserving children or for scholarships of up to £5 a year, and £20 might be spent on apprenticeships. In 1905 the educational charity was separated from the other Cassington charities; it then consisted of £10 a year to the school managers, £40 for scholarships, and up to 3 tons of coal for heating the school.⁴

About 1806 £3 was added to the capital of Plasterer's charity, but only 10s. of the income was used to educate one girl, the remainder being applied to other charitable purposes.⁵ By 1831 20s. was being spent on the education of two girls.⁶ In 1870 the capital was used for the repair of cottages belonging to Peachman's charity, and the educational charity was lost.⁷

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. Margaret Wise, by will proved 1640, Edmund Cole, by will proved 1664, and Robert Abergenny, at an unknown date, each left £5 for the use of the poor.⁸ The money appears to have been added to the three bread charities founded by Francis Greenway (d. 1717) who left £40, Francis Seale who by will dated 1720 left £50 for bread or money for 5 poor men, and James Tuckey, who left £80 by will dated 1740. In 1740 £170, later assumed to be the capital of the three bread charities, was spent on land in Eynsham which was exchanged at inclosure in 1802 for c. 37 a. let for £13 6s. a year. By 1825 the rent had risen to £18 5s.⁹

Edward Johnston, by will proved 1683, left a rent charge of 20s. for a weekly distribution of bread to the poor on the Sundays after All

⁸⁵ *Wilb. Visit.* 28; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 338, f. 86v.

⁸⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 108; datestone on bldg.

⁸⁷ *1st Rep. Com. Char.* 198; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 330; *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 485.

⁸⁸ *Secker's Visit.* 34; O.R.O., Misc. Has. III/2; *ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 558, f. 105; d 561, f. 105.

⁸⁹ *8th Rep. Com. Char.* 516; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 330.

⁹⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 707, f. 35; c 433, f. 47.

⁹¹ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, H.C. 224, p. 720 (1819), ix (2); O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 578, f. 47.

⁹² O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 50; b 39, f. 72.

⁹³ *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, H.C. 62, p. 742 (1835), xlii.

⁹⁴ O.R.O., Allnutt I/30; V/72–3, 76–8; *ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1754; b 70, p. 52; *Gardner's Dir. Oxon.* (1852).

⁹⁵ *Wilb. Visit.* 28.

⁹⁶ P.R.O., ED 7/101/33; *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202–I], p. 336, H.C. (1868–9), xiii.

⁹⁷ *Returns relating to Pars.* H.C. 114, pp. 342–3 (1867–8), liii.

⁹⁸ *Returns relating to Elem. Educ.* H.C. 201, p. 322 (1871), lv.

⁹⁹ *Public Elem. Schs.* H.C. 403, p. 213 (1890), lvi.

¹ Inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.

² *8th Rep. Com. Char.* 516, 522; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 330.

³ *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, 742.

⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 512, p. 116; char. com. files;

O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cassington c 8, item c.

⁵ *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 330.

⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 50; b 39, f. 72.

⁷ *Char. Digest*, H.C. 292–II, pp. 14–15 (1871), lv.

⁸ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 71/2/17; P.R.O., PROB 11/313 (P.C.C. 13 Bruce); *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 333; *Char. Don.* H.C. 511, pp. 992–3 (1816) xviB.

⁹ *12th Rep. Char. Com.* 332–3; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 562 (par. reg. transcript), f. 108.

Saints' day (1 November).¹⁰ The vicar Jasper Mayne, by will proved 1673, left £100 to the poor of Cassington. The money was invested in a rent charge of £5 a year from land in the parish, which at inclosure in 1801 was exchanged for 6 a., part of a plot of 20 a. allotted to the poor. The plot produced £15 a year between 1804 and 1817 and £17 from 1817 to 1825.¹¹ In 1713 Thomas and Anne Peachman gave the parishioners of Cassington the reversion of a cottage, a close, and land in the open fields. In 1728 the life tenant, Elizabeth Cave, assigned the cottage, tenement, and close to the parish officers, and the remainder of the land reverted to them on her death in 1730. The open field land was exchanged for 4 a., part of the 20-a. poor's plot, at inclosure in 1801. In 1825 the rest of the estate comprised three cottages and gardens, occupied by paupers, and $\frac{1}{4}$ a. called the poor's orchard, occupied by poor parishioners.¹² Half of the income of the charity founded by William Plasterer by will proved in 1711, 13s. a year, was usually added to the general parish charity account in the 18th and 19th centuries.¹³

In the 1820s the income from all the charities, £37 8s. a year, was distributed in money, fuel, and bread to the 'poor belonging to or resident in the parish' by the churchwardens and overseers, assisted by some other inhabitants. Cash allowances totalled £9 or £10 and ranged from 9s. to 4d., the largest being given to families settled in but living outside the parish and who received no help in kind from the charities. Coal worth between £10 and £16 was distributed in lots of 2 cwt.–6 cwt., and the remaining money, between £9 and £12, was distributed in bread on the Sundays after St. Thomas's day (21 December).¹⁴

In 1838 the churchwardens sold two of the five cottages near the church which they owned, presumably as part of Peachman's charity. The sale was apparently carried out to raise money to rebuild the remaining three cottages. The cot-

tages were repaired in 1870, partly with the £23 capital of Plasterer's charity. In 1886 the trustees of the parish charities bought back the two cottages sold in 1838 and remodelled all five as three larger cottages; part of the gardens was used to widen the road.¹⁵

By deed dated 1859 Archdeacon Cotton, presumably Henry Cotton (d. 1879) who had been vicar 1812–24, gave £54 8s. 5d. stock to the poor of Cassington. The charity had an income of £1 12s. 7d. in 1871, but the capital was later used, probably in 1886, to improve Peachman's charity cottages. Another vicar, Thomas Forster, by will dated 1861, left £47 4s. stock to the poor of Cassington. The charity had an income of £1 8s. 3d. in 1871, but was lost some time after 1877.¹⁶

A Scheme of 1877 for the Cassington parochial charities provided for an expenditure of not more than £50 on education, £3 3s. to the Radcliffe Infirmary in Oxford, £20 for apprenticeships, and £40 for pensions or annuities of between £5 and £10 each for parishioners over 60 years old. The residue of the income of £152 was to be spent on fuel for the deserving poor and on the establishment of a provident club. Cassington Educational Foundation was separated from the other parochial charities in 1905. A new Scheme of 1969 for the parochial charities provided that nos. 3, 4, and 5 Church Lane, belonging to the Peachman and Plasterer charities, should be used as almshouses, and the income from all the other charities should be applied to relief in need in the parish. In 1979 the total income of the charities was £2,013.¹⁷

Henry Alnutt, by will dated 1724, in addition to an educational charity, provided places for two Cassington men in his almshouse at Goring, where each received £11 12s. a year and clothes as well as accommodation.¹⁸ New Schemes for the Alnutt almshouses were made in 1907 and 1955. There were still places for two people from Cassington in 1979.¹⁹

COGGES

COGGES lies 9 miles (15 km.) west of Oxford and $\frac{1}{4}$ mile (0.4 km.) east of Witney.²⁰ The ancient parish formerly covered 2,285 a. (920 ha.); it included the residual medieval urban plantation at Newland, effectively a part of Witney, and, on the east, the hamlet of High Cogges. Wilcote, to the north, although a separate ecclesiastical parish from the Middle Ages, was a hamlet of Cogges for civil purposes until

the mid 19th century. In 1932 Cogges civil parish was dissolved and divided between Witney (225 a.), South Leigh (878 a.), and Ducklington (1,182 a.).²¹

The ancient boundaries corresponded in places to those described in charters for the adjoining manors of Witney in 969 and 1044 and Eynsham in 1005, and in a perambulation of Wychwood Forest in 1298.²² The long, sinuous

¹⁰ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 2/1/26.

¹¹ Oxf. Univ. Arch., Hyp. B 30, Wills M–N; *Char. Don. H.C.* 511, pp. 992–3 (1816) xviB; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 331.

¹² *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 331; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 122/3/35, 136/4/11; *ibid.* incl. award.

¹³ *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 330.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 333.

¹⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cassington c 8, items b 1, 2; *Char. Digest H.C.* 292–II, pp. 14–15 (1871), lv.

¹⁶ *Char. Digest*, pp. 14–15; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cassington c 8, item c; *Alum. Oxon. 1715–1886*, 302; *D.N.B.* s.v. Hen. Cotton.

¹⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cassington c 8, item c; O.R.C.C., Kimber rep.

¹⁸ *1st Rep. Com. Char.* 198; *8th Rep. Com. Char.* 520.

¹⁹ O.R.C.C., Kimber rep.

²⁰ O.S. Maps 6", Oxon. XXXII (1883 and later edns.); 1/25,000, SP 20/30 (1977 edn.), SP 21/31 (1983 edn.).

²¹ O.S. *Area Bk.* (1877); *Census*, 1931; below, Wilcote, Intro., Church.

²² Grundy, *Saxon Oxon.* 34–6, 78–9, 82–5; *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 489–90, 486; *Medieval Arch.* xi. 99–103; *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 94.

east boundary, called 'the way' in 1005, is in places deeply sunk and embanked, and may be a prehistoric or Roman trackway leading southwards from the ford at Ashford Mill on the river Evenlode to Gill Mill on the river Windrush;²³ from Gill Mill a probable Roman road runs south-westwards through Cokethorpe Park towards Bampton.²⁴ On the north, the boundary followed the northern perimeter of Cogges wood; from the west corner of Osney Hill, it ran south-west along Madley brook, Madley Lane, and field-boundaries to Witney, and thence south-east along the Windrush to Gill Mill at the southern tip of the parish.

The parish lies mainly on the Oxford Clay, rising to 110 m. in the centre of the parish between High Cogges and Newland. The central eminence perhaps suggested the form of a wheel (O.E. **cogg*?), giving the parish its otherwise unintelligible name.²⁵ The clay declines westwards to bands of gravel and alluvium bordering the Windrush; the church, priory, and manor houses stand isolated on the edge of the parish beside the river, on a small Cornbrash island in the floodplain.²⁶ In 1797,²⁷ as in 1987, the only substantial area of woodland was Cogges wood in the north-east. River meadows run along the parish's entire south-western edge.

The Witney–Bladon road, an important Anglo-Saxon route called the port way in 1005 and Woodstock way in 1299,²⁸ skirted the parish on the north. Another ancient west–east road, from Witney to Eynsham, may once have traversed the two Cornbrash islands of Witney and Cogges, one of the narrowest crossing points in the Windrush floodplain;²⁹ its line runs to Cogges over a footbridge which may be the site of the 'Tidreding ford' mentioned in 969.³⁰ The route was insignificant after the early 13th century,³¹ but the presence of an early major crossing may explain the scale of the 12th-century manorial buildings. The later medieval road, called *via regalis* in 1212–13,³² ran from the north end of Witney through Newland and thence eastwards to Eynsham. That and the Witney–Bladon road were both turnpiked in 1751; the tollgate for the Eynsham road stood at Newland at the bottom of Cogges hill, near Madley brook, and in the 20th century the road survived as the main trunk road from Oxford.³³ From Newland a valley-side trackway followed

the Windrush terraces southwards towards Stanton Harcourt; it seems to have crossed the Thames at Bablock Hythe and continued to Abingdon, and was called Abingdon Lane by 1599.³⁴ At inclosure in 1787 it was confirmed as a public highway;³⁵ its earlier course is probably represented by the former farm track connecting Manor Farm with the later road. By the 18th century it was linked with the heath and with the Witney to Bladon road on the north by a winding road through High Cogges village, also confirmed at inclosure.³⁶ Clay Street, mentioned in the 16th and 17th centuries, ran east from near Shores Green into South Leigh, and may have been connected with the possible Roman or prehistoric trackway running along the boundary; the modern road from Shores Green to South Leigh was apparently newly laid out across the heath at inclosure.³⁷

A network of paths, many of which continued after inclosure, linked the villages with the heath and with Cogges wood on the north, with Hill Houses on the east, with Gill Mill and the river Windrush on the south, and with the surrounding parishes; in 1212–13 Newland tenants had right of way through North field to Cogges wood along the line of Madley brook.³⁸ The road through Cogges village, formerly passing south of the churchyard, was redirected in 1860 to pass north of the priory house, crossing the Windrush c. 200 yd. north of the former crossing.³⁹

There was a post office in Newland by 1864.⁴⁰ The Witney branch of the West Midland Railway, later part of the G.W.R., was built across the parish in 1861, the nearest station being at Witney; the line was closed to passenger traffic in 1962 and to goods traffic in 1965, and was dismantled by 1971.⁴¹

Neolithic material has been excavated near Manor Farm and the priory.⁴² Aerial photography has revealed several Bronze Age and Iron Age sites near the north-west and south-west boundaries of the parish, including a line of ploughed-out round barrows,⁴³ and a bronze palstave has been found near Newland.⁴⁴ A ditch south-west of High Cogges, cutting off the spur of Spring hill, has been interpreted as remains of an Iron Age promontary fort.⁴⁵ A substantial Romano-British settlement site near Gill Mill has yielded some 2,000 coins, metal objects, and building debris;⁴⁶ several urns said to be of

²³ Inf. from Mr. C. J. Bond and Mr. T. Copeland.

²⁴ C.B.A. Group 9, *Newsletter*, xix. 47–9.

²⁵ *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 333.

²⁶ Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid and drift, sheet 236 (1982 edn.).

²⁷ Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797).

²⁸ Grundy, *Saxon Oxon.* 34–5; *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 94.

²⁹ *Oxoniensia*, xlvii. 39.

³⁰ Grundy, *Saxon Oxon.* 79.

³¹ *Oxoniensia*, xlvii. 43; below.

³² *Sir C. Hatton's Bk. of Seals*, ed. L. C. Loyd and D. M. Stenton, no. 114.

³³ Turnpike Act, 24 Geo. II, c. 28; O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Oxon.* XXXII. 5 (1877 edn.).

³⁴ Bodl. MS. North Adds. c 2, f. 67v.; cf. P.R.O., RG 10/1452; below, Stanton Harcourt, Intro.

³⁵ O.R.O., incl. award, roads.

³⁶ *Ibid.*; Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797).

³⁷ Bodl. MS. North Adds. c 7, ff. 12v., 33v.; *ibid.* MS. d.d.

Harcourt c 98/3; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 179, f. 82; *ibid.* incl. award; Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797); above; below, S. Leigh, Intro.

³⁸ O.R.O., incl. award, roads; *Sir C. Hatton's Bk. of Seals*, no. 114.

³⁹ *Oxoniensia*, xlvii. 41, 43.

⁴⁰ *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1864 and later edns.).

⁴¹ Witney Rly. Act, 22–23 Vic. c. 6 (Local and Personal); E. T. McDermot and C. R. Clinker, *Hist. G.W.R.* (1964), i. 289, 461; C. R. Clinker, *Reg. Closed Passenger Stations*, Suppl. no. 5 (1967).

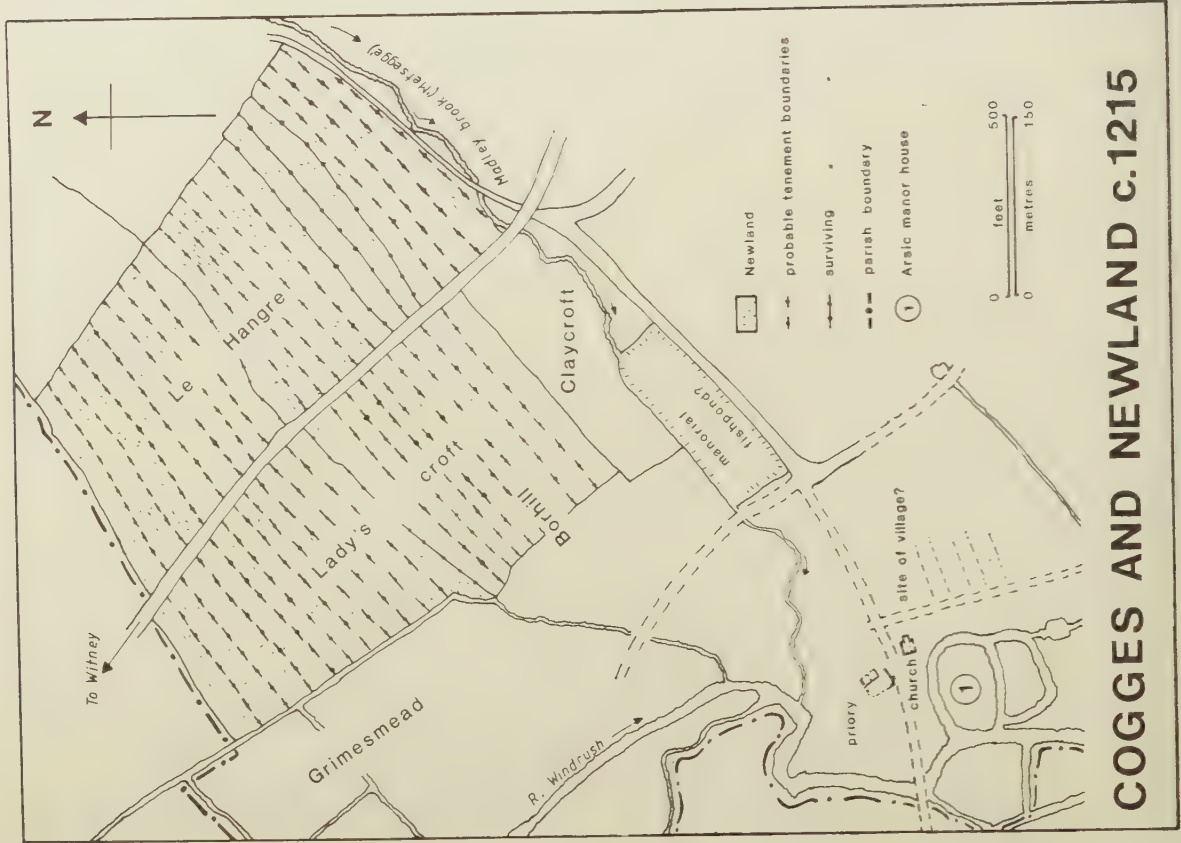
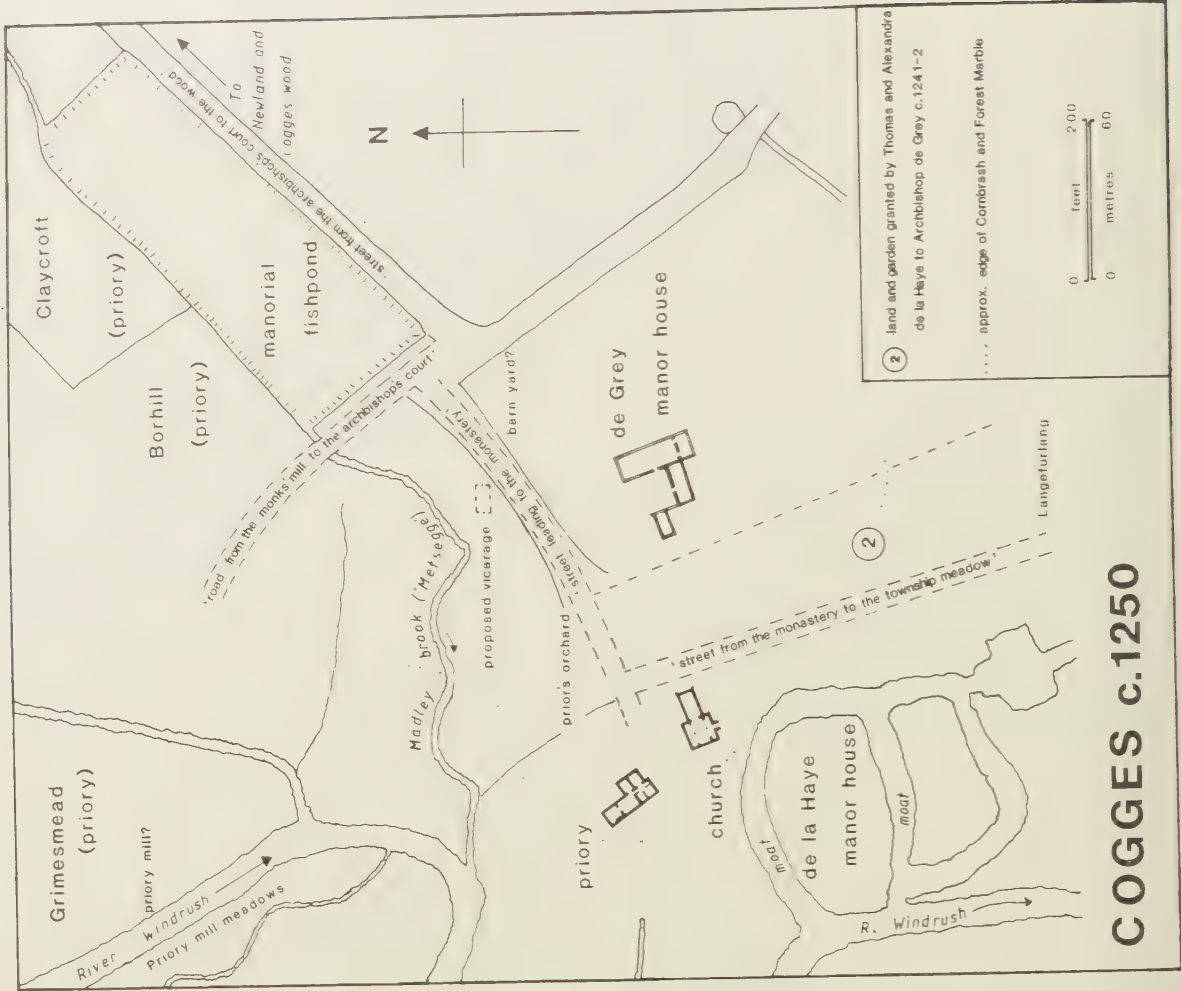
⁴² *Oxoniensia*, xlvii. 110–13.

⁴³ D. Benson and D. Miles, *The Upper Thames Valley: Arch. Survey of the River Gravels* (1974), maps 17–18; County Mus., P.R.N. 4526, 4852, 5413, 5707–17, 7532, 8205–7.

⁴⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 263; County Mus., P.R.N. 9518.

⁴⁵ County Mus., Wickham–Steed MSS.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* P. R. N. 11636; C.B.A. Group 9, *Newsletter*, xix. 47–9; inf. from Mr. G. Lambrick.



Upchurch Ware have been found near Northfield Farm.⁴⁷ A cropmark site immediately south of the Cornbrash island, including two rectilinear buildings, may be Anglo-Saxon.⁴⁸ Finds of pottery suggest that the Cornbrash island was settled for much of the Anglo-Saxon period.⁴⁹

In 1086 only 3 *servi* were listed, other inhabitants perhaps being omitted accidentally.⁵⁰ In 1279 there were 38 tenants on the two manors.⁵¹ In 1377 the poll tax was paid by 92 people in Cogges and Wilcote,⁵² which suggests that 14th-century depopulation may have been below the Oxfordshire average. There were 25 contributors to the subsidy of 1524 and 160 communicants in 1547, and 79 adult males swore the Protestation Oath of 1642; 158 men and women were noted in 1676, although a few probably lived at Wilcote.⁵³ There were said to be 80 households in 1759, 74 in 1768, and *c.* 70 in 1774;⁵⁴ by 1801 there were 66 houses inhabited by 70 families at Wilcote and Cogges, the total population being 343 of whom *c.* 10 lived at Wilcote. The population fell before 1811 but thereafter grew rapidly; in 1821 it was 452 and by 1851 had reached 814, the increase being attributed to the success of the blanket and glove industries. As in many Oxfordshire parishes the population declined rapidly in the later 19th century and by 1871 was only 664; thereafter it again rose, reaching 790 by 1901 and 888 in 1911. In 1951 the population of the ecclesiastical parish, with almost the same boundaries as the former ancient parish, was 809.⁵⁵

The main settlement of Cogges was the close-grouped cluster of the church, the priory, and two manor houses. The exceptional character of the group resulted mainly from 12th- and 13th-century manorial developments described below.⁵⁶ A small planned town, Newland, was built in 1212–13. The existence of a medieval nucleated village remains unproven; traces of earthworks south of Manor Farm and extending into its curtilage may represent a deserted medieval village,⁵⁷ and it is possible that tenants were moved from there during the 13th-century rearrangements.

The 11th-century manor house, which Manasser Arsic gave to Fécamp abbey *c.* 1100 to provide a site for the priory, lay immediately north of the church.⁵⁸ Two oval moated enclosures south-west of the church evidently mark the castle or manor house of the Arsics and the

caput of their barony between *c.* 1100 and *c.* 1230. In the 17th century foundations were frequently dug up in a ground south of Cogges church called Castle Yard,⁵⁹ and massive 12th-century foundations have been excavated on the northern moated site.⁶⁰

Another manor house, later Manor Farm, probably originated with Archbishop de Grey's purchase of half the manor in 1241; it was called the archbishop's court in 1242.⁶¹ The older, moated site remained the capital house of the other half of the manor, and was still called the court of Cogges in 1279;⁶² it may have been abandoned when the manor was reunited in 1338. A royal confirmation of the archbishop's holdings in Cogges in 1242⁶³ described the boundaries of land west of Manor Farm and of the large manorial fishpond to the north-east. The fishpond, mentioned in 1232–3 as the eastern boundary of a proposed vicarage house,⁶⁴ is rectangular with large banks; the banks partly survived house building in 1984, when excavation showed them to be post-medieval in their present form.⁶⁵ Manor Farm⁶⁶ contains a 13th-century range (now the hall, though not necessarily so from the outset) with an original door and window, perhaps built by Archbishop de Grey. There are traces of another medieval range at right angles to it, and the original house apparently had a courtyard plan; the dairy, which abuts a third side of the courtyard, is also medieval in origin, and remains of a fourth range were excavated in 1989. In the early 16th century the hall was floored over, reroofed, and given a substantial double screen and a wall fireplace. In the late 17th century the Blake family added a large east wing. There are extensive farm buildings of the 17th to 19th century.⁶⁷

Cogges priory⁶⁸ was the English cell of Fécamp abbey between *c.* 1100 and the late 14th century. By the late 12th century it was non-conventual and functioned mainly as an estate office, from which the prior-bailiff with one or two companions administered Fécamp's English assets. The early 12th-century buildings, which were possibly on a claustral or quadrangular plan, were derelict in the 1150s and replaced soon afterwards by a storeyed chamber-block. A small open hall and service-rooms were added in the mid 13th century. After the confiscation of the priory the building fell into decay; in the

⁴⁷ County Mus., P.R.N. 9517; *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 334–5, where the identification of 'Cage Hill' with Cogges Hill is probably incorrect.

⁴⁸ County Mus., P.R.N. 5718.

⁴⁹ *Oxoniensia*, xlvii. 69–71; further excavations by Dr. I. Burrow.

⁵⁰ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405.

⁵¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 867–8.

⁵² P.R.O., E 179/202/59.

⁵³ *Ibid.* E 179/161/198; *Chant. Cert.* 29; *Protestation Returns*, 77–8; *Compton Census*, ed. A. Whiteman, 416–17; below, Wilcote, Intro.

⁵⁴ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 555, f. 145; d 558, f. 160; d 564, f. 124.

⁵⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii. 222; *Census*, 1801–1951. Figures for the former civil parish are unavailable after 1951.

⁵⁶ Below, Manors; cf. J. Blair, 'Cogges', *Oxon. Local Hist.* ii, no. 8, 298–306.

⁵⁷ County Mus., survey data; MS. rep. by C. J. Bond; rep.

of resistivity survey by M. Chamberlain (Univ. of Bradford) in 1982.

⁵⁸ *Oxoniensia*, xlvii. 56, 69–71.

⁵⁹ B.L. Lansd. MS. 874, f. 141v.; *Wood's Life and Times*, i (O.H.S. xix), 253.

⁶⁰ Excavations by Dr. I. Burrow and Dr. J. Blair (1985, 1987).

⁶¹ Below, Manors.

⁶² *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 867, where it is stated to adjoin the Windrush.

⁶³ *Cal. Chart. R.* i. 265.

⁶⁴ *Rot. Welles*, ii (L.R.S. vi), 40; below, Church.

⁶⁵ Inf. from R. A. Chambers.

⁶⁶ *Cogges*, ed. J. M. Steane (Oxon. C. C. 1980), 25–9; M. E. Wood, *Thirteenth-Century Dom. Archit. in Eng.* (*Arch. Jnl.* cv supplement, 1950), 56–7; County Mus., surveys and photos; *Oxf. Arch. Unit Newsletter*, Sept. 1989, 8–9.

⁶⁷ County Mus., MS. rep. by J. E. C. Peters, 1984.

⁶⁸ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii. 161–2; *Oxoniensia*, xlvii. 37–125.

early 17th century part was remodelled as a farmhouse, with separate rooms for the parochial chaplain.⁶⁹

In 1212–13 the lord of Cogges, Robert Arsic, founded Newland, a small planned town of a familiar early 13th-century type.⁷⁰ He divided 40 a. of his demesne between 26 named tenants, who were to build a house on each acre and pay for it 3s. on entry and 1s. yearly thereafter.⁷¹ Since several tenants held more than one acre each it seems likely that they intended to develop and sublet the land, and at least one, Robert, chaplain of Westbury, was almost certainly non-resident. The development was clearly stimulated by the growth of nearby Witney, but unlike Witney it failed: only seven of the 1s. rents may be identified in 1279.⁷² By the mid 18th century there were only a few houses scattered along the street.⁷³ The land lay on either side of the royal road from the bishop of Winchester's land, which presumably lay in Witney parish at the north-west end of Newland; 20 plots on Lady's croft, partly next to the bishop's land, and on 'Borhill' (the Burrell close of 1776 and immediately north of the manorial fishpond)⁷⁴ were evidently along the south-west side of Newland street, and 20 in the croft called 'le Hangre' were presumably along the north-east side. Forty strips of c. 1 a. each would have fitted into the available space, and two on the north-east side survived in 1982.⁷⁵

In 1219–20 the bishop of Winchester acquired part of Cogges priory's Grimesmead, a transaction evidently associated with a rent of 16s., first collected by the bishop that year, 'from 16 messuages in the meadow next the bridge towards Cogges'.⁷⁶ The tenements, presumably those over the parish boundary south-east of the road from Witney bridge to Wood Green, and which backed onto Grimesmead, clearly represented an extension of Witney to link with its neighbour Newland; such developments on both sides of the Windrush may explain the replacement of the direct west-east road through Cogges in favour of the more northerly route through Newland.

There is no evidence for the existence of a hamlet at High Cogges during the Middle Ages, and the village may have originated later as a group of farmsteads on the edge of the heath: in 1604 a small cottage built on the common illeg-

ally, perhaps near High Cogges, was allowed to remain.⁷⁷ The village was presumably well established by 1695 when a school was founded there,⁷⁸ and several surviving buildings are 17th-century, including, north of the village street, the north range of High Cogges Farm and the nearby stone granary, and south of the street the cottage called nos. 9–10. By the mid 18th century High Cogges was larger than Cogges; there were then several labourers' cottages and other buildings, many of them later demolished, along both sides of the village street, and there were cottages on the heath west of the road from High Cogges to Shores Green. Most buildings are of coursed limestone rubble with stone slate roofs, although Ladymead Cottage and nos. 9–10 are thatched. In 1829 most of the labourers' cottages attached to Great High Cogges farm were said to be hardly worth repairing.⁷⁹

There were outlying farmhouses on or near the sites of the later Springhill, Northfield, and Clementsfield Farms by 1767;⁸⁰ Clementsfield may be identical with the earlier Flemingfield, on which a house was built c. 1600.⁸¹ Following inclosure in 1787 most farms remained centred on existing homesteads.⁸² Springhill Farm was largely rebuilt in the mid 19th century, and extensive repairs and additions were made at Clementsfield Farm c. 1882.⁸³ Cholsey Farm was newly built after 1833,⁸⁴ but most new building was confined to Newland, where a large number of stone-built terraced houses were built along the Oxford road in the 19th century to house the rising population employed in the Witney blanket industry and other urban occupations; by then Newland effectively formed part of Witney.⁸⁵ Newland House, on the south side of Oxford road, was built in the late 18th or early 19th century, and was later the home of the Early family of Witney.⁸⁶ Other houses were built in the earlier 19th century along the newly established Witney to South Leigh road, including those later called Broad View, April Cottage, and Field View; adjoining buildings associated with a smithy and agricultural implement works were added later in the century, but have since been demolished.⁸⁷

The water supply, even at Newland, was from wells until the early 20th century.⁸⁸ By 1939 water was supplied by Witney Urban District

⁶⁹ *Oxoniensia*, xlvii. 47–8, 71–85; below, Church.

⁷⁰ Cf. below, Eynsham, Intro., Econ.

⁷¹ *Sir C. Hatton's Bk. of Seals*, no. 114.

⁷² *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868.

⁷³ Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797); Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); O.S. Map 1", sheet 45 (1833 edn.).

⁷⁴ *Oxoniensia*, xlvii. 105.

⁷⁵ O.S. Map 1/25,000, Oxon. SP 21/31 (1983 edn.).

⁷⁶ Winchester Pipe Rolls 1219–20, 1220–1.

⁷⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 118, f. 4v.

⁷⁸ Below, Educ.; cf. Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 96/2–3, referring to a farm in 'High Cogges'.

⁷⁹ Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797); D. o. E., Revised Hist. Bldgs. List (unpubl.); Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 39, partic. of a fm. at Cogges 1829; cf. *ibid.* MS. Top. Eccl. e 1, f. 116v.; below, Church.

⁸⁰ Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767).

⁸¹ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 337; *ibid.* MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 98/3–11, which suggest, however, that Flemingfield lay east

of Shores Green.

⁸² Below, Econ.; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 266, ff. 69–77; Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797); O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII (1883 edn.).

⁸³ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 266, f. 74; b 39, docs. *re* Clementsfield (Bassett's) Farm.

⁸⁴ O.S. Map 1", sheet 45 (1833 edn.); O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII (1883 edn.).

⁸⁵ D. o. E., Revised Hist. Bldgs. List (unpubl.); cf. *Oxf. Jnl.* 29 Sept. 1832; below, Econ. The modern development of Newland is reserved for fuller treatment in a future volume.

⁸⁶ Min. Loc. Govt. and Planning, Provisional List Bldgs. Hist. Interest (revised 1951); *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1899); cf. P.R.O., HO 107/889.

⁸⁷ O.S. Map 1", sheet 45 (1833 edn.); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 5 (1921 edn.); below, Econ.

⁸⁸ O.S. Maps 6", Oxon. XXXII (1883 edn.); 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 5 (1899, 1921 edns.).

Council, and gas and electricity were available, but in the late 1940s some houses on Church Lane, between Cogges and Newland, still had only gas lamps and standpipes and no mains sewerage.⁸⁹

The site of the Hare and Hounds, mentioned in the 1730s and 1740s,⁹⁰ is unknown. In 1775 there were three public houses, the Star, the Crown, and the Axe, and by 1780 there were six, including the Crown, the Axe, the George, the Swan, and the Plasterers' Arms. At Newland, the Griffin was so named by 1786, and the Carpenters' Arms by 1822; from the early 19th century they were the only two public houses in the parish.⁹¹ In the later 19th century Cogges vestry met at the Carpenters' Arms.⁹²

In the late 1970s and 1980s large housing estates were built on agricultural land immediately east, north, and south of Cogges village, extending from Newland on the north to Spring hill and the Witney bypass on the south; the road from Stanton Harcourt was redirected to skirt the eastern edge of the estates, joining the Oxford road near Gibbets Close Farm.⁹³ Building continued in 1988, and there was infilling at High Cogges and along South Leigh Lane.

In 1974 the Oxfordshire County Council opened Manor Farm and its outbuildings as a museum of farming and rural life in Edwardian Oxfordshire.

MANORS. In 1086 *COGGES*, assessed at 5 hides, was held of Odo of Bayeux by Wadard,⁹⁴ who is depicted, armed and mounted, on the Bayeux Tapestry. The core of Wadard's extensive sub-barony under Odo lay in Wootton hundred, and Cogges may already have been the *caput*.⁹⁵ Wadard evidently fell with Odo, for by the early 12th century Manasser Arsic was established on Wadard's former barony, described in 1166 as 18½ fees held of the ward of Dover Castle.⁹⁶ In 1101 Manasser was a hostage in the treaty between Henry I and the Count of Flanders.⁹⁷ Shortly before 1103 he gave his house at Cogges to Fécamp abbey to found a priory, suggesting that Cogges was his principal manor.⁹⁸ He died after 1122⁹⁹ and was succeeded by his son Robert Arsic, who witnessed charters of King Stephen.¹ By the mid 1150s Manasser (II) had succeeded and was ordered by Henry II

to desist from invading lands of Cogges priory laid waste during the Anarchy.² Cogges remained his *caput*: in 1165–6 he directed that rent from land at Swindon (Wilts.) was to be paid at Cogges.³ He died between 1171 and 1190⁴ and was succeeded by his son Alexander Arsic, lord of Cogges until his death in 1201, whose successive heirs were his sons John (d. s.p. 1204–5),⁵ and Robert.⁶

Robert Arsic died in 1229–30 and was succeeded in the barony of Cogges by his daughters and coheirs Joan, wife of Eustace de Grenville, and Alexandra, wife of Thomas de la Haye;⁷ Robert's relict Sibyl de Crevequer, who retained dower in Cogges as elsewhere, was dead by 1242. In 1241 Joan Arsic sold her moiety to Walter de Grey, archbishop of York, who immediately acquired portions of Alexandra's moiety, a garden, 3 a., the manorial fishpond, 34 a. land, and 200 a. wood.⁸ One effect of his transactions was to create the curtilage of the archbishop's court, later Manor Farm, and to reduce that of the old manor house by the river.⁹ In 1242–3, therefore, Cogges was divided between the archbishop and the de la Hayes.¹⁰ In 1279 the de Grey portion comprised 2 demesne carucates and c. 15 tenant yardlands, the former de la Haye portion only ½ carucate of demesne and 3½ tenant yardlands. The tenants of both were bound to do ward at Dover Castle five times every two years, each time providing between them four knights for 40 days; the de Grey moiety had then been commuted for 20s. a year.¹¹ The two parts, together with Wilcote (then a member of the de Grey holding), made up ⅔ of a knight's fee: in 1284–5 the de Grey holding was assessed at ⅓ of a fee, and later as ¼ of a fee.¹²

By 1245 the archbishop had given his estate in Cogges to Sir Walter de Grey, son of his brother Robert.¹³ Walter died in 1268 and the estate passed in the direct male line to Sir Robert de Grey (d. 1295),¹⁴ Sir John (d. 1311),¹⁵ and John, 1st Lord Grey of Rotherfield (d. 1359).¹⁶ The Greys regularly used Cogges as a dower manor: Sir Walter's relict Isabel of Duston was holding it in 1279; it was assigned to Sir John's relict Margaret d'Oddingseles on his death in 1311; and Avice Marmion, relict of the 1st Lord Grey, had it after 1359.¹⁷ Margaret probably lived at Cogges, since she is almost certainly commemo-

⁸⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1935, 1939); *Record of Witney*, no. 4 (July 1978), 1: copy in Westgate Libr., Oxf.

⁹⁰ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt b 6, pp. 103, 130, 132; c 133/2, p. 7.

⁹¹ O.R.O., vctrls' recogs.; *Pigot's Dir. Oxon.* (1830); *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847); O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII (1883 edn.).

⁹² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 7, ff. 29, 42, 59.

⁹³ *Cf. Witney Gaz.* 30 Oct. 1975.

⁹⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 379–80, 405.

⁹⁵ *Oxonienisia*, xlvii. 44–5.

⁹⁶ *Red Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 302. For the Arsic barony see O.A.S. *Rep.* lxxxv (1930), 309–20.

⁹⁷ *Cal. Diplomatic Doc.* i, no. 1.

⁹⁸ *Cart. Antiq.* (Pipe R. Soc. N.S. xxxiii), no. 549; *Oxonienisia*, xlvii. 44–7.

⁹⁹ A charter of Manasser (II) in O.R.O., Dash. XXIII/ii/1 says that Kenilworth Priory (founded 1122) had held 1½ hide in Ludwell in his grandfather's time.

¹ *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* iii, nos. 23, 219, 626, 649; O.A.S. *Rep.* lxxxv. 311–13.

² *Oxonienisia*, xlvii. 47–8; *Cart. Antiq.* (Pipe R. Soc. N.S. xxxiii), no. 548.

³ P.R.O., E 40/6495; cf. *The Ancestor*, vi. 72–8.

⁴ *Pipe R.* 1172 (P.R.S. xviii), 20; 1190 (P.R.S. N.S. i), 14.

⁵ *Rot. de Ob. et Fin.* (Rec. Com.), 255, 261, 270.

⁶ O.A.S. *Rep.* lxxxv. 316–19.

⁷ *Ex. e Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.), i. 193.

⁸ *Oxon. Fines*, 115, 124, 126; *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226–57, 264–5, 270, 285.

⁹ Above, Intro.

¹⁰ *Bk. of Fees*, ii. 822.

¹¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 867–8, 46.

¹² *Ibid.* ii. 868; *Feud. Aids*, iv. 156, 178, 196; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* v, p. 194.

¹³ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226–57, 285; *Oxon. Fines*, 131; *Complete Peerage*, vi. 150–151 n.

¹⁴ *Ex. e Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 464–5; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, p. 182.

¹⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* v, p. 194.

¹⁶ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1327–41, 168; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* x, p. 406; cf. *Complete Peerage*, vi. 144–7.

¹⁷ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 867; *Cal. Close*, 1307–13, 393; *Cal. Pat.* 1377–81, 334; cf. *Oxonienisia*, xlvii. 108–9.

rated by a lavish tomb and chapel in the church.¹⁸

The remains of the de la Haye moiety of Cogges descended on Alexandra's death to her daughter Alexandra, wife of William de Gardinis.¹⁹ In 1279 Thomas de Gardinis, William's son and heir, was holding the manor during his father's lifetime for $\frac{1}{8}$ of a fee.²⁰ He succeeded on his father's death in 1287 and was one of the lords of Cogges in 1316;²¹ in 1293 he claimed exemption from jury service on the grounds that he held the barony of Cogges.²² In 1328 he died, holding a capital messuage, lands, and rents in Cogges, together with property in Somerton and Fringford, for $\frac{1}{3}$ of a knight's fee, paying 52s. 6d. for ward at Dover Castle. His heir was John Giffard the younger of Twyford (Bucks.), son of his daughter Alexandra.²³ In 1338, John, Lord Grey, was licensed to enfeof John Giffard with land in Fringford in exchange for most of his Cogges property.²⁴ Cogges was effectively reunited in the hands of the Greys, although the remains of the Giffard lands comprised a separate estate until the 18th century.²⁵

John, 2nd Lord Grey, succeeded to the reunited manor in 1359.²⁶ He died in 1375, leaving as heir his son Bartholomew, who died the same year.²⁷ Cogges was still held by the dowager Avice Marmion, relict of the first Lord Grey, in 1379, when Bartholomew's brother Robert, Lord Grey, settled the lands.²⁸ Robert died seised in 1388; his heir was his daughter Joan, who later married Sir John Deincourt, Lord Deincourt, and died in 1408,²⁹ but Cogges was assigned in dower to Robert's second wife Elizabeth, relict of John of Birmingham and later wife of Sir John Clinton, Lord Clinton (d. 1398), and of Sir John Russell. Elizabeth died in 1423 seised of the manor,³⁰ which passed to Joan's daughters and coheirs, Alice wife of William Lovel, Lord Lovel, and Margaret wife of Sir Ralph Cromwell.³¹ It remained divided between them until Margaret died without issue in 1454, leaving Alice as her heir.³² William, Lord Lovel, died in 1455;³³ Alice married secondly Sir Ralph Butler, later Lord Sudeley, and held Cogges until her death in 1474.³⁴

The heir to the de Grey estate in Cogges was

Alice's grandson Francis, Lord Lovel;³⁵ he was attainted in 1485, and the manor escheated to the Crown.³⁶ In the same year Henry VII granted Cogges, along with other Oxfordshire manors, to his brother Jasper, duke of Bedford.³⁷ When Jasper died without legitimate issue in 1495³⁸ the manor passed back into royal hands and in 1509 Anthony Fettiplace, squire for the body, was made steward of Cogges and other manors in Oxfordshire.³⁹ In 1514 all the manors were granted by Act of Parliament to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, in tail male, and in 1517 Thomas leased Cogges to William Bryan for 21 years.⁴⁰ Thomas's son and heir Thomas inherited Cogges in 1524, and sold it to the Crown in 1540.⁴¹ In 1543 the Crown granted the manor to Lord Audley, the Lord Chancellor, and Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity College, Oxford;⁴² Audley immediately quit-claimed to Pope, and in 1545 the manor was confirmed to Pope alone.⁴³

John Pope, brother of Sir Thomas (d. 1559),⁴⁴ inherited the manor and was succeeded in 1583 by his son William, created earl of Downe in 1628.⁴⁵ When William died in 1631 his heir was his grandson Thomas (d. 1660), baptized at Cogges in 1622, and the Crown granted Cogges to William Murray during the minority; the manor house was held during the 1630s by Elizabeth Peniston, widow of Thomas's father Sir William Pope (d. 1624), and her husband Sir Thomas Peniston.⁴⁶ Thomas, earl of Downe, suffered badly during the Civil War and sold most of his lands; Cogges, one of his four remaining estates, was granted in 1660 to Sir Francis Henry Lee of Ditchley on his marriage to Thomas's daughter Elizabeth.⁴⁷ In 1660 and 1665 most of the demesne was leased to one man, Thomas Collier, who lived in the manor house.⁴⁸ In 1667 the Lees sold the manor to Francis Blake and his son William.⁴⁹ The Blakes were a London family; William, a woollen draper, may have been interested in the Witney blanket industry. His charitable ventures in London brought financial troubles, but in Oxfordshire he prospered, became sheriff in 1689, and at his death in 1695 left substantial charities, notably for Blake's School at Cogges.⁵⁰ William

¹⁸ Below, Church.

¹⁹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* i, p. 205.

²⁰ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii, p. 411.

²¹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii, p. 411; *Feud. Aids*, iv. 463.

²² J. Quick, 'Number and Distribution of Knights in Thirteenth Cent. Eng.' *Thirteenth Cent. Eng.* i, ed. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd, 116.

²³ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* vii, p. 107.

²⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1338-40, 101.

²⁵ Below.

²⁶ Cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1367-70, 81.

²⁷ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xiv, p. 135; cf. *Complete Peerage*, vi. 147-9.

²⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1377-81, 334.

²⁹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xvi, p. 222; *Complete Peerage*, vi. 150.

³⁰ *Cal. Close*, 1385-9, 544; *Complete Peerage*, vi. 149; P.R.O., C 139/12, no. 15.

³¹ *Complete Peerage*, iv. 124-7, vi. 150; P.R.O., C 139/12, no. 15.

³² P.R.O., C 139/159, no. 27; *Complete Peerage*, iv. 127-8.

³³ P.R.O., CP 25(1)/292/68/56; *ibid.* C 139/158, no. 28.

³⁴ *Ibid.* C 140/47, no. 64.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Complete Peerage*, viii. 225.

³⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1485-94, 64.

³⁸ *Complete Peerage*, ii. 73.

³⁹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i (1), p. 51.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 373; P.R.O., E 326/7223.

⁴¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, pp. 218-19.

⁴² *Ibid.* xviii, p. 65; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 90/1; P.R.O., E 318/2/58.

⁴³ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 90/2; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xviii, pp. 216, 219.

⁴⁴ For Pope pedigree see *Oxon. Visit.* 151-2.

⁴⁵ P.R.O., C 142/124/153; C 142/205/191; *Complete Peerage*, iv. 449-50.

⁴⁶ P.R.O., C 142/47, no. 64; *ibid.* C 66/2650, no. 6; *D.N.B.* s.v. Thos. Pope; cf. Bodl. MS. North Adds. c 15, ff. 3, 6; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1637-8, 265, 303, 333, 420, 520, 566.

⁴⁷ *D.N.B.*; O.R.O., Dil. XVIII/d/1; *ibid.* Jo./II/1.

⁴⁸ O.R.O., Dil. XVIII/d/1; P.R.O., E 179/255/4, no. 277.

⁴⁹ O.R.O., Dil. XVIII/d/1; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 91/2-12. A pedigree of the Blake fam. is in *Hist. Northumb.* ed. K. H. Vickers, xi. 402.

⁵⁰ *Survey of London*, xvii. 52; below, Educ.

was succeeded by his brother Sir Francis Blake of Ford Castle (Northumb.).⁵¹ His relict, Sarah, who was to have half the manor-house, quarrelled with her brother-in-law over William's arrangements for Cogges.⁵² Sir Francis died childless in 1717 and the manor passed to his cousin Daniel Blake, a woollen draper; he fell into financial difficulties, mortgaged the manor in 1720, and sold it to Simon Harcourt, Viscount Harcourt, in 1726; at that date the manor house was occupied by Henry Franklin and Edward Wilts.⁵³ Lordship of the manor then descended in the Harcourt family,⁵⁴ and Manor farm was leased, first to Thomas Beconsale and then, from the 1740s until 1877, to the Hollis family.⁵⁵ In 1877 the farm was leased to Joseph Mawle of Worminghall, whose family remained the principal farmers in Cogges, bought Manor farm in 1919, and sold it to Oxfordshire county council in 1974.⁵⁶

The *PRIORY* or *RECTORY* manor originated in Manasser Arsic's grant to Fécamp abbey, shortly before 1103, of his house of Cogges, the church of the vill with its land, 2 ploughlands, firewood, a garden, 40 a. of meadow, William of Wilcote's meadow, and all tithes.⁵⁷ In the 14th century Cogges, as an alien priory,⁵⁸ suffered temporary seizures and was let at farm from 1375 onwards.⁵⁹ In 1441 Henry VI granted the land, the priory house, and the living to the newly founded Eton College,⁶⁰ which continued to farm the estate to a succession of local tenants.⁶¹ In 1859 Oxford diocese bought the Priory and its curtilage for use as a vicarage,⁶² but the rest of the estate, by then centred on Northfield Farm, was retained by Eton College.

Following the reunification of the main manor in 1338 an estate of c. 200 a., called a manor in 1345, was retained by the Giffards;⁶³ in 1361 possessions entailed by John Giffard the younger on his son Thomas included 30s. rent in Cogges.⁶⁴ The estate descended with Twyford (Bucks.) until the death in 1550 of Thomas Giffard, when it passed to his daughter Ursula, wife of Sir Thomas Wenman;⁶⁵ thereafter it descended with the Wenmans of Thame Park.⁶⁶ In 1753 it was among several estates mortgaged by Philip Wenman, Viscount Wenman, on whose death in 1760 it was devised to trustees for

payment of debts. In 1784, following a dispute in chancery, it was sold to George Simon Harcourt, Earl Harcourt, and was thereafter reunited with the main manor.⁶⁷

ECONOMIC HISTORY. The open fields of Cogges are ill-recorded. North field, in the north-west part of the parish around the modern Northfield Farm, was mentioned from the early 13th century.⁶⁸ A deed in 1302 granted 3 a. in the fields of Cogges,⁶⁹ but except in North field the strips were located by reference to individual furlongs. Langefurlonge and Briddeslande were mentioned in 1242, the first immediately south of Manor Farm.⁷⁰ Two holdings described in 1407 included pieces on Sumnere, in Longemedlond, in Shortmedlond, in the furlong called Lyteldoune, in the furlong beneath Lyteldoune, at Wedefurwemere, and on the north side of Southwedemere.⁷¹ There were three open fields by the late 17th century, when lands were divided between Cogges Court field, Gill Mill field, and Down field, and in 1776 the glebe and tithes showed the usual threefold division between wheat, lenten grain, and fallow. In the 1770s lands were divided between Upper, Middle, and Town fields.⁷²

The arable included a substantial acreage of old inclosures. In 1212–13 Newland was laid out over parts of existing closes in the north-west,⁷³ and numerous closes were mentioned between the late 16th century and the late 18th. In 1656 Goode's farm was leased with 3 yardlands of arable and 10 named closes,⁷⁴ and in 1701 the crop of Broad close was valued at £18 and that of Jordan's close at £1, implying considerable acreages.⁷⁵ Old inclosures mentioned in 1787 lay mostly on the Oxford Clay plateau around High Cogges, where a group of very small, irregularly shaped fields, including the field-names Winnings, Grubbis, and Breach, suggest 12th- or 13th-century assarting.⁷⁶

Medieval Cogges contained large areas of meadow, wood, and waste. River meadows bordered the Windrush along the entire south-western boundary, on the alluvium and flood-plain terrace between Manor Farm and Gill Mill; meadow 11 furlongs by 2 and hay yielding 10s. a year were recorded in 1086.⁷⁷ Manasser

⁵¹ *Par. Colln.* i. 98. The statement that 'David' Blake was lord of Cogges presumably rests on a misreading of 'Daniel'.

⁵² O.R.O., Misc. Far. VIII/1.

⁵³ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 93/8, c 94/5–10; *Hist. Northumb.* xi. 408–9; P.R.O., CP 25(2)/1051/11 Geo. I Trin. For the house cf. above, Intro.

⁵⁴ Cf. below, Stanton Harcourt, Manors.

⁵⁵ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt b 6, b 26, c 133/2, c 135/1; below, Econ.; Educ.

⁵⁶ County Mus., MS. abstracts of Mawle fam. docs. by M. Clapinson; *Cogges*, ed. J. M. Steane (Oxon. C. C., 1980), 15–16.

⁵⁷ *Cart. Antiq.* (Pipe R. Soc. N.S. xxxiii), no. 549; *Oxonien-sia*, xlvii. 105–6.

⁵⁸ For a fuller account see *Oxonien-sia*, xlvii. 52–4.

⁵⁹ *Cal. Fine R.* 1369–77, 302; 1377–83, 41; 1383–91, 37, 60; 1399–1405, 210; 1413–22, 33; *Cal. Pat.* 1401–5, 87; 1408–13, 86; 1413–6, 166.

⁶⁰ *Rot. Parl.* v. 48.

⁶¹ Cf. *Oxonien-sia*, xlvii. 54–6; cf. below, Econ.

⁶² Below, Church.

⁶³ P.R.O., C 142/26, no. 24; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* viii, p. 408; above; cf. Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 102/10, 13; b 39, surv. of Ld. Wenman's estate; below, Econ.

⁶⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1358–61, 571.

⁶⁵ *Misc. Gen. et Her.* (5th ser.), vi. 127–9; *V.C.H. Bucks.* iv. 255–6.

⁶⁶ Cf. *V.C.H. Oxon.* vii. 177; *Complete Peerage*, s.v. Wenman.

⁶⁷ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 102/10, 13–15; b 39, indent. 10 Aug. 1784; above.

⁶⁸ *Sir C. Hatton's Bk. of Seals*, no. 114; *Oxon. Fines*, 124.

⁶⁹ *Oxonien-sia*, xlvii. 106.

⁷⁰ *Cal. Chart. R.* i. 265; *Oxon. Fines*, 124.

⁷¹ Eton Coll., Evidence bk., p. 677.

⁷² Ibid. Survey of Estates, pp. 138–9; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 95/14, 16; c 96/5; b 39, docs. *re incl.*, referring to Upper, Middle, and Town fields.

⁷³ Above, Intro.

⁷⁴ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Wokingham c 1.

⁷⁵ Ibid. MS. Wills Oxon. 73/4/11.

⁷⁶ Ibid. incl. award; County Mus., TS. rep. by C. J. Bond.

⁷⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405.

Arsic (d. by 1190) gave to Eynsham abbey 5 a. in the meadow called Hengstesei next Thegmed.⁷⁸ The large meadows Grimesmead and Flemingfield were mentioned frequently from 1228;⁷⁹ Flemingfield was an inclosed pasture of 40 a. in 1602.⁸⁰ Cogges tenants had rights in Langel common, on the Witney side of the parish boundary, which in 1658 was said to be worth £30 a year and was free for all comers.⁸¹

Pasture measuring 3 furlongs by 1 was recorded in 1086,⁸² and in 1228 the prior of Cogges was in dispute with Robert Arsic and others over common of pasture in Cogges.⁸³ In the 13th and 14th centuries there was, however, scarcely any several pasture. There was considerable heathland waste on the east boundary south of Cogges wood, where a group of rectilinear fields, many bearing the name heath, were laid out at inclosure in 1787; the adjoining areas of Eynsham and South Leigh were still heathland ten years later.⁸⁴

Cogges lay on the south edge of Wychwood forest, and woodland was of major importance in its economy. Woodland measuring 18 furlongs by 6 was recorded in 1086.⁸⁵ Cogges wood, within the medieval forest, was once considerably larger and seems to have included the extraparochial area of Osney hill, also called Cogges wood in 1216–17.⁸⁶ There seems to have been vigorous assarting in the 12th century, for Cogges was one of the few local townships for which large fines from forest pleas were recorded.⁸⁷ In 1242 Archbishop de Grey acquired the manorial wood, estimated at 200 a., from the de la Hayes, who were to receive a cartload of firewood for every week that they spent at Cogges, and have 20 pigs in the wood quit of pannage when it was levied.⁸⁸ The archbishop had the wood freed from the foresters' regard, even though it remained within the bounds of Wychwood.⁸⁹ In 1255 the prior of Cogges was fined 40s. for unlicensed felling,⁹⁰ and further clearances during the 13th and 14th centuries seem to have steadily reduced the area of woodland. Forest proceedings throughout the 14th century recorded fellings, inclosures, purpresures, and waste committed by the de Greys in Cogges wood, which was estimated at only 100 a. in 1372;⁹¹ in 1423 the manor included 60 a. of woodland worth nothing.⁹² In the early 17th century there was a protracted dispute between Sir William Pope and a lessee who had felled over 1,000 trees.⁹³ Thereafter, depletion seems to have stopped; the lord was receiving £70 a year from Cogges coppice in 1660,⁹⁴ and in 1876 the wood covered c. 212 a.⁹⁵

In 1086 there was land for 8 ploughteams; 2 were worked on the demesne by 3 *servi*, but no tenants or tenant ploughteams were recorded. The manor retained its pre-Conquest value of £10.⁹⁶ The apparent under-stocking and the absence of tenants seem best attributed to scribal omission, though it is possible that the whole manor was managed as a demesne. There were agricultural tenants c. 1225, when the vicar was to receive the rents of 4 cottars and the tithe of sheaves from 3 villein hides.⁹⁷

In the 1150s a monk of Fécamp described the dismal condition of the priory manor: the house was ruinous; pigs and horses had been killed by a falling building, and oxen and sheep by pestilence; bad weather prevented cultivation; there were insufficient ploughs; and the lay lord sought to repossess all the land which his grandfather had given to Fécamp.⁹⁸ The comments suggest that Cogges had been seriously disrupted by the Anarchy.

In 1279 the smaller (de Gardinis) moiety of the main manor had $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughland in demesne. Seven free tenants were named whose holdings varied considerably, from $\frac{3}{4}$ yardland for 5s. a year to 4 a. for 2s. Two bondmen held 1 yardland jointly at the lord's will; they owed works 5 days a week except Saturday, between the feast of St. John the Baptist and Michaelmas, commutable at the lord's will for 3s. 9d.; works in the rest of the year were commutable for 3s. 9d.⁹⁹ Only two years earlier free rents had been assessed at 40s. (compared with 24s. in 1279), other rents at only 5s.; the demesne was given as 30 a. of arable worth 10s. a year and 6 a. of meadow worth 6s. a year.¹

In 1279 the larger moiety of the manor included two demesne ploughlands with meadow and adjoining pasture. There were 11 villeins, 10 of whom held $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland and owed works at the lady's will commutable for 2s. 6d.; the other villein held 1 yardland, was tallaged at will, and owed works commutable for 5s. Five cottagers each held a yardland, could be tallaged at will, and owed the same service as the villeins. Of 15 named freemen, 6 held between $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland for 10s. 6d. and 1 yardland for 5s. and suit of court every three weeks; the two tenants of Gill Mill held $\frac{1}{4}$ yardland, paying a total of 30s. yearly and owing suit. The other 7 free tenants held 1 a. plots, almost certainly houses in Newland, for 12d. each.² In 1311 there were 28 unfree tenants recorded on the same moiety, and 43 free tenants paying rent of £7 6s. 3½d., suggesting serious omissions in the 1279 survey. Services owed by seven cottagers and another tenant in

⁷⁸ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 108–9.

⁷⁹ *Rot. Welles*, i (L.R.S. iii), 183.

⁸⁰ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 337.

⁸¹ *Wood's Life and Times*, i (O.H.S. xix), 253

⁸² *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405.

⁸³ *Cal. Pat.* 1225–32, 217.

⁸⁴ O.R.O., incl. award; Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797); below, Eynsham, Econ.; S. Leigh, Econ.

⁸⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405.

⁸⁶ *Osney Cart.* iv, p. 136.

⁸⁷ *Pipe R.* 1163 (P.R.S. vi), 49; 1167 (P.R.S. xi), 15; cf. B. Schumer, *Evolution of Wychwood to 1400* (Leic. Univ. Dept. Eng. Local Hist. Occas. Pps. 3rd ser. vi), 30.

⁸⁸ *Oxon. Fines*, 124.

⁸⁹ *Cal. Chart. R.* i. 270; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 867.

⁹⁰ P.R.O., E 32/251, m. 4.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* E 32/306, mm. 1, 2, 4, 12.

⁹² *Ibid.* C 139/12, no. 15.

⁹³ J. Whitelocke, *Liber Famelicus* (Camd. 1st Ser. lxx), 21–3.

⁹⁴ O.R.O., Dil. XVIII/d/1.

⁹⁵ O.S. *Area Bk.* (1877).

⁹⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405.

⁹⁷ *Rot. Welles*, i (L.R.S. iii), 183.

⁹⁸ *Oxoniensis*, xlvii. 47–8.

⁹⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868.

¹ P.R.O., C 133/50/21.

² *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 867–8; cf. above, Intro.

1311, worth 4s. 10½*d.* a year and confined to light mowing and harvest works, show that commutation had progressed since 1279. The demesne in 1311 comprised the house, 300 a. of arable worth 100s., 40 a. of meadow worth 66s. 8*d.*, and several pasture worth 3s. a year.³

The priory lands, not described in 1279, included in 1294 80 a. of arable worth 1*d.* an acre, 22 a. of meadow worth 1s. 3*d.* an acre, and 9 a. of land held by free tenants paying 5s. 10*d.* a year. In 1324 there were 60 a. of arable, 20 a. of meadow, and rents of 8s. 10*d.* from free tenants.⁴ The size of the medieval yardland is unknown, but in the late 18th century yardlands on the Wenman estate were estimated at *c.* 21½ field acres or *c.* 17 statute acres.⁵

In 1316 there were 26 contributors to the lay subsidy, and in 1327 there were 35, including Wilcote tenants whose numbers, though small, are uncertain.⁶ The largest contributor to both subsidies was Robert de Morby, life-tenant of the de Grey estate, assessed on goods worth £22 in 1316, and £15 in 1327. The second highest contributor in 1316, Hugh of Standlake, assessed on goods worth 94s. 8*d.*, was perhaps undertenant of the smaller portion of the manor, although in 1327 Thomas de Gardinis was only the fourth highest contributor. At least 17 and possibly 20 paid less than 2s. in 1316, and 19 in 1327; Alice Jordan, who held 2 yardlands in villeinage in 1311,⁷ paid 3s. 7*d.* in 1316. Overall the value of movables assessed rose from £53 12s. to £98 10s., falling to £70 in 1334.⁸ A number of peasant families were recorded both in 1279 and in the subsidy rolls, including the villein families of Jordan, le Roke, Alriche, and Grobias, and the freeholding families of Brown and Hall.

The effects of the Black Death in Cogges seem to have been limited.⁹ In 1387 rents from tenants on the priory estate totalled 5s. 6*d.*; there were then 26 a. of pasture besides common pasture for 200 sheep and 12 other animals, and the priory held 1 ploughland containing 75 a. of arable valued at *c.* 7*d.* an acre. The priory house and dovecot had fallen into disrepair.¹⁰ The emphasis on sheep is not unexpected, but the greatly increased arable value seems at variance with other evidence; in 1423–4 the main manor included 180 a. of arable worth 2*d.* an acre yearly, with 64 a. of pasture worth 1s. an acre, 114 a. of pasture worth 2*d.* an acre, and 60 a. of woodland worth nothing.¹¹ The figures suggest that the arable was losing ground to pasture.

Some customary holdings first listed in 1412 were evidently former demesne; they included inclosed land called Prior's field in the North field with a croft, a piece of land called Borehull,

30 a. taken from the demesne, and crofts called Prior's croft, and Prior's garden; Prior's field was Priory close in 1776. The land, excluding the crofts, for which no acreages were given, totalled *c.* 77½ a., suggesting that the 75 a. demesne ploughland of 1387 had been broken up into copyholds. Other priory copyholds, mentioned in 1429, were closes called Cogges Hill, Tofts, Lye field, Middle field, Middle lands, and Oumphrey. By 1412 the priory meadow of Grimesmead had also been let out as 7 customary parcels amounting to 13 a., at a total rent of £1 6s. 4*d.*; there were other meadows called Twelveacres and Sydenale.¹² Both arable and meadows, including some former open-field land in North field, had clearly undergone piecemeal inclosure, again suggesting increased pastoral farming, and in 1500–1 William Newman of Cogges converted 20 a. of arable.¹³ The prosperous Witney merchant Richard Wenman, who leased the priory manor from 1493, may have done so for the grazing: his will of 1533 mentions cattle and sheep in Cogges.¹⁴

In 1524 there were 25 contributors to the subsidy, of whom 13 paid 1s. or less. The highest contributor was Maud Bryan, lessee of the manor, assessed at 20s. William White, whose family lived at Cogges for over 200 years and provided several stewards or bailiffs of Eynsham abbey, paid 6s. 8*d.*, Richard Bryan 6s., and the remaining seven between 5s. and 2s.; the total contribution was £3 7s. 6*d.*¹⁵ Ten taxpayers from Cogges and Wilcote were assessed on goods ranging from £10 to £3 in 1578, and one person was assessed on 20s. worth of land. Walter King, whose family was prominent in Cogges throughout the 17th century was assessed on £6, two members of the Bryan family on £4, and Elizabeth White on £3.¹⁶

Seventeenth-century inventories confirm that a small group of families, notably the Whites and the Constables, were exceptionally prosperous. Jacob White (d. 1662), yeoman, left a total estate of £570, and Henry White (d. 1677), gentleman, £923.¹⁷ Richard Constable (d. 1627) left £101, Lawrence Constable (d. 1632) £192, and Lawrence Constable (d. 1668) £136.¹⁸ Edward Kears, who lived in a house of at least 12 rooms, left an estate of over £225 in 1640.¹⁹ William Harman (d. 1697) left goods and chattels to the value of £224, Hester Holt £104, and Sampson Horne, yeoman, £136.²⁰ Among craftsmen William Brooke (d. 1621), weaver, left £129, but John Lawton, blanket weaver, only £22 in 1716.²¹

In 1662 there were 25 contributors to the hearth tax in Cogges, and six, all assessed on one hearth, in Newland.²² At least 12 farmhouses in

³ P.R.O., C 134/26/10, no. 8.

⁴ P.R.O., E 106/2/6, m. 5; E 106/8/5, no. 18; *Oxoniensia*, xlvii. 52.

⁵ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 39: surv. of Ld. Wenman's estate.

⁶ P.R.O., E 179/161/8, E 179/161/9.

⁷ Ibid. C 134/26/10, no. 8.

⁸ *Lay Subsidy 1334*, ed. R. E. Glasscock, 242.

⁹ Cf. above, Intro.

¹⁰ O.A.S. Rep. (1910), 33.

¹¹ P.R.O., C 139/12, no. 15.

¹² Eton Coll., Evidence bk. B, pp. 677–81; Survey Bk.,

pp. 138–9; *Oxoniensia*, xlvii. 105–6.

¹³ *Dom. of Incl.* ed. I. S. Leadam, 380.

¹⁴ Eton Coll., Lease bk. 1445–1529, f. 129v.; P.R.O., PROB 11/25, f. 148.

¹⁵ P.R.O., E 179/161/198.

¹⁶ Ibid. E 179/162/341.

¹⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 71/3/33; 72/2/15.

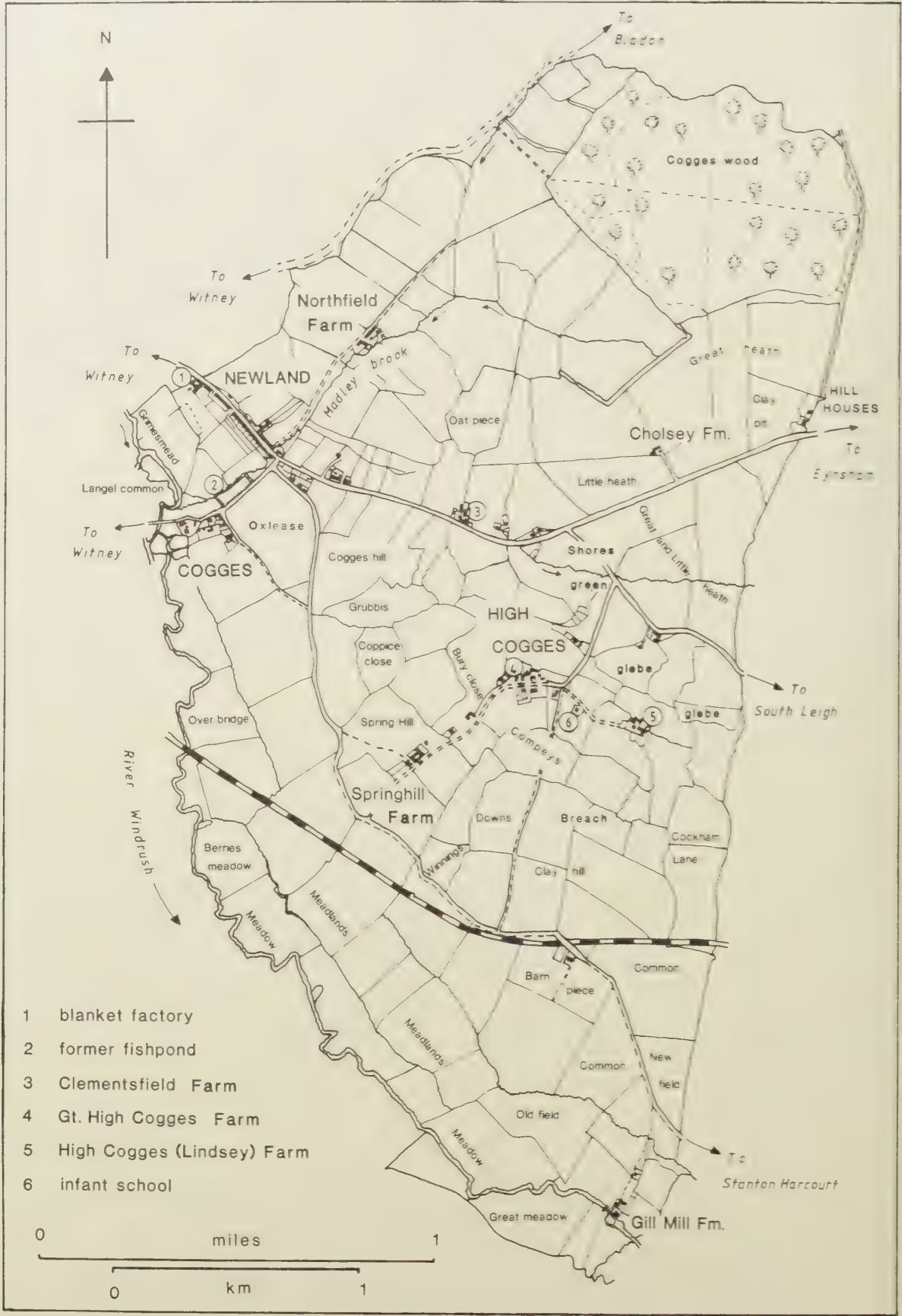
¹⁸ Ibid. 296/2/33; 12/4/5; 13/5/8.

¹⁹ Ibid. 298/4/16.

²⁰ Ibid. 34/5/12; 34/1/31; 132/3/27.

²¹ Ibid. 295/2/72; 169/4/45.

²² P.R.O., E 179/255/4, no. 277.



COGGES 1870

Cogges had 3 or more hearths: Thomas Collier, lessee of the manor house, had 16, Edward Wise had 5, and James White had 4, and 9 others, including members of the Constable, Brinkfield, Andrews, and Horne families, had 3 hearths. Nine paid on 2 hearths, and 4 on one. Amongst 4 people discharged tax on account of poverty in 1665 was John Brookes, who at his death four years later had goods and chattels worth £44.²³

In 1517 the demesne of Cogges was let with the manor house and a dovecot.²⁴ In 1542–3 the lord received its rent of £13 6s. 8d., additional rents of £24 4s. 10d., and 5s. from perquisites of court; the unstocked rabbit warren rendered nothing.²⁵ In 1660 the demesne rents amounted to £382, of which £257 was for the home farm and £70 for Cogges coppice. Rents from 25 copyholders yielded £17 3s. 5d.; copyholders owed poultry once a year at Michaelmas, amounting to 13 capons and 11 hens, valued in all at 23s. 7d. Sixteen freeholders paid a total rent of £9 17s. 3d. a year.²⁶

Copyhold grants continued on Cogges manor throughout the 17th century, although tenants also held by lease.²⁷ In 1718 it was stated that copyholders but not their widows were to pay heriot, and that when copyholds became vacant tenants were to have first refusal. Tops, lops, and underwood were the tenant's but other timber for repairs or building was to be had by application to the court.²⁸

Sheep were kept in large numbers by the more prosperous farmers in the 17th century. Jacob White (d. 1662) had a flock valued at £102; the 96 sheep owned by Laurence Constable (d. 1632) were valued at £20.²⁹ Another Constable had a flock of 60, and William Harman (d. 1697) had 85 sheep.³⁰ The average number of cattle listed in inventories was c. 8 and the highest number 18, including 2 bulls, kept by William Harman.³¹ Most farmers kept a few pigs, horses, and some poultry, but only Jacob White had many, his livestock being valued at £240; he was also a considerable arable farmer.³² The stint in the late 18th century was 40 sheep and 4 cows to a yardland, and there was unlimited sheep commoning on the heath; in 1735 the cattle commons were said to be sound enough for good farmers to make up almost half their income from them.³³ In the early 18th century the Hayes, North field, and Cagehills were common for great cattle from Michaelmas to Candlemas, the Berrymeads for all cattle, and Tenacres and the common closes according to custom. Grimesmead was common at Lammas,

and Burrell when the corn was off. Power's meadow and other grounds belonging to Gill Mill on the far side of the river were common from Lammas to Lady Day.³⁴

Arable farming was varied; corn, wheat, barley, pulse, and hay were the most common crops. Only one farmer is known to have grown oats,³⁵ and another grew some rye;³⁶ vetches, too, were rare. A typical farmer, Richard Constable (d. 1627), had winter corn, barley, beans, pulse, and hay, and like most Cogges farmers seems to have balanced arable with pastoral farming.³⁷

By 1735 there seems to have been some amalgamation of holdings. John Kears's two farms together comprised over 200 a.; the manorial farm, held by Thomas Beconsale, comprised 400 a., and two others over 100 a. each. There were some farms of c. 40 a. or less, and c. 500 a. were let out to small tenants for lives. Several tenants were in arrears, which on the Harcourts' Oxfordshire estates generally was blamed on dull management and old-fashioned farming methods;³⁸ in 1738 Beconsale had to sell up in order to pay off arrears of over £900, and for a time part of the manorial farm was kept in hand.³⁹ The priory manor in 1776 comprised c. 101 a. of inclosed arable and meadow worth £78 6s. 2d. yearly, and 26 a. of open-field land worth £15 1s. 6d. a year; the open fields were said to be in a very bad state of husbandry, producing on average only 8 or 9 bu. of wheat an acre and c. 16 bu. of lenten grain. The common meadows were described as 'exceeding poor land'.⁴⁰ Such returns presumably encouraged Simon, Earl Harcourt (d. 1777), and his son George (d. 1809) to press for inclosure, and in 1777 Simon negotiated to buy the Wenman estate, then comprising three farms totalling c. 200 a., principally to enable him to inclose the parish without opposition.⁴¹

The parish was inclosed in 1787 under an Act of the same year.⁴² The total area allotted was 1,489 a., of which 250 a. were former waste; another 785 a. of land in the parish presumably comprised old inclosure.⁴³ The provost and fellows of Eton were allotted c. 112 a. for glebe and c. 327 a. for tithe, mostly in the north-west around Northfield Farm, with a few meadows in the south-west. Earl Harcourt received c. 977 a. A member of the family later noted that the benefits of inclosure had exceeded the most sanguine hopes.⁴⁴

In 1786 Cogges was farmed largely by tenants: there were only four owner-occupiers in

²³ *Hearth Tax Oxon.* 118; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 6/3/49.

²⁴ P.R.O., E 326/7223.

²⁵ Ibid. E 318/2/58.

²⁶ O.R.O., Dil. XVIII/d/1; cf. Bodl. MS. North Adds. c 15, ff. 3, 6; ibid. MS. Top. Oxon. c 770, f. 2.

²⁷ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 125/1–2; b 4/1, ff. 46–7; below, Local Govt.

²⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 212.

²⁹ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 71/3/33; 12/4/5.

³⁰ Ibid. 78/1/53; 34/5/12.

³¹ Ibid. 34/5/12.

³² Ibid. 71/3/33.

³³ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt b 34; b 39, surv. of Ld. Wenman's estate.

³⁴ Ibid. MS. Top. Oxon. d 212.

³⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 34/5/12.

³⁶ Ibid. 12/4/5.

³⁷ Ibid. 296/1/23.

³⁸ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt b 34; b 6, pp. 2, 130–6; cf. below, Stanton Harcourt, Econ.

³⁹ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt b 6, pp. 98, 100, 103, 130; c 133/2, p. 7.

⁴⁰ Eton Coll., Survey of Estates, pp. 138–9.

⁴¹ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 102/10, 13; b 39: letters from W. Bowly and Jas. Morrell to Lady Harcourt; surv. of Wenman estate.

⁴² Cogges Incl. Act, 27 Geo. III, c. 12 (Priv. Act); O.R.O., incl. award.

⁴³ H. L. Gray, *Eng. Field Systems*, 539; O.R.O., incl. award. Another 11 a. was water: O.S. *Area Bk.* (1877).

⁴⁴ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 39: docs. *re* incl.

the parish, all of them small landowners. Earl Harcourt had nine tenants, the total assessment for his land being £121 6s. out of £169 12s. for the parish.⁴⁵ By 1831 there were eight owner-occupiers,⁴⁶ of whom Samuel Taylor, assessed at £26 15s., had probably bought the lease of the priory manor in the 1820s.⁴⁷ The total assessment of the parish was then c. £194, of which the Harcourt estate accounted for c. £128. Most of the small owners of 1786 had left by 1831, perhaps because inclosure had caused them difficulties.

Inclosure accelerated amalgamation of holdings by successful tenant farmers, and by 1809 the Harcourt estate included six farms of over 100 a., amongst them Manor farm and Great High Cogges farm, each over 300 a., and High Cogges (later Lindsey) farm of 230 a.; Clementsfield farm was 168 a.⁴⁸ Eton College's Northfield farm comprised over 400 a. by the later 19th century.⁴⁹ By 1832 the later farm pattern was well established.⁵⁰ Most farms were fairly evenly divided between arable and pasture or meadow, and land use changed little before the late 19th century: in 1871 Clementsfield farm was 64 per cent arable, Great High Cogges farm was 62 per cent, Lindsey farm 57 per cent, and Springhill farm and Manor farm c. 40 per cent. Gill Mill farm, by the Windrush, was entirely pastoral in 1832, but acquired c. 41 a. of arable land before 1871, when it remained 75 per cent pastoral.⁵¹

Most farms on the Harcourt estate were in a reasonable state of cultivation in 1871, although William and Thomas Hollis at Springhill farm and Manor farm were described as indifferent farmers, and High Cogges or Lindsey farm, held by the Lindseys for several generations, was in a 'disgraceful' state and needed draining.⁵² From c. 1876 several Cogges farmers suffered severely from the agricultural depression,⁵³ their problems being blamed by Frederick Mair, the Harcourts' local agent, on appalling weather, American competition, and in some cases poor management. William Hollis was bankrupt by 1877, and Springhill farm was leased to John Marriott Clinch of Great High Cogges farm on a separate tenancy; in 1884 Clinch was forced by debt to give it up, and by 1886 he owed over £1,500 to the Harcourt estate. In 1877 Harcourt offered 10 per cent rebates to tenants paying on time, and in 1881 the rents, which had been raised c. 1871, were reduced; in 1883, however, only two tenants were able to pay on time, and by 1886, despite repeated allowances, only one of the eight tenants on the two estates in 1876, Richard Castle of Gill Mill farm, was still in possession.

In 1878 Mair admitted that nearly all the land on Clementsfield farm needed draining, and in

1877 John Clinch's wheat was under 3 ft. of water. Gill Mill farm was flooded in 1872, in 1875, and particularly badly in 1877. In 1878 funds for cleaning the river were raised from local landholders likely to benefit by the Thames Valley Drainage Board, with which Mair was involved, and although in 1879 Gill Mill farm was again flooded, the scheme was said to have been generally successful. The Harcourts undertook piecemeal drainage on several farms during the 1870s and 1880s, particularly on the poor clay soil of the former heath around Cogges wood, and on Manor farm systematic drainage continued into the 1890s.

In Cogges as elsewhere the depression prompted a shift from arable to pastoral farming, and between c. 1882 and 1894 c. 400 a. of arable were converted to permanent pasture, most of it presumably on the ill-drained Oxford Clay in the east. By 1917 c. 72 per cent of agricultural land in the parish was permanent pasture, compared with c. 38 per cent in 1870, and the number of cattle had doubled. Most, particularly on the new clayland pastures, were beef cattle, although dairying continued on Cogges and Manor farms which included significant amounts of meadowland by the Windrush. Gill Mill farm was primarily a dairy farm in 1871 and so remained. Sheep farming continued during the 1880s but declined thereafter; there were said to be c. 20 or 30 pigs on Manor farm in the 1910s, but there were apparently none by 1916. Wheat and barley continued to be the most important crops, with some swedes, turnips, and vetches, formerly grown as feed for sheep, and a small quantity of potatoes.

During the 1880s and 1890s several farms became amalgamated under the Mawles of Manor farm, the only family apparently to weather the depression. Joseph Mawle held Clementsfield farm from 1887 and Springhill farm from 1888, bringing the Mawle holding to 682 a., which included much of the better farmland; both Manor and Springhill farms were sold to the Mawles in the 1920s. Gill Mill farm was amalgamated probably with Lindsey farm in the 1890s; Robbins farm, 80 a. farmed with Northfield farm during the 1870s, was dismembered in 1883. In 1939 the largest farms were Manor farm, Springhill farm, and High Cogges and Lindsey farms.⁵⁴

From the 13th century some inhabitants found work associated with Witney, especially in the cloth industry. Newland tenants in 1212-13 included Geoffrey the napper and Ralph the fuller, and John Milford, a webber of Cogges, was mentioned in 1400.⁵⁵ Not all the weavers and broadweavers mentioned in the 17th and 18th centuries worked in Witney; John Lawton of Newland, for example, described as a

⁴⁵ O.R.O., land tax assess. 1786.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 1831.

⁴⁷ Cf. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 226, f. 20; *Oxf. Jnl.* 11 Apr. 1829; *Oxoniensis*, xlvii. 55.

⁴⁸ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt b 35; b 39, leases, survs. of Harcourt estate at Cogges.

⁴⁹ Ibid. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 39, 'Refs. to Cogges map'; ibid. MS. Top. Oxon. c 226, f. 20; *Oxf. Jnl.* 11 Apr. 1829.

⁵⁰ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 265, ff. 1-11; b 39, parties. of a fm. at Cogges, 1829; cf. O.S. Map 1", sheet 45 (1833

edn.)

⁵¹ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 265, ff. 1-11; c 266, ff. 69-77.

⁵² Ibid. c 266, ff. 69-77.

⁵³ Four paras. based on D. C. Phillips, 'Agric. Hist. of Cogges 1870-1920' (TS. 1978 in County Mus.).

⁵⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1939).

⁵⁵ *Sir C. Hatton's Bk. of Seals*, no. 114; *Cal. Close*, 1399-1400, 45.

blanket-weaver, worked his own loom and sold his blankets in Witney.⁵⁶ Also mentioned in the 17th and 18th centuries were carriers, masons, wheelwrights, and in 1711 a lime burner and brickmaker, Thomas Lardner, who supplied bricks for the kitchen garden at Blenheim in 1705 and who seems to have made a good living.⁵⁷ John Harwood of Cogges, brickmaker, was mentioned in 1693; in the later 18th century one of his descendants had a limekiln, still used in 1803, at Hill Houses on the South Leigh boundary, and there may formerly have been a brick kiln on Cogges hill.⁵⁸

Probably some parishioners were employed full-time in Witney, and although the employment in the blanket industry declined after the introduction of new machines in the late 18th century⁵⁹ the effect in Cogges was mitigated by the setting up at Newland of Early's blanket factory and Pritchett's (later Pritchett and Web-ley's) glove factory by the early 19th century.⁶⁰ Between 1801 and 1831 the proportion of inhabitants involved in trade, manufacture, and handicrafts rose from c. 7 per cent to over 30 per cent,⁶¹ and in 1841 there were 20 weavers and 13 glovers at Newland, besides 9 carpenters, 6 stonemasons, 6 shoemakers, 4 bakers, a butcher, a fuller, a plumber, and a plasterer. Newland was by then effectively a part of Witney rather than of the rural community, although there was also a blacksmith, a saddler, 2 horsekeepers, and many agricultural workers, whose number declined in the later 19th century.⁶² By 1883 the Cantwell family, stonemasons in the 1840s and 1850s, were established as builders on Abingdon Lane at Cogges, and William Hollis, a blacksmith in 1854, had set up on South Leigh Lane at High Cogges as Hollis and Son, wheelwrights and agricultural implement manufacturers and agents.⁶³

During the 1910s and 1920s there was a shop and carpentry business at High Cogges, and the agricultural implement business continued in the 1930s; near Cogges there was still a shop and a small dairy on Stanton Harcourt Road in the 1940s.⁶⁴ In the 1970s the extension of large housing estates with shops and other amenities⁶⁵ effectively absorbed Cogges village into Witney; in 1988 High Cogges remained a separate, scattered farming community, but most of the rural trades had disappeared.

MILLS AND FISHERIES. In 1086 there was a mill at Cogges, worth 10s.⁶⁶ The manorial mill, at the southern tip of the parish, was called Gold Mill (later Guilden, Guild, and finally Gill Mill) by 1279.⁶⁷ Gill Mill formed a small freehold estate within the manor in 1423–4⁶⁸ and 1660.⁶⁹ In 1550 it was held by Richard Curson, gentleman.⁷⁰ In 1564, when Vincent and Elizabeth Curson granted it to Richard Wright, the mill had a house and garden attached, with 3 a. of land, 6 a. of wood, 16 a. of meadow, and 20 a. of pasture.⁷¹ Another Richard Wright and his son of the same name were owners and millers in 1638.⁷² The mill was sold in 1639 to William Stonehouse of Cokethorpe,⁷³ in 1642 to Edward Perrott of North Leigh, and in 1670 to Sir Thomas Gore, the owner of South Leigh.⁷⁴ The Wrights may have remained tenants, for a Richard Wright held land in Cogges in 1660.⁷⁵ From 1670 the mill was leased separately from the house and garden to John Carter of Witney, fuller; in 1704 and 1712 there were two fulling mills there.⁷⁶ Gill Mill was apparently still worked c. 1803, but by 1832 was part of the farm.⁷⁷

The priory mill,⁷⁸ on the Windrush north of the priory, existed by 1242.⁷⁹ It was worth 20s. in 1294 and the same value as a fulling mill with adjoining croft in 1387.⁸⁰ It was demised in 1406 to John Brayne, who held it as a customary tenement at 20s. rent in 1429.⁸¹ The mill, with the adjoining meadow called Mullenham, was regularly leased by Eton College between 1457 and 1702, but seems to have ceased working before 1704.⁸²

In 1279 the de Greys held a free fishery in the Windrush between their manor house and Gill Mill. In the 18th century it was let to tenants for £3 a year.⁸³

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. Robert Arsic was holding courts baron for Cogges manor by 1212–13, when he exempted his tenants at Newland from owing suit there.⁸⁴ In 1241, following the division of the manor, Henry III exempted Archbishop de Grey, his heirs, and their tenants at Cogges from suit to county and hundred, from aids of sheriffs, reeves, and royal bailiffs, and from view of frankpledge and *murdrum*; in 1242 Cogges wood was freed from the

⁵⁶ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 169/4/45.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 42/3/21; cf. B.L. Add. MS. 19602, ff. 4, 72.

⁵⁸ O.R.O., Q.S.R. Epiph. 1693; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 145, p. 2; b 39, surv. of Harcourt estate at Cogges, lease 1803, and letter from J. Parker, 3 Nov. 1874; O.R.O., S. Leigh incl. award, roads; below, S. Leigh, Econ.

⁵⁹ Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 325–6.

⁶⁰ *Pigot's Dir. Oxon.* (1830); *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847 and later edns.); *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883); P.R.O., HO 107/889; O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII (1883 edn.); cf. below, Local Govt. The modern development of Newland is reserved for fuller treatment in a future volume.

⁶¹ *Census*, 1801–31.

⁶² P.R.O., HO 107/889; *ibid.* RG 10/1452.

⁶³ *Billing's Dir. Oxon.* (1854); *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883); P.R.O., HO 107/889; *ibid.* RG 10/1452.

⁶⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1907 and later edns.); *Record of Witney*, no. 4 (1978), 3; copy in Westgate Libr., Oxf.; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 5 (1921 edn.); local inf.

⁶⁵ Above, Intro.

⁶⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405.

⁶⁷ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868.

⁶⁸ P.R.O., C 139/12, no. 15.

⁶⁹ O.R.O., Dil. XVIII/d/1.

⁷⁰ P.R.O., C 142/92, no. 72; *ibid.* E 150/817/3.

⁷¹ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 733. Some of the mill land lay in S. Leigh and Stanton Harcourt: *ibid.* 790.

⁷² *Ibid.* 782.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 790, 791.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 4079, 893; cf. below, S. Leigh, Manors; Stanton Harcourt, Econ.

⁷⁵ O.R.O., Dil. XVIII/d/1.

⁷⁶ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 894, 962, 973. For later deeds see Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt, c 99/5–28.

⁷⁷ Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797); Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt b 39, survs. and leases; c 265, f. 6.

⁷⁸ See also *Oxoniensis*, xlvii. 106.

⁷⁹ *Cal. Chart. R.* i. 265.

⁸⁰ P.R.O., E 106/2/6, m. 5; O.A.S. *Rep.* (1910), 33.

⁸¹ Eton Coll., Evidence bk. B, 677–81.

⁸² *Ibid.* Lease bks. *passim*.

⁸³ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 867; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 145, p. 18; b 10, p. 29.

⁸⁴ *Sir C. Hatton's Bk. of Seals*, no. 114.

foresters' regard.⁸⁵ In 1279 the de Greys were holding courts baron with view of frankpledge at Cogges which all tenants except the seven remaining at Newland were required to attend; the king's bailiff held an annual view of frankpledge for the de Gardinis moiety, which presumably continued until the manor was reunited.⁸⁶ The exemption for Newland tenants evidently disappeared with the original tenancies, and by the 16th century Cogges and Newland comprised separate tithings; the court then met once or twice a year, usually around April and October. Business in the 17th century still included copyhold grants as well as regulation of agricultural affairs and appointment of officers.⁸⁷ The court still met in the mid 18th century, but may have lapsed soon after.⁸⁸

Manorial officers in the 17th century included, besides the two tithingmen, a constable and a hayward,⁸⁹ and by 1740 there were also three grass stewards;⁹⁰ in 1601 the court agreed that the constable should be allowed one yardland quit of all payments to the Crown except subsidies and fifteenths.⁹¹ Officers were usually newly elected at each court session, although in the early 18th century the lord of the manor pressed the court to replace a constable who had served too long; by the late 18th century constables and tithingmen generally served for several years.⁹² There were 2 surveyors of the highways by the early 17th century and until the late 19th, when they were appointed by the vestry;⁹³ in 1700 they spent 53s. on repairs for which a tax was levied, which most of the inhabitants refused to pay.⁹⁴ From 1865 a single waywarden was appointed.⁹⁵

There were two churchwardens by 1530, one appointed by the vicar and one by the parish; in 1887 there were also two sidesmen.⁹⁶ In 1623 the wardens' income included c. 5s. 'for the farm', and several smaller, unspecified payments; they were then apparently responsible for relief of vagrants.⁹⁷ There were two overseers by the early 17th century.⁹⁸ In the early 18th both were elected annually, but from 1786 they usually served two terms, one retiring each year. In 1734 and 1801 there were women overseers.⁹⁹

The overseers' expenditure fluctuated considerably, from £104 in 1719 to only £30 in 1723; the 1719 total included items such as apprenticeship, and expenditure during the earlier 18th century was usually below the £60 spent in 1776. In 1783–5 an average of £101 was spent,

and in 1803 £392 or c. £1 3s. per head of population, one of the highest rates for the area; in 1801–2, exceptionally, over £475 (c. £1 7s. a head) was said to have been spent.¹ By 1813 the capitation rate was again £1 7s., and in 1818 rose to £2 3s.,² probably reflecting both the rising population and increasing mechanization of the Witney woollen industry.³ During the 1820s the rate in Cogges, as in Witney, fell sharply to c. 10s., presumably partly due to the establishment of Early's Newland factory; by 1831 the capitation rate was only c. 8s., below the average for the area, and in 1832 the poor rates were claimed to be extremely low.⁴

In the early 18th century c. 12 people were receiving weekly relief, and c. 1785 regular out-relief was received by c. 15 persons, then as earlier nearly all women and children.⁵ By 1803 there were 23 adults receiving regular weekly payments, and in 1814 there were 36.⁶

There is no early 18th-century evidence for employment of those without work, and roundsmen or yardlandmen and women were first recorded in 1789, when the parish was supplementing the wages of several people by 2d. a day. The supplement later rose to 4d. or even 1s. 6d., probably the whole wage. In 1800 there were 4 men and 15 women on the round, the latter mostly employed in weeding and hay making, and there were a few payments to people with 'no work'. Later the parish employed paupers on the roads.⁷

In 1788 the parish set up a workhouse; a building was rented and equipped, and an agreement made to farm the poor at £21 5s. a quarter. The contractor for the first two years was John Rusher of Eynsham, who was farming the poor both there and at Woodstock. From 1796 to 1799 and again 1802–4 the overseers ran the workhouse directly, and the accounts record payments for cheese and potatoes, for meat and bread, and for beer, cabbage, peas, and beans, together with seeds and plants for the workhouse garden. More usually the workhouse was farmed to a succession of contractors at up to £27 10s. a quarter, although in 1800 the contractor was given a special allowance of c. £17 'in consideration of the exorbitant price of provisions', and by 1809 he was receiving c. £20 a month. In 1801 there were 16 people in the workhouse at a cost of 5s. a head per week, and in 1803 there were 13, but no workhouse inmates were recorded for 1813 or thereafter.⁸

⁸⁵ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226–57, 264, 270; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 867; above, Econ.

⁸⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 867–8; above, Intro.; Manors.

⁸⁷ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 125/1; *ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. c 769, ff. 6v., 22, 33v.; *ibid.* MSS. North adds. c 2, c 7.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* MSS. d.d. Harcourt b 4/1, ff. 36–50; c 125/3.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* c 125/1.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* b 4/1, ff. 37, 40, 50.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* MS. North adds. c 2, f. 97v.

⁹² *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Harcourt c 125/1; c 125/7; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges b 1.

⁹³ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 6, item a; c 11, item a; c 7, ff. 44v., 59, 61v.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* QSR Trin. 1701.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* MSS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 7, f. 63; c 5.

⁹⁶ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* ii (L.R.S. xxxv), 56; *Protestation Returns*, 78; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 5, ff. 4v., 8 and v.

⁹⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 6, item a.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* c 6, item a; b 1–2.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* b 1–2, *passim*.

¹ *Ibid.*, which records, however, only £253 spent in 1802–3 and £345 in 1803–4; *Poor Abstract*, 1804, p. 406. Those and later figures may also cover Wilcote: cf. below, Wilcote, Local Govt.

² *Poor Abstract*, 1818, p. 358.

³ Above, Intro.; Econ.; A. Plummer and C. Early, *Blanket Makers*, 48–71.

⁴ *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 556, p. 138 (1822), v; H.C. 334 Suppl. App. p. 173 (1825), iv; H.C. 83, p. 161 (1830–1), xi; H.C. 444, p. 156 (1835), xlvii; *Oxf. Jnl.* 29 Sept. 1832; above, Econ.

⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges b 1–2.

⁶ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, pp. 406–7; 1818, p. 358–9.

⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges b 2, s.a. 1800.

⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges b 1–2; *Poor Abstract*, 1804, pp. 406–7; *Poor Abstract*, 1818, pp. 358–9; below, Eynsham, Local Govt.; Woodstock, Local Govt.

In the mid 1780s unspecified materials to employ the poor cost over £5, and in 1786 Mr. Luckett, a Witney blanket weaver, was paid £4 10s. for 18 packs of work for the poor. In 1795 nearly £15 was earned for work done in the workhouse. By 1802 flax was being bought and spinning was done both in the workhouse and at 'Mr. Turner's', presumably High Cogges Farm or one of its appurtenant cottages.⁹ A 'double handed' spinning wheel and up to 15 other spinning wheels were bought, and nearly £19 was earned by the sale of linen cloth;¹⁰ only £6 14s. was said to have been spent on materials to employ the poor in 1803, however, and £13 was earned in the workhouse.¹¹ In 1803-4 £24 was received for cloth, but there is no later evidence of receipts for spinning and weaving, perhaps reflecting increasing mechanization in the Witney textile industry.¹²

In the 18th century and early 19th the overseers made payments towards clothes, rent, funeral expenses, and alms to travellers, as well as on nursing and doctors' bills. In 1796 Mr. Birdseye was paid 10s. 6d. for 'attending on the Small Pox House', the only known reference to a pest house.¹³

From 1834 Cogges formed part of Witney poor law union, and later of Witney rural district. In 1974 it became part of West Oxfordshire District.¹⁴

CHURCH. Manasser Arsic's gift to Fécamp abbey, confirmed in 1103, included Cogges church with its land;¹⁵ architectural evidence suggests that the church existed by the third quarter of the 11th century. It probably began as a chapel within Eynsham minster parish, for in 1238 Eynsham abbey was receiving, 'from of old', the yearly crop of four demesne acres at Cogges in return for permitting burial there;¹⁶ since the render, worth 6s. 8d. in 1270, came from the demesne rather than from the priory lands, the concession was presumably negotiated before 1103.

The church was closely associated with the adjoining priory, which may have shared it with the villagers; it was never formally appropriated, but simply remained in the hands of the monks and their successors, the provost and fellows of Eton.¹⁷ The early priests seem to have been merely chaplains appointed, after 1103, by the priors; a vicarage endowed in the 1220s lapsed. Eton College later appointed chaplains, some-

times called perpetual vicars and perpetual curates, but there was no endowment until 1695, following which the benefice became more clearly defined as a perpetual curacy; from the later 19th century the incumbents were often called vicars, but nominations to the perpetual curacy continued.¹⁸ In 1856 the bishop collated by lapse, but after consulting Eton College.¹⁹ About 1884 Eton conveyed the advowson to the incumbent James Payne, who presented his cousin, J. U. Payne, to whom he then gave the advowson. In 1909 it was conveyed to special trustees, who retained it in 1988.²⁰

The church was valued c. 1225 at £5,²¹ and at £8 in 1291.²² Its income came partly from glebe, not distinguished in practice from the priory manor, and partly from tithe. The tithes and oblations were valued at £12 13s. 4d. in 1387,²³ and at only £3 16s. 8d. in 1429, when they were farmed out among three tenants.²⁴ They were mostly collected in kind until inclosure, but in 1581 it was asserted that tithes from the rectory pasture called Flemingfield had been commuted to a modus of 3s. or 3s. 4d.²⁵

Henry, chaplain of Cogges, witnessed an agreement in 1220.²⁶ Shortly afterwards Benedict of St. Edmund, chaplain, was instituted as perpetual vicar at the prior's presentation. He was to have the rents of 4 cottars, altar dues, small tithes, and the tithe of sheaves from 3 villein hides; the vicarage was to be worth £3 4s.²⁷ When the next vicar, Herbert de Findon, was instituted in 1232-3, the bishop augmented his living with a house, 10 a. of arable, and 2 a. in the priory meadow. He was to serve in person, find a suitable clerk and altar lights, and pay synodals; other costs were to be borne by the prior, and the vicarage was to be worth £3 6s. 8d.²⁸ Vicars were presented until 1260-1,²⁹ but thereafter the vicarage seems to have lapsed and until 1402 only the institutions of new priors presented by the abbot of Fécamp were recorded.³⁰ In 1303 the bishop rejected a presentation jointly to the priory and church, but later presentations were sometimes in that form.³¹

In 1441 Cogges church passed with the priory manor to Eton College. Like the monks before them, Eton's tenants in the priory supported the parochial chaplain only informally.³² The first lease, in 1457, made the tenant responsible for presenting a chaplain and finding bread, wine, and wax for his use; if the bishop forced the college to endow a vicarage the tenancy was to be renegotiated.³³ There may have been an

⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges b 2, s.a. 1802; cf. Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 39, lease 1803, survs.

¹⁰ *Poor Abstract*, 1787, p. 656; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges b 2.

¹¹ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, pp. 406-7.

¹² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges b 2.

¹³ *Ibid.* s.a. 1796.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* RO 3251, pp. 201-3; RO 3267.

¹⁵ *Cartae Antiquae*, ii (Pipe R. Soc. N.S. xxxiii), no. 549.

¹⁶ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 4, 13, 376; ii, pp. xxxviii-xxxix, 45-6; cf. below, Eynsham, Intro.; Church.

¹⁷ *Oxonienisia*, xlvii. 49-50, 54-6, 103-5.

¹⁸ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 344, ff. 113-14; c 1779; *Oxf. Dioc. Cal. and Clergy Lists and Yr. Bk.* (1858 and later edns.).

¹⁹ *Letter Bks. of Sam. Wilberforce* (O.R.S. xlvii), p. 356.

²⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1779; *Oxf. Dioc. Yr. Bk.*

(1988).

²¹ *Rot. Welles*, i (L.R.S. iii), 183.

²² *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 31.

²³ *O.A.S. Rep.* (1910), 34.

²⁴ Eton Coll., Evidence bk. B, pp. 680-1; *Oxonienisia*, xlvii. 106; cf. above, Manors.

²⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 15, f. 32 b.

²⁶ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 194.

²⁷ *Rot. Welles*, i (L.R.S. iii), 183.

²⁸ *Ibid.* ii (L.R.S. vi), 40.

²⁹ *Reg. Gravesend* (L.R.S. xx), 214; cf. *Reg. Grosse*. (L.R.S. xi), 464.

³⁰ Linc. R.O., Bp's. regs. i, ff. 337v., 348v.; ii, ff. 144v., 147; iv, ff. 267v., 289; x, ff. 366, 870; xiii, f. 326v.

³¹ *Ibid.* ii, ff. 145v., 147.

³² *Oxonienisia*, xlvii. 54-5.

³³ Eton Coll., Lease bk. 1445-1529, f. 16.

attempt to create a vicarage in the early 16th century, since the curate *c.* 1520 was said to have formerly been vicar.³⁴ In 1526 the college, as impropiator, was paying the curate £5 6s. 8d.³⁵

In 1636 the curate, James Parkinson, complained to Archbishop Laud that the vicarage should be worth £200 a year or more, but had been suppressed. Many curates had been provided only with a house and £10 a year, but Parkinson had not been given a house. Laud ordered Eton's tenant to pay an additional £8 a year to the curate.³⁶ Parishioners in the late 17th century denied that there was a parsonage or a vicarage,³⁷ but priory tenants seem thenceforth to have paid the curate a stipend of £20.³⁸ William Blake (d. 1695) left £10 a year to be paid by the owners of Cogges manor house to a minister, who should catechize the children of Cogges and Newland schools every Sunday in Lent and on Lady Day and have 15s. a year from Blake's estate in Alvescot if he preached a New Year sermon.³⁹ In 1792 the benefice was augmented by £200 from Queen Anne's Bounty.⁴⁰ In 1812 the provost and fellows increased the curate's stipend by £15; the Bounty Office granted £200 to meet the benefaction, and in 1817 gave a further augmentation of £200.⁴¹ The gross annual value of the benefice was *c.* £57 in 1827, and *c.* £70 in 1851.⁴²

In 1859 at Bishop Wilberforce's request the College made over to the benefice the priory farmhouse and curtilage (5 a.), and £50 was received towards the cost of conversion.⁴³ By 1870 the income of the living was £139, made up of £35 from tithe rent-charges, £32 from the newly acquired glebe, £19 10s. from the Bounty, £6 16s. from the Ecclesiastical Commission, £10 15s. from William Blake's will, £12 15s. from the sustentation fund, 10s. from surplice fees, and £20 from Eton.⁴⁴ Its value continued to increase; there were 8½ a. glebe in 1887, and 18 a. by 1903.⁴⁵

In 1232–3 the prior was ordered to build for the vicar an adequate house on land between the prior's orchard and the lord of Cogges's fishpond.⁴⁶ From the 15th century, the chaplain usually lived in a chamber in the former priory. From 1457 leases repeatedly reserved a chamber with a little yard adjoining it for the chaplain,⁴⁷ and in 1658 there was a chamber in the priory

house called the priest's chamber.⁴⁸ In 1759 the curate lived mostly at Christ Church, Oxford, having only one small room allotted to him in the priory or 'parsonage house' at Cogges,⁴⁹ and the arrangement persisted until the whole house was acquired in 1859. The priest's chamber, identified within the building in 1981, apparently comprised two small ground-floor rooms to which two upper chambers had been added.⁵⁰

About 1520 it was found that the altar ornaments had been burnt.⁵¹ In 1547 there were no incumbent, plate, or ornaments, and the only endowment was 1½ a. worth 1s. a year given to maintain a light.⁵² The land was granted by the Crown in 1549 to Richard Maynard and John Venables.⁵³

The curate in 1526 was Master John Ward or Clark,⁵⁴ who asked in his will of 1545 to be buried in Cogges churchyard, with five masses on the day of his burial. He left 1 yardland and 14 a. in Witney, and his will included small bequests to the church.⁵⁵ Andrew Partington, probably curate in 1558 and 1560 when he witnessed Cogges wills, was also vicar of Asthall.⁵⁶ Late 16th-century curates of Cogges seem to have been unlicensed and transitory. James Parkinson, curate by 1636 and also curate of South Leigh by 1663, remained until his death in 1666; he was not immediately replaced, and the church was served informally for several years by Dr. Francis Gregory, schoolmaster at Witney, and others.⁵⁷ Many of the 18th- and 19th-century incumbents were non-resident and few were of a high standard.⁵⁸ In 1759 there were two services and one sermon on Sundays, and the children were catechized.⁵⁹ George Seele, perpetual curate *c.* 1762–1810, was non-resident, master of Witney grammar school, vicar of North Leigh, and perpetual curate of Hailey.⁶⁰ His assistant curate, Charles Hoskins, seems to have introduced additional services at Christmas, Good Friday, and New Year's day, but the number of communicants was only about ten. Children were catechized in accordance with William Blake's will, but Hoskins complained of poor attendance despite small payments to those who came.⁶¹ The number of communicants rose to *c.* 16 by 1774, when Seele was serving Cogges himself, and to *c.* 20 by 1796, when there was a non-resident assistant

³⁴ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* i (L.R.S. xxxiii), pp. xxix, 128.

³⁵ *Subsidy 1526*, p. 268.

³⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 111, no. 28.

³⁷ *Ibid.* c 142, f. 409.

³⁸ *Par. Colln.* 98.

³⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 1, item l; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 446, f. 70; below, *Educ.*; *Char.*

⁴⁰ Hodgson, *Q.A.B.* pp. cccxxiii.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* pp. clxxxvi, cccxxiii.

⁴² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 272, f. 135; *Ch. and Chapel, 1851*, no. 119; cf. *Rep. Royal Com. Eccl. Rev.* [67], pp. 776–7, H.C. (1835), xxii.

⁴³ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 178, f. 150; d 759, ff. 62–3; c 1779: deed of annexation, 1859; *Oxoniensia*, xlvii. 41, fig. 3A.

⁴⁴ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 761, f. 164.

⁴⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1887, 1903).

⁴⁶ *Rot. Welles*, ii (L.R.S. vi), 40.

⁴⁷ Eton Coll., Lease bk. 1445–1529, f. 16.

⁴⁸ *Wood's Life and Times*, i (O.H.S. xix), 253 n.

⁴⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 555, f. 145.

⁵⁰ *Oxoniensia*, xlvii. 84–5.

⁵¹ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* i (L.R.S. xxxiii), 128; ii (L.R.S. xxxv), 56; below.

⁵² P.R.O., E 301/38, no. 35; *Chant. Cert.* 29.

⁵³ *Cal. Pat.* 1549–51, 91–2.

⁵⁴ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* ii (L.R.S. xxxv), 56.

⁵⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 179, f. 82.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 183, ff. 7v., 103, 322v.; O.A.S. *Rep.* (1912), 100, which wrongly calls him vicar of Cogges.

⁵⁷ Oldfield, 'Clerus Oxf. Dioc.'; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 111, no. 28; *ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 52/1/24; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 119, ff. 90–97v., 109v.–111, 125–8; cf. *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 72–3 (where Parkinson is wrongly called John).

⁵⁸ Cf. Oldfield, 'Clerus Oxf. Dioc.'; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 23, f. 263; *ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. e 23, p. 54; c 83, f. 42c.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 555, f. 145.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 128, f. 197; b 23, f. 272; *ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 83, f. 44; d 558, f. 160; below, N. Leigh, Church.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 558, f. 160.

curate; many parishioners were then attending other churches nearer than that at Cogges.⁶² In 1802, when Seele was too old and sick to serve, there was only one Sunday service, and the number of communicants had fallen to ten.⁶³

Thomas Andrews, incumbent 1810–56, never resided, claiming that there was no house and the living was too poor.⁶⁴ Cogges was served by curates, usually from Witney.⁶⁵ In 1811 there was only one Sunday service, and the number of communicants had fallen to six.⁶⁶ By 1834 Cogges was being served by Henry Gregory, master at Witney grammar school; communion had been increased from three to four times yearly and the number of communicants was between 20 and 25, while church attendance was between 200 and 300.⁶⁷ Gregory was still serving the church in 1851, when 120 attended on Census Sunday.⁶⁸ In 1855 Bishop Wilberforce wrote to Andrews, then old and nearly imbecile, requiring him to hold two services each Sunday.⁶⁹

After Andrews's death standards rose sharply, partly because of the provision of a house and improved income. Henry Nourse, 1862–70, was curate of Standlake and 'very well spoken of';⁷⁰ he had congregations of 200, and there were c. 16 communicants. Communion was increased to once a month and at all great festivals; there were two services every Sunday, with a sermon at each.⁷¹ Although James Payne, vicar 1873–84, was non-resident during his last years, his curate maintained the frequency of the services, and the number of communicants rose to 61.⁷² James Undy Payne, incumbent 1884–1914, was a vigorous campaigner against Disestablishment.⁷³ He ran two weekly Bible classes, one for men and one for women, and there was a regular Sunday school; in 1893 he founded a lending library. He held special services throughout Lent, and seems to have turned Ascension Day into a special festival at Cogges in which the children went out after church to gather flowers to send to the Radcliffe Infirmary. He worked hard for the village school and started a coal club; in 1894, however, there were only 25 regular communicants.⁷⁴ Later incumbents resided, and several served the church for long periods, amongst them William Hudgell, 1914–32, and E. Ramsay Spence, 1932–51.⁷⁵

The church of *ST. MARY THE VIRGIN*⁷⁶ comprises a chancel, a north chapel, a clerestoried nave with aisles and south porch, and a north-west corner tower. The nave was originally aisleless; it has high, thin walls with large

quoins on the west corners, and may be pre-Conquest. The south aisle, added in the late 12th century, retains a column with a scalloped capital. In the mid 13th century the chancel was rebuilt on spacious lines, with a crypt under its east end; the jambs of the east window retain a pair of shafts with stiff-leaf capitals, but the existing tracery is 14th-century. Also in the 13th century the arches of the south arcade were rebuilt, and the south porch added.

The lavish north chapel, added c. 1340, was probably built by John, Lord Grey (d. 1359) for the tomb of his mother Lady Margaret (probably d. 1330).⁷⁷ It has a two-bay arcade towards the chancel, elaborate late Decorated window tracery, and a frieze of carved grotesques around the inner walls; the tomb, with a 14th-century effigy of a lady, symbols of the Evangelists, and shields in quatrefoils lies under the chapel arcade.⁷⁸ The north aisle and tower were added c. 1350 in a style imitating the chapel, probably by the monks of Fécamp.⁷⁹ The aisle may originally have been divided from the nave by a timber screen under the arcade. The polygonal tower at the north-west corner has an appearance characteristic of Normandy churches.

The large west window was added in the late 15th century, possibly by Bishop William Waynflete, who was provost of Eton and whose arms were formerly in stained glass in the church.⁸⁰ The clerestory and the parapets of the nave and aisles are also 15th-century. The chancel roof is 14th- or 15th-century, and the roofs of the nave, aisles, and north chapel are all of the usual low-pitched late medieval type. The south wall of the chancel was completely rebuilt in the late 15th or early 16th century, including two windows with cusped lights. The chancel may have been damaged by fire shortly before 1520, when it was said that the altar ornaments had been burnt and the roof of the nave was weak;⁸¹ in 1524 the obligation to maintain the chancel was imposed for the first time on the lessee of the priory.⁸² The church was damaged during the Civil War,⁸³ and in 1677 Blake's aisle, probably the north chapel, was paved and repaired by William Blake.⁸⁴

The plain tub-shaped font is probably 12th century, on a late medieval polygonal base. The windows of the north chapel, formerly containing an elaborate scheme of heraldic stained glass to display the family connexions of the de Greys, were destroyed during the Civil War; some other 14th-century fragments in the tracery lights were restored in 1972.⁸⁵ The east

⁶² Ibid. d 564, f. 124; Bodl. MS. Top. Eccl. e 1, f. 116v.

⁶³ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 566, ff. 87–8; d 568, ff. 95–6.

⁶⁴ Ibid. d 572, f. 89; c 272, pp. 43, 77, 112–13, 134–5, 188; ibid. MSS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 23, f. 273; b 51, f. 101.

⁶⁵ Ibid. MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 578, f. 73; c 83, f. 47; c 272, pp. 43, 77; ibid. MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 51, ff. 23, 59, 122.

⁶⁶ Ibid. d 572, f. 89.

⁶⁷ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39, ff. 99–100.

⁶⁸ *Ch. and Chapel, 1851*, no. 119; cf. ibid. no. 16.

⁶⁹ *Letter Bks. of Sam. Wilberforce*, (O.R.S. xlvii), 327; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 178, f. 150.

⁷⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 178, f. 150.

⁷¹ Ibid. c 332, ff. 137–8.

⁷² Ibid. c 344, ff. 113–14; c 338, ff. 114–15.

⁷³ *Cogges Par. Mag.* (1892–6): copy in Bodl. Per. G.A. Oxon. 4° 182.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1779; *Oxf. Dioc. Cal. and Clergy Lists* (1915 and later edns.).

⁷⁶ For a fuller account see *Oxonienisia*, xlvii. 86–102.

⁷⁷ Below.

⁷⁸ *Oxonienisia*, iii. 103–10; xlvii. 94–5, 99.

⁷⁹ Cf. below.

⁸⁰ *Oxonienisia*, xlvii. 100, 109–10.

⁸¹ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* i (L.R.S. xxxiii), 128.

⁸² Eton Coll., Lease bk. 1445–1529, f. 184v.

⁸³ *Wood's Life and Times*, i (O.H.S. xix), 253; below.

⁸⁴ *Par. Colln.* 99.

⁸⁵ *Wood's Life and Times*, i. 253; *Oxonienisia*, xlvii. 108–11; P. A. Newton, *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, i. 69–70 and pl. 24–5; plaque in church.

window of the chancel, renewed in the 14th century, also contained glass with de Grey heraldry.⁸⁶ The church once contained another heraldic window bearing the name of William Hamon, prior of Cogges from 1341 until 1366 or later.⁸⁷ Two timber screens commemorate Winifred Fairburn, organist (d. 1947), and Joseph and Elizabeth Mawle of Manor Farm. The choir stalls were fitted in 1941 in memory of Lucy Mabel Spence; in 1967 the chancel was repaved with flagstones from nearby derelict cottages and with broken tombstones from the churchyard.⁸⁸

In the north chapel a large monument with three marble busts commemorates William Blake (d. 1695), his wife Sarah (d. 1701), and their eldest son Francis (d. 1681); elaborate tablets in the chancel and north aisle commemorate Richard Crutchfield (d. 1619) and his family, and Henry White (d. 1677), a member of a long-established village family who returned after many travels.⁸⁹

The plate includes a chalice and paten cover dated 1628, given by Sir Thomas Peniston, who had married Elizabeth, relict of Sir William Pope.⁹⁰ There is a treble bell dated 1626, a tenor dated 1757, and a saunce of c. 1760.⁹¹ The churchyard was extended to the south and east in 1866, 1910, 1936, and 1972.⁹²

In 1304 Sir John de Grey (d. 1311) received permission to have mass celebrated for his family in an oratory in his house at Cogges.⁹³

NONCONFORMITY. In 1622–3 fines for recusancy were demanded from Edward Sleepe the younger, gentleman, and from Edward Sleepe, labourer.⁹⁴ No papists were recorded thereafter.

In the 1660s in Cogges, as in Witney, protestant dissent was widespread, probably encouraged by the absence of a resident lord or curate. During an extended vacancy of the curacy from 1667 at least nine nonconformists, four of them living in Witney, were invited to preach there; six or more were Presbyterians or Independents who had mostly been ejected from Oxford university, and they included Henry Cornish, Henry Langley, and John Troughton.⁹⁵ Of the others John Dunce or Dunch may have been an Independent or Anabaptist; Samuel Packe, 'a scholar of no university' and said to be a London

tradesman, and Thomas Worden, 'a spreader of sedition', were probably Anabaptists.⁹⁶ Meetings of up to 200 people, some probably from Witney or elsewhere, were held every Sunday in Cogges manor house, reportedly with the permission or even encouragement of Francis Blake, the non-resident lord. The organizers were Richard Crutchfield, who also paid the preachers, and Edward Wise, then living in the manor house; both were Blake's servants or bailiffs.⁹⁷ Crutchfield also invited dissenters to preach in the church, the keys of which were once stolen for the purpose.⁹⁸ In 1668 the bishop asked the vicar of Witney to obstruct such preachers, and when Dr. Gregory, the Witney schoolmaster, prevented a preacher from speaking Crutchfield publicly denounced the clergy and led a large part of the congregation to hear the preacher in the manor house.⁹⁹ Francis Hubert or Hubbard, Packe, and Worden were also alleged to have attacked the clergy, and Wise was excommunicated.¹ Dissent presumably persisted but no nonconformists were returned in 1676 and only one Anabaptist in 1682.²

Quaker meetings were held in 1666 in the house of Elizabeth White, where 10 Friends were arrested and sent to the house of correction. Edward White was noted as a Quaker freeholder in 1680 and Elizabeth White, Hester Bird, and J. Wareing were returned as Quakers in 1782.³ Corn and hay were taken from Michael Reynolds for non-payment of tithes in 1688 and in the 1690s.⁴ The Quaker group probably persisted: in 1759 and 1768 one Quaker was returned, and in 1796 two Quaker families, said to be in very low circumstances.⁵

During the early 19th century, when Newland expanded into an industrial suburb of Witney, Methodism spread from the town into Cogges parish. In 1802 and 1805 there were thought to be few dissenters, but in 1824 a small Methodist chapel was built at Newland with 100 free sittings.⁶ Dissenters, Wesleyan and Independent, mostly attended chapels in Witney, the Cogges chapel being used only occasionally; in 1851 on Census Sunday there was only an afternoon service attended by 60 people.⁷ In the 1870s nearly half the population were dissenters of different denominations,⁸ and in the 1890s Wesleyan membership in Newland was probably rather over 30.⁹ In 1907 there were 28

⁸⁶ *Oxoniensia*, xlvii. 108–11.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Cf. O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1779: faculties, NADFAS Ch. Rec. (1985).

⁸⁹ Cf. *Par. Colln.* 100.

⁹⁰ Evans, *Ch. Plate*, 44; above, Manors.

⁹¹ *Ch. Bells Oxon.* 97–8.

⁹² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1779.

⁹³ Lincs. R.O., Episc. Reg. iii, f. 50v.

⁹⁴ 'Oxon. Recusants', O.A.S. Rep. (1924), 35–6.

⁹⁵ *Calamy Revised*, ed. A. G. Matthews, 131, 137, 165, 280, 314, 494; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 119, ff. 90–97v.

⁹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 119, ff. 90v., 94v., 127; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 93, f. 138; *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 47; *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* pp. 61 n., 70 n.

⁹⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 9, f. 210v.; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 119, ff. 90 sqq.; *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 46–7; cf. Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 95/12.

⁹⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 93, f. 138; *ibid.* MS. Oxf.

Archd. Oxon. c 119, f. 91v.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 119, ff. 94v.–95v., 126v.–127v.

¹ *Ibid.* ff. 90–111; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 9, f. 228.

² *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 423; *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 72 n.

³ Besse, *Sufferings*, i. 571; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 708, f. 94; Berks. R.O., Oxon. Quarterly Meeting min. bk. s.a. 1680.

⁴ Besse, *Sufferings*, i. 576; Berks. R.O., MS. *Sufferings*.

⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 555, f. 145v.; d 558, f. 161; Bodl. MS. Top. Eccles. e 1, ff. 115v.–116.

⁶ *Ch. and Chapel, 1851*, no. 120.

⁷ *Ibid.*; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 179, f. 118; c 332, f. 138; d 180, f. 301; *Wilb. Visit.* 41.

⁸ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 338, f. 114v.; c 344, f. 118v.

⁹ *Ibid.* Witney and Faringdon Methodist Circuit I/1 f–g.

members, but numbers gradually fell to single figures by 1930.¹⁰ Newland chapel remained open in 1988, when there was one Sunday service and a weekly fellowship.

EDUCATION. William Blake, by will proved 1695,¹¹ left a £12 rent-charge on his estates at Alvescot, to pay two schoolmistresses to teach in the schools which he had built at High Cogges and Newland. There was a rent-free house and garden for each mistress, who was to be a protestant and who was to teach reading, the catechism, sewing, and knitting. Each school was to have 12 boys and 12 girls aged 6–9 years. Blake also left £1 10s. a year for the upkeep of the schools, and £5 a year for boys leaving school to be taught writing by a master at Witney; £20 a year was left for buying books and clothing for the schoolchildren.¹² If there were not enough poor children in Cogges and Newland, places could be given to children from neighbouring parishes, but in 1824 the provision was ignored: neither school had its full quota, with an average of 12–15 pupils at High Cogges, and slightly more at Newland. Children under six were admitted but paid a fee. The upkeep of the schools was costing more than the allowance, but there was a surplus in the books and clothing account.¹³

In 1833 there were said to be four day schools containing 80 children in the parish, including Blake's two schools.¹⁴ The following year there were just the two endowed schools with 24 children in each, and no infant school.¹⁵ In 1854 the school houses were also being used as Sunday schools, partly supported by subscription. Children over nine went to the National school or the Wesleyan day school at Witney.¹⁶

In 1857 the Blake schools trust, which also included a school at Witney, was reorganized. The Witney school was sold and the proceeds devoted to enlarging and improving the school at Newland, which became the main school in the parish, although the High Cogges school continued.¹⁷ In 1860 the Blake schools were vested in the official trustee of charity lands, but the former trustees remained governors;¹⁸ the Newland school received its first government grant in 1862.¹⁹ The salaries of the Witney schoolmistress and of the master who taught the older boys writing were added to the Newland school endowment. There were no more free pupils; children of labourers paid 4s. a year and

those of farmers and tradesmen 8s. Clothing was henceforth given only as a reward for good work and conduct.²⁰ The school was taught by one certificated teacher and had an average attendance of 40.²¹

An infant school, held in a cottage, had been started at Newland by 1862;²² it was not under the Blake school management and had to support itself from pence and other means.²³ In 1862 the Charity Commissioners ordered that £3 18s. a year, left by William Wright in 1786 for bread or schooling and hitherto distributed in bread, should be given to Blake's or any other school selected by the trustees.²⁴ In 1875 it was used to support the Sunday school and choir, and £1 12s. was added to the salary of the infant teacher from 1878 to 1897; the charity then reverted to non-educational purposes.²⁵ A night school, started in 1863, had only two pupils by 1866; the Sunday school, however, had an attendance of 103.²⁶ In 1871 there was accommodation for 76 in the two Blake schools. An independent school, presumably the infant school at Newland, had accommodation for 14 and an attendance of 29.²⁷

In 1874 a small amount of glebe land with a large Sunday schoolroom, formerly a barn, between Cogges church and the vicarage garden was granted to the Blake trustees and this eventually superseded the Newland schoolroom.²⁸ In 1876 the school received £15 10s. yearly from the Blake endowment.²⁹ The old Newland school site was sold in 1880 and the proceeds were used to extend the new school.³⁰ A classroom was added in 1886–7³¹ so that accommodation was 240 in 1890, though the average attendance was only 102. The government grant was £74, fees amounted to £22, and the endowment was £30.³²

In 1933 Blake's school at Cogges was reorganized as a junior school with 63 pupils; senior children went to Witney. In 1955 there were 80 children, divided into three classes by screens in the one large room; there was only one other small room and bucket sanitation. A new school was built on the new housing estate south of Cogges village in 1983, when there were 175 children on the register.³³

By 1873 the High Cogges school was an infant school for children too young to go to the main school; it received £9 from the Blake endowment,³⁴ and in 1889 children both there and at the main school were said to be well taught.³⁵ The High Cogges school closed in 1921.³⁶

¹⁰ Ibid. I/1 g–i; XI/5 a.

¹¹ P.R.O., PROB 11/429, ff. 193v.–200; cf. above, Manors.

¹² 10th Rep. Char. Com. 391; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 9, XXXII. 5 (1877 edn.).

¹³ 10th Rep. Char. Com. 391.

¹⁴ Educ. Enq. Abstract, H.C. 62, p. 744 (1835), xlii.

¹⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39, f. 100.

¹⁶ Wilb. Visit. 41.

¹⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges e 8, f. 7; below.

¹⁸ P.R.O., ED 7/101/57.

¹⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 9, item c.

²⁰ Ibid. e 8, f. 7. ²¹ P.R.O., ED 7/101/57.

²² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 9, item c.

²³ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 137. ²⁴ Below, Char.

²⁵ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 10, item h, f. 11; item i, f. 73.

²⁶ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 137.

²⁷ Returns relating to Elem. Educ. H.C. 201, p. 324 (1871), lv.

²⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 9, item b; Oxoniensis, xlvii. 41–2; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 5 (1899 edn.).

²⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 9, item c.

³⁰ Return of Non-provided Schs. H.C. 178, p. 19 (1906), lxxxviii; cf. O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 5 (1899 edn.).

³¹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges e 10, f. 44.

³² Public Elem. Schs. Return H.C. 403, p. 213 (1890), lvi.

³³ Inf. from Oxon. C. C. Educ. Cttee.; O.R.O., T/S Misc.

³⁴ Ibid. MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 9, item c.

³⁵ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 39, Statement of Accts. 1889.

³⁶ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges e 10, f. 123.

In the 1750s and 1760s J. Morland, then renting the manor house, ran a boarding school in which writing, arithmetic, accounts, Greek, Latin, French, dancing, and drawing were taught. The school closed in 1766, when equipment sold included mathematical instruments, a telescope, a magic lantern, and theatrical props.³⁷

CHARITIES. Henry White gave £100 to the poor of Cogges in 1667;³⁸ by will proved in 1677 he left a further unendowed £5 to the poor of the parish.³⁹ The £100 was used to buy a close called Boy Croft in Hailey, copyhold of Witney manor, and the rent was used for apprenticing poor children. From 1768 the land, 6 a. of arable, produced £4 5s. and from 1823 £10 10s.⁴⁰ By 1869 the rent had been reduced to £9 15s. which was used for education;⁴¹ in 1875 it supported the Sunday school and choir. Under a Scheme of 1891 the income was to be spent on subscriptions to infirmaries, provident clubs, or societies for coal or clothing, and up to £3 a year could be used to supply bedding, linen, tools, or fuel for the poor. The rent from Boy Croft fell again to £8 in 1914, when £4 10s. was given to clubs; tithes and taxes amounted to £2 1s. 5d. and quitrent to 2s. 6d. and there was a balance of £11 13s. The balance fell to c. £5 in 1923, when only £2 16s. of the £8 10s. rent was distributed. In 1934 the trustees paid £8 10s. 8d. to the marquis of Blandford in compensation for manorial incidents on Boy Croft.⁴²

William Blake, by will proved 1695,⁴³ left for various charitable purposes a charge on the future owners of his house and manor of Cogges, and a rent charge on his estate at Alvescot, together worth c. £66 a year, of which £20 was to buy clothes and books for the schoolchildren and apprentices, 10s. was to be distributed in bread to poor people attending a sermon on New Year's Day, and £7 16s. in bread every Sunday at church. Blake's heirs partly defaulted on the charges and in 1726, after Viscount Harcourt bought the manor, arrears of £250 were received from them by the trustees. Most of the money was laid out in South Sea annuities, which produced an extra £3 10s. a year for better clothing for the children and £4 a year for clothing three old men or women; any surplus was to be used to teach up to 5 girls to write and do accounts.⁴⁴ Between 1808 and 1819 the stock was forgotten and the

trustees received no dividends; it was rediscovered by Lord Harcourt's agent in 1818, and invested in £261 13s. new annuities. Arrears of dividends worth over £123 were reclaimed and invested to yield an extra £13 a year, part of which was used to increase the clothing grants.⁴⁵ In 1871 Blake's charity owned two schoolhouses and gardens, rent-charges worth £67 6s. a year, and £845 stock yielding £21 2s. 8d. The gross income was £88, of which £45 15s. was used for education, £2 2s. 8d. for clothing, and £8 6s. for bread.⁴⁶ The income had risen to £161 11s. 2d. by 1890 and to £248 by 1898.⁴⁷ In 1906 the Charity Commissioners divided Blake's charity into an educational and a non-educational charity;⁴⁸ in 1923 the former received £64 16s. 9d. and the latter £38 16s. 3d.⁴⁹

William Wright of Over Norton, by will proved 1786,⁵⁰ bequeathed to the poor of Cogges, Over Norton, and Hailey £100 each, the interest to be used in schooling or the distribution of bread. In 1789 annuities at 3 per cent were bought producing £3 18s. a year for each parish, which was distributed in bread every Christmas Eve; c. 70 families benefited in Cogges.⁵¹ A Scheme of 1862 ordered that the share of Cogges be used for educational purposes;⁵² in 1875 it was contributing to the support of the Sunday school and choir. Distributions of bread, fuel, and sickness benefit continued, however, and after 1897 were once again the principal objects. In 1914 the income was £4 6s. 4d., of which £3 12s. was distributed to the sick. Only £1 7s. 6d. was spent in 1922.⁵³

Simon Holford, by will dated 1806,⁵⁴ left £100, the income to be distributed yearly at Candlemas in bread.⁵⁵ By 1869 the income had fallen to £3 3s. a year,⁵⁶ and was only £2 17s. 8d. in 1898. From 1914 to 1923 bread worth £2 12s. 4d. was distributed each year.⁵⁷

In 1852 Sarah Scott-Pruce left £90 stock producing £2 14s. a year to be distributed in bread. The income had fallen to £2 5s. by 1914, but bread was still being distributed in 1923.⁵⁸

Henrietta Nourse gave £200 stock in memory of her husband A. H. Nourse, a former vicar of Cogges, at his death in 1868. The interest was to be divided between 12 poor families living in the parish who were regular churchgoers.⁵⁹ The first distribution of £6 was made in 1872.⁶⁰ In 1914 the stock produced £5, and £6 was given away in 1923.⁶¹

Charles Bailey, by will dated 1868,⁶² left £150 which in 1886, after the death of his widow

³⁷ *Oxf. Jnl.* 20 Jan. 1759; 25 Oct. 1766; *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 4 June 1753; 10 Jan. 1761.

³⁸ Board in Cogges church; *Char. Don.* 1787–8, H.C. 511, pp. 992–3 (1816), xviB, and *10th Rep. Char. Com.* 397, where the gift is erroneously called a legacy; cf. O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 10, item d.

³⁹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 72/2/15.

⁴⁰ *10th Rep. Char. Com.* 397.

⁴¹ *Char. Digest*, H.C. 292–II, pp. 20–21 (1871), lv.

⁴² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 10, items c, d, j, k.

⁴³ P.R.O., PROB 11/429, ff. 193v.–200.

⁴⁴ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 107/20–6, c 108/3–6; *10th Rep. Char. Com.* 393–4, where the date is wrongly given as 1720.

⁴⁵ *10th Rep. Char. Com.* 394–6.

⁴⁶ *Char. Digest*, pp. 20–1.

⁴⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 10, items h, k.

⁴⁸ *Char. Com.* files 309286.

⁴⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 10, item j.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 75/1/24.

⁵¹ *10th Rep. Char. Com.* 397.

⁵² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 10, item f.

⁵³ *Ibid.* items i, k; above, Educ.

⁵⁴ *Char. Com.* Scheme 20 Mar. 1934: copy in Witney Town Hall archives.

⁵⁵ *10th Rep. Char. Com.* 398.

⁵⁶ *Char. Digest*, pp. 20–1.

⁵⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 10, items h, k.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* items e, k, j.

⁵⁹ Board in Cogges church.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges e 12, f. 8.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* c 10, items k, j.

⁶² *Char. Com.* Scheme 1934: copy in Witney Town Hall archives.

Mary,⁶³ was invested in stock yielding £4 8s. 6d., of which £2 8s. 6d. was given in bread; £1 13s. 8d. out of the income of £3 13s. 8d. was used for bread from 1914 to 1923.⁶⁴

A Scheme was made in 1934 for the charities called Blake's non-educational, Henry White's, William Wright's, Simon Holford's, Henrietta Nourse's, Charles Bailey's, and Sarah Scott-Pruce's. Blake's non-educational charity was divided into an ecclesiastical charity with £100, the first charges on which were to be £1 10s. for the upkeep of Witney market clock, 10s. for bread for poor people attending the Blake sermon, and £4 in kind for three old people living in Cogges; the remaining income was to be distributed with the other non-ecclesiastical charities. Bailey's charity was similarly divided into a sermon charity owning £60 stock, and a charity for the poor with £87 12s. 11d. Nourse's charity was deemed to be ecclesiastical, although it was used to supply clothes, linen, bedding, fuel, tools, and medical or other aid for poor people living in the parish who were members of the Church of England. The remaining charities, comprising White's, with a rent-charge of

£6 a year, Wright's, with £144 5s. 3d. stock, Holford's, with £105 stock, and Scott-Pruce's, with £90 stock, were to be administered as non-ecclesiastical charities, making payments for the poor of the ancient parish of Cogges for such things as subscriptions to hospitals, nursing provision, patients' travelling expenses, the fitting out of persons under the age of 21 for a trade, or the supply of clothes, bedding, fuel, tools, or food.⁶⁵ All those charities were still being implemented in 1985.⁶⁶

By will proved in 1927 Thomas Beal of Epworth (Lincs.) left the rents and profits of two cottages and a garden at Epworth to be divided in equal shares between the poor of Epworth and Cogges every November. The first distribution of accumulated funds, £12 13s. 9d., was made to Cogges in 1936.⁶⁷ It was still being given in 1984.⁶⁸

The poor of Newland received a share of Elijah Waring's charity, comprising £1,000 divided between four parishes and bequeathed in 1813 for bread on New Year's Day.⁶⁹ There is no mention of the charity after 1824.

COMBE

COMBE lies on the north bank of the river Evenlode 3 miles (c. 5 km.) west of Woodstock, and includes, besides Combe village, the small hamlet of East End.⁷⁰ The parish is of compact shape, bounded on the north by the line of the Roman Akeman Street, on the east by Blenheim Park, and on the south and west by meanders of the Evenlode save for a short stretch where the boundary lies south of the river, perhaps following the line of a meander abandoned naturally or diverted to serve Combe mill. The boundary with the park was altered in the 1660s by the imparkment of c. 35 a. at East End known as Combe, or Broad, leys. By 1778 an area of 17 a. east of the houses at East End had been taken into the park, and shortly afterwards four closes and part of Old Assarts furlong, comprising in all 38 a. west of the former Combe leys, were annexed to form New Park.⁷¹ The 18th-century encroachments were still considered to belong to Combe parish in 1818 and possibly as late as the mid 19th century,⁷² but were later treated as part of Blenheim parish.⁷³ The total area of the parish since those reductions is 1,417 a. (573 ha.).⁷⁴

At the centre of the parish a broad band of Oxford and Kellaway clay forms a plateau that shelves from c. 120 m. at Notoaks wood to c.

100 m. at East End, an area roughly coextensive with the former great green, a broad swathe that ran east-west across the parish, and with settlement and its adjacent pasture closes stretching from Combe village along the green to East End. Towards the western end the clay is overlain by glacial sand and gravel upon part of which on the northern outskirts of the village modern housing has been built. Surrounding the clay, and providing the principal arable land, are successive bands of cornbrash, forest marble, and limestone of the Great Oolite that covers much of the northern part of the parish. The limestone and forest marble have in the past been quarried for use locally. Near Combe mill and Combe railway halt there are deposits of river gravel. The alluvium lining the Evenlode has provided extensive meadowland. Beyond the clay north of the village the ground dips to c. 100 m. south of Akeman Street Farm before rising gently to c. 115 m. at the parish boundary. West of the village there is a more abrupt junction with the forest marble and stonebrash, in the form of a gully running along the eastern edge of West field, before inclosure one of the parish's larger open fields. South of the village the ground declines to c. 100 m. at the head of Grintley hill and Combe cliff before plunging to

⁶³ O.R.O., TS. of par. reg.

⁶⁴ Ibid. MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 10, items i, j, k.

⁶⁵ Char. Com. Scheme 1934: copy in Witney Town Hall archives.

⁶⁶ Corresp. in Witney Town Hall archives.

⁶⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Cogges c 10, item g.

⁶⁸ Char. Com. file 238578.

⁶⁹ 10th Rep. Char. Com. 381.

⁷⁰ The principal maps used are Blenheim Mun., Combe maps (1778, 1806, 1863); O.S. Maps 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI.

3, 6-7, 11 (1880 and later edns.); 6" Oxon. XXVI (1884 and later edns.); 1/10,000, SP 31 NE., SE., SP 41 NW., SW.; 1/25,000, SP 31, 41 (1952 and later edns.).

⁷¹ Below, Woodstock, Blenheim (Park to 1705); Blenheim Mun., E/P/22, p. 4; *ibid.* box 69, particular of land in hand (1792).

⁷² *Morning Chron.* 19 Dec. 1818; O.A.S. Rep. (1857-8), 144.

⁷³ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 7, 11 (1880 edn.).

⁷⁴ O.S. *Area Bk.*; *Census*, 1971.

COMBE 1778



the valley floor 30 m. below. There are similarly steep slopes at the western edge of the parish, but elsewhere the fall is more gradual.⁷⁵

Combe was recorded in the later 13th century as lying within the royal forest of Wychwood;⁷⁶ it was alleged in 1337 to have been afforested by Henry III.⁷⁷ Much of the northern part of the parish seems to have been woodland as late as the 13th century, and the forest for long played an important role in the lives of Combe people: they had the right to pasture animals there,⁷⁸ but seem in the Middle Ages, and possibly later, also to have been indefatigable poachers and foragers.⁷⁹ Damage to crops by animals escaped from Woodstock, later Blenheim, Park was a threat acknowledged by the Crown and by dukes of Marlborough: Henry III used the threat in 1231 to encourage local people to maintain the park walls,⁸⁰ and until c. 1775 it was customary for Combe farmers to be compensated for damage by gifts of venison.⁸¹ In the 19th century depredations by rabbits seem to have been more serious.⁸²

Akeman Street continued in use along the northern edge of the parish, although diverted round Blenheim Park, until the inclosure of Stonesfield in 1804 and the laying out of a new road north of the old.⁸³ Combe otherwise lay off major through roads, north-south travel obstructed by the river and its steep approaches on both sides, east-west travel by the park. The road from Witney to Bicester, the principal route for wheeled traffic, was picked up at Hanborough. The preferred route to Oxford for horse and foot traffic lay along Frogwelldown Lane, which began east of Hanborough bridge and ran through Bladon, Cassington, and Yarn-ton. Alternatively, it was possible to traverse the south-west corner of the park, cross the Glyme, and follow the road that ran south of Bladon church to Begbroke.⁸⁴ Access to the park, and so to Bladon and Woodstock, was by gates and stiles, among which may be mentioned Stonesfield steps, towards the north-east corner of Combe parish; Combe door, south-west of Park Farm; Combe gate, the name given to a number of gates between Combe door and East End from the 16th century, and eventually appropriated to the entrance at Combe lodge.⁸⁵ Several roads radiate from the village. Akeman Street,

described in 1673 as 'via regia',⁸⁶ runs due north to meet its Roman namesake. The road to Stonesfield passes south of Notoaks wood, and in the 18th century a branch ran north of West field to Stonesfield ford. It was probably suppressed at Combe's inclosure in 1792.⁸⁷ The road south to Grintley hill and to Combe weir, perhaps the weir mentioned in 1302,⁸⁸ may be that known in 1579 as London's Lane after the family of that name prominent in Combe from the Middle Ages and holders of a tenement in the lane.⁸⁹ A road ran south-east from the lane along Combe cliff to the mill and Combe bridge, but a more direct paved footpath from the village began west of the rectory and ran downhill along the eastern edge of Peagle wood. The path was described as ancient in 1742, at about which time it seems to have been suppressed.⁹⁰ East End was reached by way of the green; a footpath set out along it soon after 1777 was rebuilt as Park Road, apparently in the late 19th century.⁹¹ Bolton's Lane was mentioned in 1606, named after the family which also gave its name to Bolton's Farm, which it occupied into the 19th century.⁹² The lane ran down to Combe mill, and there was a branch to Combe bridge until at the construction of the railway the south end of the lane was rerouted directly to the bridge. At the same time the road from London's Lane to the mill was altered to pass north of the line. Access to the mill thereafter lay south of the railway bridge.⁹³

Combe bridge existed by 1258 when Henry III granted three oaks towards its repair.⁹⁴ It or a successor was rebuilt in 1772 as a plank bridge with a single stone pier. It was destroyed by floods in 1822-3, and although the parish had been responsible for it, it was rebuilt at the county's expense in 1825, as a stone bridge with two arches over the river flanked by a land arch at each end.⁹⁵ In the 18th century footbridges, probably ancient in origin, crossed the river at the mill and at Combe weir; a third, between them, is modern.⁹⁶

Work on the Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton Railway line through Combe began in 1847, and the line was opened in 1853. The engineering at Combe was difficult, requiring deep cuttings, most notably that spanned by Grintleyhill bridge, four crossings of the Even-

⁷⁵ Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid and drift, sheet 236 (1938, 1982 edns.); O.S. Map 1/10,000, SP 31 NE., SE., SP 41 NW., SW.

⁷⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851; *Archaeologia*, xxxvii. 435-7.

⁷⁷ P.R.O., KB 27/309, m. 35.

⁷⁸ Below, Econ.

⁷⁹ e.g. P.R.O., E 32/137; E 32/251; *Cal. Close*, 1288-96,

300.

⁸⁰ *Close R.* 1227-31, 500.

⁸¹ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. d 23, f. 44; d 172, f. 41.

⁸² *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202-I],

p. 341, H.C. (1868-9), xiii.

⁸³ O.R.O., Stonesfield incl. award; T. Jefferys, *Oxon. Map*

(1767); R. Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797).

⁸⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 331, f. 42; O.R.O., *Cal. Q.*

Sess. i, f. 108; above, Bladon, Intro.; below, Yarn-ton,

Intro.

⁸⁵ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. d 23, f. 63; d 331, ff. 43-6;

Blenheim Mun., Combe map (1778); *ibid.* E/P/58, f. 55;

below, Woodstock, Blenheim (Park to 1705); *ibid.* Park from

1705.

⁸⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 23, ff. 336v.-7.

⁸⁷ Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); Blenheim Mun., Combe

maps (1778, 1806).

⁸⁸ P.R.O., C 47/11/5, no. 4.

⁸⁹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 69/1/6; P.R.O., LR 2/202, f.

36; LR 2/224, f. 81. For the Londons see *Rot. Hund.* (Rec.

Com.), ii. 852; P.R.O., E 179/161/175.

⁹⁰ O.R.O., QSR. Epiph. 1741; below.

⁹¹ Blenheim Mun., box 61, letter of 16 Mar. 1777; *ibid.*

Combe map (1863); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 7, 11

(1880, 1899 edns.).

⁹² P.R.O., LR 2/224, f. 69; Blenheim Mun. B/M/209,

f. 8.

⁹³ Blenheim Mun., Combe map (1778); Davis, *Oxon. Map*

(1797); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 11 (1880 edn.).

⁹⁴ *Close R.* 1256-9, 271.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., QSB. 13; J. Davenport, *Oxon. Bridges*, 3.

⁹⁶ Blenheim Mun., Combe map (1778); Davis, *Oxon. Map*

(1797).

lode, and the diversion of a stretch of the river west of the mill.⁹⁷ A siding was run into the mill and a private level crossing gave access to the mill from the road beyond the line. The siding was taken up in 1953.⁹⁸ Combe halt, usually said to have opened in 1937,⁹⁹ was recorded from 1935.¹ It remained open in 1988.

A weekly service by carrier to Oxford and Witney was in operation by the mid 19th century,² and in the later 19th century a carrying business was run from Combe by the Phipps family.³ In the 1930s Harry Knibbs was a local celebrity as 'one of the very last of the old-style carriers'.⁴

A solitary flint blade was found south-east of the railway bridge over Bolton's Lane; pottery discovered between Foxhole Barn and Lower Westfield Farm may be neolithic or may be associated with the Bronze Age gold-plated ring money that was found nearby. Romano-British finds have been fairly common, as might be expected so close to Akeman Street and to villa sites at North Leigh and Stonesfield. The remains of terracing below Lower Westfield Farm facing the great villa at North Leigh may have been used for vine growing.⁵

In 1086 Combe was a small place with a recorded population of only 12 unfree tenants and 2 *servi*.⁶ By 1279, when 40 tenants were named, population was apparently outstripping resources,⁷ but by 1377, when only 87 adults were recorded, there had been a decline.⁸ The numbers of taxpayers (30) in 1524 and of communicants (72) in 1548⁹ do not suggest an increase, but the population may have grown from the later 16th century, for c. 50 households were recorded in the early 17th, five of them at East End.¹⁰ In 1642 the Protestation Oath was taken by 176 men and women, 171 adults were reported in 1676, and 52 households were recorded in 1662.¹¹ Combe was then as populous as its neighbours Hanborough and Wootton, but from the later 17th century it seems to have fallen behind. The number of baptisms remained at 8 or 9 a year until the mid 18th century. There was heavy mortality in the 1670s and 1680s, and during the smallpox epidemics of the 1720s burials outnumbered baptisms. Population seems to have grown rather more

rapidly in the later 18th century, perhaps encouraged by the expanding Woodstock gloving industry. There were periods of high infant mortality: in 1779–81 half those buried were infants, and 16 of the 19 people buried in 1815 were children.¹² There were 424 people in the parish in 1801, and the total rose steadily to a peak of 655 in 1851 when the population was temporarily inflated by railway workers. Relatively the greatest increase was at East End, where in 1841 there were 18 households and c. 90 people.¹³ There were 627 people in the parish in 1861, after which there was an uninterrupted decline to 408 in 1931. The decrease in 1871 was attributed to migration, and there were commonly between 7 and 12 houses uninhabited in the later 19th century and earlier 20th.¹⁴ After the Second World War there was an influx of commuters, notably in the 1960s when the number of households increased from 167 to 220. In 1981 there were 660 residents.¹⁵

The inappropriateness of the name Combe, meaning a valley,¹⁶ for a hill-top village 45 m. above the valley floor has usually been explained by a shift of settlement away from an earlier site by Combe mill. The antiquarian White Kennett visited the site in the late 17th century and reported seeing the foundations of a perimeter wall and of a building which he supposed to be a church.¹⁷ The site lies just above the river bank c. 100 m. south-east of the mill, on a knoll covered with fragments of worked stone beyond which, on the north-east and south-east, is the outline of a boundary wall. Ploughing has destroyed any plan, but it has uncovered ridge tiles, stone slates, part of a 13th-century tomb cover, and medieval mouldings of uncertain date. Large quantities of stone have been tipped down the river bank and await systematic examination.¹⁸ Pottery from the site is domestic ware, mainly 11th–13th century with a few pieces of the 14th and 15th centuries.¹⁹ The remains, lying in Bury, or Berry, orchard, described in the 18th century as court land,²⁰ might include those of a manor house, and the presence of the tomb cover may link with documentary evidence of two churches in Combe as late as the 16th century.²¹ Three rectangular ponds shown south-east of the site in 1880 are not shown on

⁹⁷ S. C. Jenkins and H. I. Quayle, *Oxf. Worc. and Wolverhampton Rly.* 17, 19, 34, 109.

⁹⁸ Blenheim Mun., box marked '18th–19th cent. Noke, Combe, etc.', rly. papers; *ibid.* shelf G 4, release of 1 Jan. 1953.

⁹⁹ *Inf. from Brit. Rail*; Jenkins and Quayle, *op. cit.* 109.

¹ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1935).

² *Hunt's Dir. Oxf.* (1846); *Lascelle's Dir. Oxon.* (1853).

³ P.R.O., RG 10/1448; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1869 and later edns.).

⁴ Jenkins and Quayle, *op. cit.* 80.

⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 250, 263, 329, 335; County Mus., P.R.N. 1298, 1300, 1314, 2748, 4880, 4974, 5601, 5794.

⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 404.

⁷ Below, Econ.

⁸ P.R.O., E 179/202/59.

⁹ *Ibid.* E 179/161/175; *Chant. Cert.* (O.R.S. i), 33.

¹⁰ P.R.O., LR 2/202, ff. 35v.–6v.; LR 2/224, ff. 59–84.

¹¹ *Ibid.* E 179/255/4, f. 278; *Protestation Returns*, 86–8; *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 418, 423. In 1642 there were 14 more men than women, a discrepancy not explained.

¹² O.R.O., par. reg. transcript.

¹³ P.R.O., HO 107/889; HO 107/1730; *Census*, 1801–51.

¹⁴ *Census*, 1861, 1931.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 1951–81.

¹⁶ *P.N. Oxon.* ii. 255; M. Gelling, *Place Names in the Landscape*, 89 sqq.

¹⁷ W. Kennett, *Parochial Antiquities* (1819), 149. A building standing there in 1778 was presumably a barn: Blenheim Mun., Combe map (1778).

¹⁸ County Mus., P.R.N. 1057. A proposal of c. 1800 to excavate apparently came to nothing: Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 172, f. 46. The tomb cover and mouldings were recovered in the 1970s by Mr. H. Busby, and given by him in 1988 to the County Mus. Some material has been removed to Alma Grove for infill. Several cottages in the village incorporate mouldings and carvings, apparently medieval.

¹⁹ Dated by Maureen Mellor, *Oxf. Arch. Unit.*

²⁰ Bury field and Bury mead are adjacent: Blenheim Mun., E/P/22, f. 41; *ibid.* Combe map (1778). The words 'bury' and 'court' usually denote a manorial connexion.

²¹ Below, Church.

maps of 1778 and 1806.²² There is no sign of settlement north, east, or south of the knoll, where the ground is apt to flood, and any houses are likely to have lain to the west and to be buried beneath the greatly enlarged mill site. The position, south-facing and in the lee of a hill, is attractive but the adjoining water-meadows would restrict expansion, and a move by some up the hill probably began early, to be recorded in such 13th-century family names as *de la hill* and *de la green*.²³ It is claimed that pottery of *c.* 1200 has been found in Combe village,²⁴ and, if a nave doorway of *c.* 1200 dates the parish church,²⁵ the hill-top site was already important. In the 1260s the Crown sanctioned the inclosure of 10–12 pieces of demesne land, possibly as house plots,²⁶ a development perhaps recalled in 1336–7 when several people, seeking to prove that Combe was royal demesne, asserted that Henry III had taken Combe into the royal forest of Wychwood and had granted tenants land on which to build, the new vill adopting the same name as the diminished early settlement. Their account may have simplified and compressed a longer and more complex process. A counter-claim that the Combe of 1336 was the same as that in Domesday Book was probably concerned more with status than with physical location, although the claimant once described Combe as being by Hanborough, not, as was usual, by Woodstock.²⁷ Extensive further encroachments in the late 13th century and early 14th suggest the establishment of plots and closes within the new village. Combe was not, therefore, as has been suggested, a planned resettlement following the Black Death,²⁸ although plague could have led to consolidation at the upper site.

The church's position at the edge of the village may indicate that it was one of the last sites to be built on,²⁹ though it is as likely to have been chosen because it is on a slight eminence and relatively well drained. To the north-west is Alma Grove, a house and walled close of *c.* 8 a. around which village streets have been deflected and which may have been the site of a new manor house.³⁰ At the southern end of Alma Grove is the triangular village green, which seems always to have been distinct from the great axial green across the centre of the parish. An irregular scatter of houses faces the grove and the village green, giving the village an expansive air not offset by dense concentrations of houses on the south and north-west. The

layout of the village remains largely that depicted in 1778,³¹ with Alma Grove at the eastern edge of a composite village.³² The network of streets west of the grove formerly extended further westwards, apparently serving farmsteads such as the Old Farm House and West Close Farm, which are known to have been in existence by the late Middle Ages³³ and which lay convenient to the open fields in the north and west. In the same period Butcher House, the later Foxhole Farm, Belson's, the manor house, Whitton's, and probably others ranged dispersedly along the south side of the great green from Chatterpie Lane towards Bolton's Lane,³⁴ on sites presumably first occupied to take advantage of newly cleared land north of the green. The strung-out shape of settlement from Horne's Close south of the village, through the village and along the great green, perhaps as far as East End, may have been what by the mid 14th century earned Combe the epithet 'Long'.³⁵ If so, there was considerable rebuilding in Combe in the late Middle Ages, perhaps in some cases encouraged by the sale of Crown land.³⁶ The survival of several houses of that period, modified and adapted rather than rebuilt, reflects the subsequent lack of wealth in the parish. The greatest change within the village has been encroachment and infilling. In 1529 the rectory orchard extended to the village green,³⁷ but by the later 18th century cottages had been interposed, and the green was further reduced on the south in the 19th century by the building of houses in front of those in Church Walk, which as a result became an alleyway. Narrow plots running back from Church Walk have from the 18th century been crammed with cottages. Open ground south-west of the green was reduced in the 19th century by the building of the United Methodist Free chapel (1861, enlarged 1882) and a row of cottages. Other prominent 19th-century additions to the village included the Wesleyan chapel (1835, rebuilt 1893–4), the school (1843, enlarged 1893), the reading room and coffee-house (1890, designed by H. W. Moore), and the new vicarage (1892).³⁸

The road along the west side of Alma Grove has been narrowed by the grove's enlargement, probably in the late 18th century, and by householders' encroachments.³⁹ The principal change in the 20th century has been an increase in the number of houses, from *c.* 110 in 1931 to *c.* 210 in 1981.⁴⁰ Much of the development has been in

²² O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 11; Blenheim Mun., Combe maps.

²³ P.R.O., E 32/251; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 35, 41.

²⁴ C. S. Emden, *Combe Ch. and Village*, 6.

²⁵ The church is no later than *c.* 1300, the date of its chancel arch: below, Church.

²⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 35, 47.

²⁷ P.R.O., KB 27/307, m. 35; *Cal. Pat.* 1334–8, 451; E. M. Hallam, *Domesday Bk. Through Nine Cents*, 67.

²⁸ P.R.O., E 32/306/12. Cf. Emden, *Combe Ch. and Village*, 5–6; W. G. Hoskins, *Making of Eng. Landscape*, 120; C. Taylor, *Village and Farmstead*, 171.

²⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 347, f. 14v.

³⁰ Below, Manor.

³¹ Blenheim Mun., Combe map.

³² Cf. Taylor, *Village and Farmstead*, 171.

³³ Below.

³⁴ Butcher Ho., which stood at the north-east end of Chatterpie Lane, seems to have been demolished in the 19th cent.: P.R.O., LR 2/197, f. 37; *ibid.* SC 6/Chas. I/802, m. 3d.; Blenheim Mun. box 61, Braithwaite deeds; *ibid.* E/P/22, f. 40. For Belson's see below, Manor and other estates.

³⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1354–8, p. 641. Pearce, *St. Laur. Ch.* 3 suggests that the epithet derived from Combe's distance from the site by the mill.

³⁶ Below, Manor and other estates, Econ.

³⁷ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 178, f. 20; Pearce, *St. Laur. Ch.* 10.

³⁸ *Queen*, 3 Dec. 1892; below, Church; Nonconf.; Educ.

³⁹ Blenheim Mun., Combe maps (1778, 1806, 1863); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 7 (1880 edn.).

⁴⁰ *Census*, 1931–81.

and around the angle of Akeman Street and Stonesfield Road, starting with a few council houses *c.* 1927 but expanding more rapidly after 1945 with a mixture of houses, bungalows, and Blenheim estate cottages. The west end of Park Road was built over in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and there has since been infilling opposite. A small housing estate known as the Orchard was built in the 1960s behind older houses west of the village green, and south of the Orchard in the 1980s a walled-off group of five large houses with shared tennis court and swimming-pool was constructed.⁴¹

The hamlet of East End comprises *c.* 12 houses in an isolated position on the eastern edge of the parish adjoining Blenheim Park, and possibly originated as a squatter settlement. In the early 17th century some $\frac{1}{2}$ -yardland and cotland tenements were based on homesteads in East End, and were presumably medieval in origin.⁴² The number of houses there grew from *c.* 12 in 1778 to 18 in 1841, but contraction followed, and *c.* 1914 two houses and three cottages at the southern end of the hamlet were demolished.⁴³ In the 17th century and possibly earlier there seem to have been isolated houses in Bolton's Lane and at Combe weir where the surviving house is dated 1732.⁴⁴ In 1778 there was also a house between the weir and Horne's Close, and another in Bridge meadow; the former had gone by 1806,⁴⁵ and the latter was perhaps demolished at the building of the railway line. At about the time of inclosure in 1792 Akeman Street Farm and Lower Westfield Farm were built in the former open fields.⁴⁶ The mill was rebuilt in Scottish baronial style in the mid 19th century. Manor Farm was rebuilt as a substantial house, possibly also in the mid 19th century.

Combe's older houses are mostly built of limestone rubble, with stone slate or clay tile roofs; thatch, formerly commonplace, has become unusual. Modest farmhouses and small cottages predominate and reflect Combe's history as a community of small and middling farmers and of labourers, its living from agriculture supplemented by cottage industry, quarrying, and timber-sawing. Foxhole Farm is unusual in incorporating fragments of a timber-framed building and in having been rebuilt in the early 18th century as a gentry house.⁴⁷ West Close Farm retains elements of a late medieval plan, including the doorways of a screens passage, and a re-used cruck with joints suggesting a 16th-century origin. The house was sold by the Blenheim estate in 1988.

The Old Farm House, at the south end of Chatterpie Lane, retains in its west range a medieval plan with a high central room with blocked opposed doorways and a large side stack. The cross-wing at the east end has a 16th-century roof. The short back wing at the west

end was probably added in the 17th century, that at the east end and the low additions between were built in 1922 when the house was remodelled for Sir Hamo Thornycroft, the sculptor. Green Close, south-west of the village green, incorporates in its main range the greater part of a small late medieval house whose hall has a raised cruck truss. In the 17th century it was floored over and a chimney stack was inserted into its east end beyond which a three-bayed continuation of the range was built. A short back range was added to the west end of the main range in the 18th century, and in the earlier 20th century extensive service quarters were added by Mrs. Ursula Cottrell-Dormer in the angle between the older ranges.

Whitton's, 300 m. east of Alma Grove, is a thatched house of late medieval origin and retains a hall of one bay formerly open to the upper-cruck roof, a second bay to the west having a room above it reached by a stone newel stair from the hall; at the east end there was a short service bay. The open bay of the hall was floored over in the 17th century when a stack was inserted between it and the former cross passage. By 1952 the house had been restored,⁴⁸ and additions have since been made to both ends.

Horne's Close, south of the village in the angle created by the sharp turn of the Hanborough road, is also of late medieval origin, extensively remodelled in the 18th century. Higher Westfield Farm has an irregular plan, probably of the earlier 17th century. It was refitted in the later 18th century and remodelled in 1984.⁴⁹ Chatterpie House, formerly West End Villa, incorporates part of a 17th-century house rebuilt or extended eastwards in the 19th century and given a north wing *c.* 1905 when the house was remodelled for William Stowell. The exterior was cement rendered and decorated in a style reminiscent of Russia, where Stowell had lived.⁵⁰ The building or rebuilding of farmhouses and cottages in the 18th century continued to be in traditional local materials, but in the 19th brick came into use, notably at the parish reading room and at the vicarage, both built from bricks produced at the Bolton's Lane brickworks.⁵¹

Combe was dismissed *c.* 1800 as a 'small, dirty village',⁵² but Mark Pattison in 1843 described it as a very pretty village, thoroughly rural in character, without any attempt at the 'genteel cottage' which disfigured most country places.⁵³ In the later 20th century efforts to preserve Combe's reputation as 'one of the prettiest of Oxfordshire villages',⁵⁴ combined with its demise as a working village, have given it something of the air of gentility disliked by Pattison. Since the 1950s the Blenheim estate has controlled the design of houses built on plots bought from it, and bungalows and chalets have

⁴¹ Blenheim Mun., Shelf G 4; local inf.

⁴² P.R.O., LR 2/224, ff. 78, 80; Blenheim Mun. B/M/209, f. 10.

⁴³ Blenheim Mun. B/M/227, pp. 52-3.

⁴⁴ Above.

⁴⁵ Blenheim Mun., E/P/22, ff. 4, 38; *ibid.* Combe map (1778); *ibid.* Combe survey and map (1806).

⁴⁶ Below, Econ.

⁴⁷ Below, Manor and other estates.

⁴⁸ *Ideal Home*, May 1952, 48-51.

⁴⁹ Inf. from Mrs. P. Busby.

⁵⁰ Inf. from Mr. and Mrs. A. Koenig.

⁵¹ Below, Econ.

⁵² O.R.O., Thame II/i/1, f. 10v.

⁵³ Linc. Coll. Mun., Pattison MSS., letter of 2 Apr. 1843.

⁵⁴ O.A.S. Rep. (1908).

predominated. The group of expensive houses south of the Orchard has aroused fierce controversy.⁵⁵ Development generally, however, has respected the ancient pattern of dispersed settlement within the village. Alma Grove and the village green were transformed by the removal of an ancient oak tree in 1956 and by the effect of elm disease in the 1970s.⁵⁶ Extensive replanting has been undertaken.

Water was normally supplied from wells, and there was a public well on the green in 1832 when a child drowned in it.⁵⁷ The parish pump stands disused between the former vicarage and Church Cottage. Mains water was installed in 1934–5 and electricity in 1931. Following prolonged complaints about drainage a mains system was installed in 1968 and a sewage works was built between Higher and Lower Westfield Farms.⁵⁸

In 1701 there were 10 licensed alehouses in Combe,⁵⁹ but by mid century there were only three, and from 1774 only the Cock inn, which stood then north-east of the church. It was demolished in 1828 and replaced by Church Cottage, the name being transferred to a house west of Alma Grove, where it remains.⁶⁰ There seems *c.* 1820 to have been a second, probably short-lived, public house, the Dog and Whistle.⁶¹ The Blandford Arms, south-west of the village green, was trading by 1841, and the Royal Oak, south of the green, was recorded in 1847,⁶² being rebuilt in 1858.⁶³ By 1854 a fourth house, the Marlborough Arms, was in front of the village school.⁶⁴ The Blandford Arms ceased trading by 1929,⁶⁵ the Marlborough Arms in 1965, and the Royal Oak in 1966.⁶⁶

A miraculous raising from the dead by St. Augustine of Canterbury was set by a 15th-century hagiographer in 'Woodstock Cometona' near Oxford, thought possibly to be Combe.⁶⁷ A visit by Henry I more credibly can be inferred from the dating of a grant at Combe *c.* 1132.⁶⁸ Henry VIII visited the parish in 1536.⁶⁹ The proximity of Woodstock Palace attracted royal clerks, ministers, and courtiers to live, usually briefly, at Combe, perhaps the best known being Sir Thomas Elyot.⁷⁰ Lincoln College, appropriator of the church, hired a house in the village in 1527 during an epidemic in Oxford.⁷¹ Of long-established families the Woodwards and Huck-

inses were at Combe by the late 16th century, the Busbys, Colliers, and Slatters by the later 17th.⁷²

On 13 April 1692 a fire burned down the houses and barns of eight people, destroying 86 bays of building.⁷³ In 1778 excitement was aroused by the trial and execution of the parishioner Robert Hitchcock for patricide.⁷⁴ The so-called Combe riot of 29 September 1822, ostensibly provoked by the efforts of Edward Tatham, rector of Lincoln College, to eject Bartley Lee from the chaplaincy, seems in reality to have been more complex in origin: the opposing factions wore political colours, and there are indications that the parish's leading farmers opposed Lee because of his support for what they considered excessive rating demands. Lee's support lay principally among the smaller farmers and labourers.⁷⁵ The dispute and its aftermath poisoned relationships for many years and encouraged dissent. Combe was known for factiousness into the late 19th century,⁷⁶ when it had a reputation as a 'benighted little place' and as a 'bye-word and a scoffing to all the villagers around', but also for stubborn independence, particularly in relation to the church and to Blenheim Palace.⁷⁷

The parish wake was in the early 18th century kept on the last Sunday in August.⁷⁸ Known as Combe Feast, it was later held on the Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday following St. Laurence's day (10th August). In the later 20th century it took the form of a religious service, reintroduced after being abandoned early in the century, and a fun-fair on the village green.⁷⁹ Maypole dancing by schoolchildren on the village green takes place annually. Combe Friendly Society was founded in 1780⁸⁰ and in 1813 had 99 members.⁸¹ There was a Blandford Arms Friendly Society in 1853⁸² and a clothing club in 1878,⁸³ but no other reference has been found. The Combe Temperance Reading Room and Coffee-House, built in 1890 and formally opened in 1892 through the efforts of Miss Adela Brooke, who had run a small library from the rectory house, met initial resistance but within a year had 120 members, exclusively men for the first few years.⁸⁴ During the Second World War an Entertainments National Service Association (ENSA) troupe was based at the rectory.⁸⁵

⁵⁵ *Combe Courier*, Feb. 1986; local inf.

⁵⁶ *Combe Courier*, July 1986.

⁵⁷ O.R.O., burial reg. transcript, 15 Sept. 1832.

⁵⁸ *Oxf. Times*, 23 Sept. 1960; *Combe Courier*, Feb. 1986; local inf.

⁵⁹ O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. iii, f. 372.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., vctls' recogs.; Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. c 340, ff. 51–2, 57; d 23, ff. 38–40.

⁶¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 347, f. 53.

⁶² P.R.O., HO 107/889; HO 107/1730; N.R.A.

⁶³ Date on ho. ⁶⁴ *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1854).

⁶⁵ Blenheim Mun., B/M/289, pp. 103–4.

⁶⁶ Inf. from Messrs. E. and H. Busby, of Combe and Long Hanborough.

⁶⁷ Bodl. MS. Bodl. 474, ff. 49–50; *ibid.* 493, ff. 51–4v.

⁶⁸ *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* ii, p. 275.

⁶⁹ Linc. Coll. Mun., acct. bk. 1525–38, pp. 268–9.

⁷⁰ Below, Manor and other estates; Church.

⁷¹ V. H. H. Green, *Linc. Coll.* 121.

⁷² P.R.O., LR 2/224, f. 61; O.R.O., par. reg. transcript; Emden, *Combe Ch. and Village*, 29.

⁷³ O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. iii, f. 318v.; *ibid.* Dil. V/c/4.

⁷⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 23, ff. 356–64; *Oxf. Jnl.* 7, 14 Mar. 1778.

⁷⁵ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. c 341, ff. 44–8; c 347, ff. 51–5, 286; d 23, ff. 74 and v., 284–5, 288–97; d 172, f. 29; O.R.O., Green I/1; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 62, ff. 225–34; *Combe, Linc. Coll.* 378–81; Emden, *Combe Ch. and Village*, 14–16; below, Church.

⁷⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 347, f. 70v.; *Oxf. Chron.* 2, 9 Apr. 1853.

⁷⁷ G. Millin, *Life in Our Villages*, 80–1, 87.

⁷⁸ *Par. Colln.* 101.

⁷⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 347, f. 70; O.A.S. *Rep.* (1904); Emden, *Combe Ch. and Village*, 18–19.

⁸⁰ O.R.O., QSD.R.12; Emden, *op. cit.* 19.

⁸¹ *Poor Abstract*, 1818, 358–9.

⁸² *Oxf. Chron.* 14 May 1853.

⁸³ County Mus., photo. 46/76/27.

⁸⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 331, f. 169; Linc. Coll. Mun. Z/COM/8; Millin, *Life in Our Villages*, 87–92; *Queen*, 3 Dec. 1892; *Oxf. Times*, 6 Aug. 1892; *Combe Courier*, Apr. 1987.

⁸⁵ Inf. from Mrs. J. Willis-Bund, Combe House.

Combe is renowned for its devotion to sport, notably cricket, which is a strong cohesive force in the village. In 1947 a field north-east of the church was bought as a recreation ground which was inaugurated in 1949 by the duke of Edinburgh.⁸⁶

In the earlier 19th century the house by Combe weir was used as an isolation hospital during epidemics. The parish stocks, north of the old oak tree on the village green in 1828, had gone by the late 19th century.⁸⁷ The parish pound, towards the west end of the village, was maintained in the 20th century by the parish council. In the 18th century there was a large village pond south-west of the green.⁸⁸ It was reduced in size by encroachment in the 19th century and apparently became a shallow pool liable to dry out. It survived in the earlier 20th century, but was later drained.⁸⁹

Topographical collections relating to Combe were compiled by Charles Richardson (d. 1827),⁹⁰ alderman of London, formerly of Combe, and by Stephen Pearce, vicar 1892–1922.⁹¹

MANOR AND OTHER ESTATES. In 1086 *COMBE*, assessed at 1 hide, was the smallest of the four Oxfordshire manors held in demesne by Odo of Bayeux. It was said to have been held formerly by Alwin and Algar, the latter perhaps being Aelfgar (d. 1062), earl of Mercia.⁹² By the earlier 12th century Combe was royal demesne,⁹³ presumably having escheated to the Crown on Odo's death in 1097. Thereafter Combe was sometimes administered directly by royal officials, and was sometimes, with other demesne towns, the subject of grants for life or for term of years. It formed part of the grant to John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, in 1705, and was held by his successor in 1987.⁹⁴

Manorial farm buildings, including a grange, a granary, and a dairy, were under repair from the earlier, and the King's hall from the later, 13th century;⁹⁵ they are likely to have been near the church in the valley below the present village.⁹⁶ By the beginning of the 17th century the site of the manor house had been moved, perhaps to the walled close of 8 a. later known as the Grove or Alma Grove: in 1606 a close adjacent to the manor house was known as le grove, and in 1609 the house and its grounds were said to comprise 8 a.⁹⁷ The house, but not

the manor, may in the later 15th century have been in the possession of the Harcourt family: Christopher Harcourt was said to be of Combe in the 1470s, and c. 1515 Sir Richard Elyot (d. 1522), the royal justice, brought an action against Simon Harcourt for the detention of title deeds to the house,⁹⁸ which had been Elyot's since 1508 and possibly earlier. Elyot was succeeded by his son Sir Thomas, author and diplomat,⁹⁹ who seems c. 1538 to have sold the house to Richard Andrews, from whom it was bought by the Crown in 1541.¹ Known as Combe House, it was leased to a succession of notables, including Sir William Sharington (d. 1553), attainted for fraud at the Bristol mint and for participation in the conspiracy of Thomas, Lord Seymour. Subsequent lessees included, in 1558, John Herle, a royal equerry, and, in 1586, Sir Christopher Hatton. None of them seems to have lived at Combe, preferring to sublet the property.² The house was said in the mid 16th century to comprise a hall, parlour, and six or seven chambers, and to require much repair.³ In the earlier 17th century, when it was held by John Pollard, it was referred to as a great house (*domus magnus mansionalis*) and as a fair house with gardens and orchard as well as the grove.⁴ By 1621 the property, described as Combe house and grove, had been bought by Michael Harris, who sold it in that year to Thomas Pokins.⁵ By 1691 William Pokins, a descendant, had sold it to John Hurst (d. c. 1731). It was called Place House in 1701,⁶ and the Grove in 1778, when it was owned by William Sotham of Wootton, possibly a relation of Hurst.⁷ Sotham sold the Grove in 1796 to James Long, who was succeeded on his death in 1833 by his grandson Philip, son of his daughter Elizabeth (d. 1831) and her husband Philip Paine. George Spencer-Churchill, duke of Marlborough, bought the estate in 1855, and his successor retained ownership in 1988.⁸ The older part of Alma Grove, as the house was known by the later 19th century,⁹ is a plain, two-storeyed farmhouse of the 18th century; the slightly lower block on the north was added in 1828 by James Long.¹⁰

Ownership of the manor house carried with it an obligation, doubtless fulfilled by the copyholders, to clean the privies at the royal palace of Woodstock whenever the king came there. Recorded in 1551,¹¹ the custom was almost certainly much older. In 1649 cleaning of the chimneys also was said to be due, but by then

⁸⁶ Blenheim Mun., shelf G 4, conveyance of 24 Apr. 1947; Emden, op. cit. 19–20; *Oxf. Times*, 23 Sept. 1960; *Combe Courier*, Mar. 1986, Dec. 1987, Feb. 1988.

⁸⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 340, ff. 23v.–24.

⁸⁸ Blenheim Mun., Combe map (1778).

⁸⁹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 7 (1880 edn.); *Combe Courier*, July 1986.

⁹⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 23.

⁹¹ Ibid. c 338–48; d 330–1.

⁹² *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 380, 403–4.

⁹³ *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* ii, p. 275; *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 51.

⁹⁴ Below, Woodstock, Blenheim (Woodstock Manor).

⁹⁵ e.g. *Cal. Lib.* 1226–40, 34; P.R.O., SC 6/962/4, 6, 17.

⁹⁶ Above, intro.

⁹⁷ P.R.O., LR 2/202, f. 36; LR 2/224, f. 66.

⁹⁸ Ibid. C 1/306/24; C 1/405/3; *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77, 352, 576.

⁹⁹ Linc. Coll. Mun., acct. bk. 1508, p. 29; P.R.O., E

321/37/8, f. 1; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, p. 582; *ibid.* Addenda, i, p. 193; T. Elyot, *The Governour*, ed. H. S. Croft, pp. 1, lv–lvi, 309, 314.

¹ P.R.O., CP 25(2)/34/229, nos. 9, 17–18; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, p. 422; xviii, p. 546; *Cal. Pat.* 1557–8, 107–8.

² P.R.O., C 146/8736; *ibid.* LR 2/224, f. 66; *Cal. Pat.* 1557–8, 107–8; *D.N.B.*

³ P.R.O., E 310/3/21.

⁴ Ibid. C 2/Jas. 1/P 4/3; C 3/297/51; *ibid.* LR 2/202, f. 36; LR 2/224, f. 66. For Pollard see *V.C.H. Oxon.* v. 52, 241.

⁵ O.R.O., Vict. IX/1.

⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 23, f. 344.

⁷ O.R.O., Vict. IX/2; Blenheim Mun., E/P/22, f. 30; Linc. Coll. Mun. M/COM/1–4.

⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 70.

⁹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 7 (1880 edn.).

¹⁰ Datestone on east end of bldg.

¹¹ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, f. 18; below, Woodstock, Blenheim (King's Houses).

the service had been commuted for a payment of 10s. a year.¹²

A freehold estate later known as *FORESHAW'S* in the possession of Sir Thomas Elyot in the earlier 16th century and leased by him first to John Colles and then to Thomas Ripplingall, was bought c. 1538 by Richard Andrews and formed part of the Crown purchase of 1541. In 1558 John Herle bought a reversion of the leasehold, due to fall vacant on the expiry of Ripplingall's lease in 1579.¹³ In 1606 the tenant was Henry Blagrove, and the estate was said then to include a house of 10 bays, three cottages, 77 a. of arable, 10 a. of pasture, and 8 a. of meadow.¹⁴ It was sold by Charles I in September 1631 to Sir Henry Browne and John Cliffe, who resold it in November to Rice Jones of Asthall. In 1687 Richard Lumley, Lord Lumley, and his wife Frances, daughter and heir of Sir Henry Jones of Asthall, sold the estate to John Foreshaw of Maiseyhampton (Glos.). Foreshaw had been succeeded by 1734 by his son John who survived in 1760 but who had died by 1791 when his sons John and William sold the estate to George Spencer, duke of Marlborough.¹⁵ A fee-farm rent of £5 6s. 8d. due from the estate was in 1651 sold to Francis Martin of Ewelme. The rent reverted to the Crown at the Restoration and was sold in 1672 to Sir John Banks of Aylesford (Kent), who resold it in 1673 to Joseph Hornby. In 1704 it was owned with other Combe fee-farm rents by Sir Robert Dashwood, who sold them in 1721 to John Campbell, duke of Argyll. They later passed to Henry Scott, duke of Buccleuch, from whom they were bought in 1778 by the duke of Marlborough.¹⁶ The farmhouse was probably that standing south of the Stonesfield road, towards its eastern end, referred to in 1792 as Middle Farm, later as Foxhole Farm.¹⁷ The eastern end of the house retains a cruck roof and evidence of jettying suggestive of timber-frame construction. That bay, probably medieval, was left to provide service accommodation when, in the early 18th century, the house was rebuilt on a two-roomed plan with central stack and rear staircase turret. Later in the century a low back wing was built behind the old east bay. The house was sold in 1982.¹⁸

The property sold by Richard Andrews to Henry VIII in 1541 also included a farm known as *BELSON'S* said to comprise a house, 200 a. of arable, 30 a. of pasture, and 24 a. of meadow. The arable seems in reality to have been about half that amount. The farm passed for long with the manor house, and in 1606 was held by John Pollard.¹⁹ By 1625 it was in the tenure of Michael Harris,²⁰ and it was subsequently bought by him or by his heirs, for in 1687 it was sold by Francis Harris to Robert French of

South Newington. Robert died in the same year, devising the estate to his younger sons Robert and Thomas. Thomas died while still a minor, and after a prolonged family dispute his moiety passed in 1711 to his brother William's son Robert (d. by 1735), whose wife Joanna (d. 1740) ordered that it be sold. No sale, however, was made and in 1773 the moiety was settled on her granddaughters Sarah, wife of George Coles, and Hannah, wife of Thomas Whetton, and on William Coles, widower of Elizabeth, a third granddaughter. In 1775 Jonathan Ordway the younger, presumably Joanna's grandson, bought the shares of Hannah and William, selling them in 1779 to George Spencer, duke of Marlborough. The other sixth was bought by the duke in 1795 from Sarah's and George's son William.

Robert French's moiety passed on his death in 1730 to his son Robert, who by will dated 1764 devised it to Mary Matthews and Sarah and Susannah Short. Sarah and Mary sold their shares to the duke in 1778; Susannah had died by 1797, when her husband Anthony Watts and their children Thomas and Susannah sold her share to the duke.

In 1769 the entire estate, tenanted by William Horne, was said to comprise two houses, two cottages, and 310 a. in Combe, Wootton, and South Newington. The principal house, Belson's, may have been that which stood east of Middle Farm, at the junction of the Stonesfield road with that from the village centre. The house, apparently still standing in 1806, had gone by 1863.²¹

A fee-farm rent of £12 11s. 4d. from the estate may have formed part of the Crown rents purchased in 1672 by Sir John Banks. Sir Robert Dashwood owned it in 1704 with rents due from Foreshaw's and other freeholds, and it passed with those rents thereafter.²²

In 1399 Combe *RECTORY* was appropriated by Eynsham abbey, which reserved to itself tithes of corn and hay, and fees. Glebe land, of unspecified extent, was divided, the vicar taking arable and meadow land, the abbey a croft known as Great Croft near the rectory house. In 1451 the rectory and vicarage were consolidated and all the church's income was taken by the abbey. The consolidated rectory was granted in 1478 to Lincoln College, Oxford, which paid Eynsham an annuity of £3 for Combe and two Oxford properties; the payment was compounded for £60 in 1534.²³ The rectory's valuation in 1536 of £10 7s. 10d. net was an underestimate since it assumed that the £3 pension was still being paid;²⁴ moreover, the college was able to obtain a rent of c. £20, and, from the mid 16th century, a rent of £12 6s. 8d. and a payment of £10 to the chaplain appointed

¹² O.R.O., CH. IV/1; P.R.O., E 317/Oxon./12.

¹³ *Cal. Pat.* 1557-8, 108.

¹⁴ P.R.O., LR 2/197, f. 37; 32 a. lay in Wootton.

¹⁵ Blenheim Mun., box 64.

¹⁶ P.R.O., LR 2/197, f. 37v.; *ibid.* E 307/M 1/19; E 308/3/26, mm. 18d., 43; *ibid.* IND 17347, pp. 244, 557; Blenheim Mun., box 61.

¹⁷ Blenheim Mun., box 69, farm particulars, 1792; *ibid.* E/P/22, f. 19; *ibid.* Combe map (1778).

¹⁸ Inf. from Dr. G. Speake, Foxhole Farm.

¹⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1557-8, 107-8; P.R.O., LR 2/197, f. 36v.

²⁰ P.R.O., SC 6/Chas. I/802, m. 3d.

²¹ Blenheim Mun., box 62; *ibid.* E/P/22, ff. 5-6; *ibid.* Combe maps (1778, 1806, 1863); O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 165/4/30.

²² P.R.O., LR 2/197, f. 36v.; above.

²³ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 180-3, 199-204.

²⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 240.

to serve the church. From 1703 the college introduced a scheme of low annual rents and high entry fines, based on an estimated true rent of £120 a year. Leaseholders were usually local farmers, notably members of the Pokins family from 1613 to 1742. In 1791, when the glebe comprised c. 22 a., the college surrendered 8 a. to George Spencer, duke of Marlborough, in exchange for Upper and Lower Church closes, comprising 10 a. adjoining Parsonage close (15 a.), which was presumably the Great Croft of 1399. In 1792 tithes were commuted for an annual corn rent of £200, rising to £325 by the 1870s.²⁵ Lincoln College retained the rectory in 1987, but the house and land were sold in 1950.²⁶

The rectory house, mentioned in 1399 and 1451,²⁷ presumably stood then, as later, south-west of the church. Part of what appears to have been a moat survived in 1778 south and west of the house.²⁸ The two-storeyed range forming the north front of the house was probably built in the later 16th century, and has a conventional three-roomed plan with traces of a cross passage. A wing was built against the south side of the west end in the 17th century, and another wing at the east end may be of the 17th century or early 18th. A south range, almost closing the courtyard, had been added by 1778,²⁹ but in 1812 Edward Tatham, rector of Lincoln College, replaced it with a tall range in a Gothic style praised as 'highly ornamental' and in keeping with the existing character of the house.³⁰ Tatham's successor, John Radford, continued the Gothicization along the house's east and west fronts.³¹ The name Combe House, used of the manor house in the 17th century, was acquired in the early 1930s.³²

St. John's hospital, Oxford, was said in 1279 to own a house and 6 a. given by King John.³³ The estate passed to Magdalen College, presumably on the appropriation of the hospital in 1457, and remained the college's property thereafter.³⁴ By 1813 the house seems to have gone and there were only 5 a., in West field.³⁵ No later reference has been found.

ECONOMIC HISTORY. No record has been found of the number and size of Combe's medieval fields. A survey of 1606, distinguishing free and unfree land, may indicate the location of the earliest fields since land in assarted, and therefore later, fields was held freely for money rents.

Copyholds were grouped almost exclusively in West field, Land field, and East End field. Bury, or Berry, field, was enclosed demesne granted to tenants. Most free tenants, too, had land in West field, but their holdings otherwise lay chiefly in the assarted fields in the northern half of the parish: Old Sarts, New Sarts, the fields known as the Northalls, Ten Acres, Harts Hole, Over field, and Abbots Pale.³⁶ In 1609 Combe's fields were said to comprise West field (194 a.), Harts Hole and New Sarts (232 a., perhaps including the Northalls and Ten Acres), Old Sarts (140 a.), Over and Nether East End field (58 a.), and Bury field (86 a.). Land field and Abbots Pale were not mentioned.³⁷ Tenants' land was divided unevenly among the fields, three holdings, for instance, lying entirely in West field, another in East End field.³⁸

Crop returns of the 13th century suggest that on a ploughland of royal demesne, and presumably on other holdings, a three-course rotation of two crops and a fallow was practised, the 100 a.–120 a. sown each year likely to have been two thirds of c. 165 a. rather than half of c. 220 a.³⁹ Even the lower figure is unusually large for a ploughland, though there was a demesne ploughland of similar size on the nearby royal estate of Hordley.⁴⁰ Combe tenants also held land extensively beyond the parish's northern boundary in Wootton, where two assart fields comprising 222 a. and 124 a. respectively in 1609 were shared with the men of Stonesfield, an arrangement that continued until the inclosure of Wootton in 1770.⁴¹

In 1086 Combe was one of the most extensively wooded parishes in the area, with woodland said to measure 1½ by 1½ league.⁴² The northern half of the parish seems to have been largely uncleared at that time, as also were parts of the south, where clearances were still taking place at the beginning of the 14th century.⁴³ There was little expansion of arable land between 1086, when there was said to be land for 4 ploughteams, and 1279, when 16 yardlands and 30½ a. of assarts were recorded.⁴⁴ Combe tenants were conspicuous transgressors of the forest laws, but their offences were poaching and damage, and assarts were scarcely mentioned.⁴⁵ In the later 13th century and earlier 14th woodland was cleared on a scale and at a speed suggesting a change of royal policy: 162 a. of recently assarted land were recorded in 1298, and a further 71½ a. in 1303.⁴⁶ The full extent of clearances is not known, but they may have accounted for

²⁵ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. c 342, ff. 11, 14, 78; d 331, ff. 26–8, 175 sqq.; Blenheim Mun., box 65; Duke of Marlborough Estate Act, 33 Geo. III, c. 22 (Priv. Act).

²⁶ V. H. H. Green, *Linc. Coll.* 545.

²⁷ *Eynsham Cart*, ii, pp. 182–3, 202.

²⁸ Blenheim Mun., Combe map (1778).

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Date on bldg.; Skelton, *Antiq. Oxon.* Wootton Hund. 6. Parker, *Guide*, 155. ³² *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1931, 1935).

³³ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 852; *Cart. Hosp. St. John*, iii (O.H.S. lxix), 46.

³⁴ C. Woolgar, 'Cat. of Magd. Coll. Estates', viii, 2099: (TS. in Bodl.). ³⁵ Magd. Coll. Mun., ES 6/4, p. 47.

³⁶ P.R.O., LR 2/224, ff. 58 sqq. East field, West field, and Mor field, recorded in 1273–4 and said in *P.N. Oxon.* ii, 255–6 to be in this parish, lay in Combe in Great Milton: *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iv, 338–9.

³⁷ P.R.O., LR 2 202, ff. 35–36v.

³⁸ *Ibid.* LR 2 224, ff. 78–80, 83.

³⁹ *Ibid.* SC 6 962 4, 6–7, 9–20; *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 593; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 851.

⁴⁰ *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi, 273.

⁴¹ P.R.O., LR 2 202, f. 35 and v.; *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi, 271, 276.

⁴² *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 404; B. Schumer, 'Woodland of Wyckwood Region' (Leic. Univ. M. Phil. thesis, 1980), 44.

⁴³ P.R.O., C 47 11 5, no. 4.

⁴⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 404; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 851–2. The entries on p. 852 beginning with Richard Vidua belong not with Combe but with Nether Kiddington (p. 877): Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 508.

⁴⁵ P.R.O., E 32 137.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* E 36 75, pp. 54–5; *ibid.* SC 6 962–17; Schumer, 'Woodland of Wyckwood Region', 96, 140.

much of the transformation revealed by the survey of 1609, which recorded a solitary wood comprising 19 a.: known as Notoaks, sometimes as Nattocks or Nadox, it was in 1609 held with the manor house and may have been the remnant of demesne woodland.⁴⁷ Woodland clearances greatly reduced the amount of fuel accessible to Combe people, who were restricted to the closely regulated cutting of furze and fern. That, too, was curtailed in the 1660s when c. 35 a. of furze land called Combe, or Broad, leys, at the eastern end of Combe green, was bought by the Crown as a deer covert. Commoners, who insisted that their right 'is not much inferior to that of the proprietors', received £100 in compensation.⁴⁸ In the 18th century and presumably earlier furze could be cut only with furze hooks, and only so much as could be carried on the back or head.⁴⁹ The right to cut furze was finally extinguished at inclosure in 1792, when George Spencer, duke of Marlborough, promised that faggots or coal would be given instead to the poor.⁵⁰ Deliveries had ceased by the late 19th century.⁵¹

Most of the southern and western edge of the parish is fringed with river meadows, although only 15 a. of meadow were recorded in 1086.⁵² In the 13th century and early 14th the two westernmost meadows, Wigenham (or Ignum) and One Acre were demesne, the former leased to tenants, the latter sometimes leased and sometimes kept in hand. There was also a demesne meadow near the mill. Mowing was performed by a combination of customary services and wage labour.⁵³ Clayham, adjoining One Acre, may also have been a demesne meadow at one time as it was usually grouped with One Acre and Wigenham.⁵⁴ Those meadows were also distinguished by the absence of lot meadow, except for a very small amount in Wigenham. The other meadows, which contained both lot meadow and permanent 'platts', were, following the river from west to east, Colnham (or Coldman) meadow, Chalgrove (or Chawcroft) meadow, Bury mead, Bridge mead, east of the bridge, and Odd mead, also called Combe town mead. In 1609 the meadows comprised 125 a. in all. Chalgrove meadow contained a small plot known as Refham, given to the reeve, and another which was the hayward's; by the early 17th century both were occupied in rotation by the tenants of bury land. Bury mead was exclusively for holders of bury land.⁵⁵ Odd mead was mown only by copyholders.

No separate pasture was recorded in the Mid-

dle Ages, although Combe green is likely to have been in existence and to have been then, as later, common pasture. It was described in 1609 as a 'great waste or common' of 243 a., and formed a broad swathe of land across the centre of the parish from Stonesfield ford to Woodstock Park.⁵⁶ By the later 18th century it had been reduced to 101 a. by the imparkment of Combe leys and by inclosure and encroachment along its whole length.⁵⁷ Combe tenants were allowed in the 13th century to run goats in the forest,⁵⁸ and shared with Stonesfield the right to pasture livestock in North Leigh's fields. The latter right was extinguished only at North Leigh's inclosure in 1759, when Combe and Stonesfield were jointly given 15 a. in North Leigh west of Stonesfield ford.⁵⁹ The right of other villis to pasture in Combe has left little trace: Combe wood was said in 1279 to be 'common to the country' (*communis patriae*),⁶⁰ and in 1547 Glympton was said to have pasture rights in Combe,⁶¹ but no record has been found of neighbours exercising such rights. Assarting reduced the amount of permanent pasture, and a hint of the resulting tensions is perhaps given by a dispute of 1301–2 when Combe men complained of exclusion from an assart near Combe weir, where they used to have rights of common.⁶² Grazing on the commons was augmented by pasture closes, many of which were recorded in the early 17th century in or adjacent to the village.⁶³

In 1086 there was said to be land for 4 ploughteams in Combe although 5 were in use, 2 on the demesne worked by 2 *servi* and 3 on the tenants' land.⁶⁴ By the 1240s a demesne team seems to have gone out of use: only one plough and ploughman were mentioned in accounts, and in the 1270s a single team of oxen was kept. A second plough mentioned in the late 13th century and early 14th may have been for occasional use since the acreage sown each year and the number of oxen remained virtually unchanged.⁶⁵ By the mid 16th century the demesne was leased to the copyholders and was probably already consolidated in Bury field. Former demesne was probably also represented by some of the numerous small freeholds, comprising c. 150 a. in total, recorded in 1606. Bury land continued to be distinguished from copyhold land until inclosure.⁶⁶

The tenants recorded in 1086 were 6 *villani* and 6 *bordars*.⁶⁷ A croft of perhaps 3 a. in Colnham was granted in 1231 to William of St. Owen, and by 1279 another small freehold had

⁴⁷ P.R.O., LR 2/202, f. 35v.; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 172, f. 32; Blenheim Mun., Combe map (1778).

⁴⁸ P.R.O., SP 29/142, ff. 309–10; below, Woodstock, Blenheim (Park to 1705).

⁴⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 69, Combe orders.

⁵⁰ Ibid. box 65, agreement of 1791.

⁵¹ G. Millin, *Life in Our Villages*, 86.

⁵² V.C.H. Oxon. i. 404.

⁵³ P.R.O., SC 6/962/4, 17, 20; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851.

⁵⁴ Remainder of para. based on P.R.O., LR 2/197, ff. 36–9; LR 2/202, ff. 35–36v.; LR 2/224, ff. 58–93; Blenheim Mun., E/P/22; *ibid.* Combe map (1778).

⁵⁵ *Below*.

⁵⁶ P.R.O., LR 2/202, f. 35v.

⁵⁷ Blenheim Mun., E/P/22, f. 41; *ibid.* Combe map (1778).

⁵⁸ *Close R.* 1231–4, 63; Schumer, 'Woodland of Wyckwood Region', pp. 78 sqq.

⁵⁹ O.R.O., N. Leigh incl. award; below, N. Leigh, Econ.

⁶⁰ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851.

⁶¹ H. Barnett, *Glympton* (O.R.S. v), 23.

⁶² P.R.O., C 47/11/5, no. 4.

⁶³ *Ibid.* LR 2/197, ff. 35v.–38v.; LR 2/202, f. 36; LR 2/224, ff. 58–93.

⁶⁴ V.C.H. Oxon. i. 403–4.

⁶⁵ P.R.O., SC 6/962/4, 9–20; *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i. 593; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851–2.

⁶⁶ e.g. Blenheim Mun., box 64. Cf. above, Bladon, Econ.

⁶⁷ V.C.H. Oxon. i. 403–4.

been created for St. John's hospital in Oxford; assarts also were freely held.⁶⁸ In 1279⁶⁹ there were 16 villeins, 4 *aliter tenentes*, and 24 cottagers, yet the amount of tenant land had apparently remained unchanged since 1086, for apart from the demesne hide only 12 yardlands were accounted for: 2 were held by villein yardlanders, 7 were divided among 14 half-yardlanders, 2 *aliter tenentes* held yardlands, and 2 held half-yardlands. The holdings of *aliter tenentes*, like those of socage tenants in Hanborough,⁷⁰ were distinguished from the villeins' primarily by an obligation to perform mowing services in Woodstock park and to carry a truss of straw from the *curia* at Combe to that at Woodstock against the king's coming there.⁷¹ Several cottagers performed similar services. The obligation seems later to have fallen upon all customary tenants, between whom distinctions may have been blurring even in the late 13th century: 38 tenants were in 1298 all called simply 'the king's sokemen'.⁷² The onerous services due in 1279 from the yardlanders and half-yardlanders of other demesne towns⁷³ had in Combe largely been commuted to higher money rents, 7s. 6d. a yardland for villeins and 6s. or 10s. for *aliter tenentes*, leaving only haymaking and limited works to be performed. Assize rents from Combe had increased accordingly, from £6 9s. 9d. in 1250 to £10 7s. 3½d. in 1279.⁷⁴ Cottagers' rents ranged from 2s. 9½d. to a more usual 6d. and four hens,⁷⁵ and all but four owed services. The heaviest obliged the cottager concerned to work for the king throughout the year from Monday to Wednesday, to reap with one man for three days, and to transport a truss of hay; others were required principally to assist with haymaking. Mowers in the demesne meadow were entitled to bread, meat, and as much grass as they could carry on their scythes without dropping. Those binding corn in the autumn received a sheaf each. Manorial servants received allowances in money and in kind, the reeve being allowed 10½d. against his rent and a cartload of hay from Refham, the woodward 5s. 0½d. and all windfalls. The ploughman was paid as the woodward, allowed the use of the team every other Saturday, and given a sown strip of demesne land, a basket of wheat, and a basket of oats.

In the late 12th century and early 13th Combe was let at an annual farm to the sheriff,⁷⁶ but by 1242 the demesne was farmed directly. In the 13th century and early 14th wheat and oats each usually occupied 50–60 a. a year until in the late 13th century the acreage under oats was halved. In most years only 7 a. or 8 a. were sown with

barley, and up to 5 a. of peas. Dredge was grown from the 1280s. Yields generally were poor, though no worse than on the other demesne manors, wheat yielding 5 bu. an acre on average, oats and barley each 7½ bu. an acre. Often as much as a third, and occasionally a half, of the crops were sold, the remainder being used for seed, given as wages to servants, or in the case of oats kept for provender. Flax and hemp were grown in the late 14th century.⁷⁷ No details of livestock survive other than for oxen and horses, but in the 1240s there was a dairy, sales of butter and cheese sometimes fetching as much as those of wheat. A shepherd was employed in the late 13th century. Tenants are known to have kept cattle, pigs, and goats.⁷⁸ In the 1470s the reeve of Combe was paying the king's receiver c. £19 a year,⁷⁹ but it is doubtful that the demesne was still being farmed, and the money was probably for rents and manorial dues.

Subsidy assessments of the earlier 14th century suggest a township of middling size and prosperity, seemingly without the great disparity of wealth apparent in some of its neighbours. In 1306 the highest known assessment (5s. 9d.) was that of Reynold atte stocks, possibly the cottager of that name recorded in 1279. While generally the cottagers of 1279 or their descendants were assessed rather lower than the half-yardlanders, no assessment other than Reynold's was above 3s. and few were below 1s. The number of taxpayers, unusually and for reasons not discovered, fell from 31 in 1306 to only 26 in 1327, when assessments were again evenly spread. Only seven family names survived from 1279.⁸⁰ Combe's assessment for later medieval taxes, £5 14s. 8d., maintained its position relative to its neighbours.⁸¹ A catalogue of woes claimed for Combe in 1451 by Eynsham abbey, citing pestilence, sterile soil, a dwindling and grasping peasantry, and 'other misfortunes', was perhaps special pleading: the abbey was seeking a licence to consolidate the rectory and vicarage.⁸²

By the early 16th century the Crown had sold the manor house and perhaps c. 200 a. of land, which were in the hands of Sir Richard Elyot.⁸³ In 1524 his son Thomas, assessed on goods worth £160, paid almost two thirds of the parish's tax. Other assessments included those of John Colles (£30) and Thomas Summer (£20), lessee of the rectory. A further 27 people were taxed, 3 on goods worth £10 to £19, 12 on goods worth £2 to £9, and 12 on wages of £1 a year.⁸⁴ By 1544 the general evenness of assessments was more apparent, comprising 3 of £10, 3 of £5 to £9, 16 of £2 to £4, and 10 of £1.⁸⁵ In

⁶⁸ P.R.O., KB 27/309, m. 35; *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226–57, 137; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 34, 46, 852.

⁶⁹ Para. based on *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851–2. For the problematic Combe entry see above.

⁷⁰ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 871–2.

⁷¹ Below, Woodstock, Blenheim (Park to 1705).

⁷² P.R.O., E 36/75, p. 54; cf. *Cal. Mem. R.* 1326–7, p. 257.

⁷³ Above, Bladon, Econ.; below, Hanborough, Econ.

⁷⁴ P.R.O., SC 6/962/4; A. Ballard, 'Woodstock manor in 13th cent.' *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, vi. 434.

⁷⁵ A hen was worth 1d. to the king: P.R.O., SC 6/962/4.

⁷⁶ *Pipe R.* 1194 (P.R.S. N.S. v.), 16; 1195 (P.R.S. N.S. vi) 38; 1201 (P.R.S. N.S. xiv), 208.

⁷⁷ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 183.

⁷⁸ P.R.O., SC 6/962/4; SC 6/962/6–7, 9–20; *Close R.* 1231–4, 63; *Vierteljahrschrift*, vi. 448, 452, 459.

⁷⁹ P.R.O., SC 6/963/11–12.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* E 179/161/9–10: 12 names in 1306 are lost or illegible.

⁸¹ *Lay Subsidy 1334*, ed. R. E. Glasscock, 244.

⁸² *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 200.

⁸³ Above, Manor and other estates.

⁸⁴ P.R.O., E 179/161/175; *ibid.* LR 2/197, f. 37; above, Manor and other estates. ⁸⁵ P.R.O., E 179/162/235.

1606 the largest farm in Combe was Belson's, comprising 130 a. of free land held on a Crown lease by John Pollard.⁸⁶ William Seacole occupied an engrossed holding of 2 customary yardlands and 8 a. of free land comprising 6 houses and 71 a. in all. The estate was by the mid 17th century in the possession of the Martins, a branch of the Wilcote family of that name.⁸⁷ John Colles's successor, Henry Blagrove, held 61 a. in Combe and 32 a. of assart land in Wootton. Those farms apart, Combe remained a place characteristically of small farmers whose holdings, as described in 1606, comprised on average only c. 11 a. each, usually a mixture of free and copyhold land: of 48 tenants all but 6 held some free land. Fourteen customary holdings of $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland were recorded, varying in size from 5 a. to 20 a.; the rent, 3s. 8d., was virtually unchanged since 1279. Only one full yardland was recorded, and there were 6 quarter yardlands and 6 cotland tenements, the latter presumably the successors of the cotland tenements of 1279; others may have been enfranchised, to be found in 1606 among the numerous smallholdings. Bury land, comprising 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. of arable land in Bury field and 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ a. of meadow in Bury mead, was not, as on other demesne manors, shared by copyhold tenants generally, but restricted to 12 only. A rent of 6s. 8d., and 4d. for commuted mowing and haymaking services, was paid to the Crown for each apportionment. The neatness of the arrangement, with only three tenants holding more than one share, suggests a relatively recent origin, although the twelvefold division matched exactly the 12 yardlands of tenant land recorded in 1086 and 1279. There were still 12 holders of the land in 1778, but the size of holdings had by then become irregular.⁸⁸ Wills and inventories of the 16th and 17th centuries confirm an impression of the predominance of small farms: 65 inventories were valued at £50 or less, 16 at between £51 and £100, and only 11 of more than £100 have been found. At least a third of Combe inventories included money on loan, ranging from the richest, that of William Martin (d. 1643), whose estate of £507 included loans totalling £489,⁸⁹ to the poorest, that of Nicholas Gye (d. 1600).⁹⁰ Christopher Hurst's (d. 1674) loans, £84 in an estate of £97, included £40 of 'desperate debts' owed by John Lovelace, Lord Lovelace.⁹¹ Tradesmen and craftsmen inevitably had much of their fortune locked up in credit, but the lending of money by smallholders and labourers indicates one way in which an often precarious living could be diversified. An alternative was by occasional labouring in Woodstock Park.⁹²

The mixed husbandry practised elsewhere in the neighbourhood in the 16th and 17th centuries was also typical of Combe. The soil in the north and west is suited to sheep and to barley,

which, with wheat, was the main crop; peas, beans, maslen, and dill were also grown; oats were rarely mentioned.⁹³ Hemp was recorded in 1619, 1631, and 1641, and hops in 1692. Cattle were almost universally kept and were particularly important to smallholders and craftsmen. Unusually, however, the size of herds diminished later in the period, rarely exceeding three animals whereas earlier five or more had been common; a reduction in the size of the green may have been partly responsible. Sheep flocks in the earlier period, with a median size of c. 30, were relatively large, and they may have increased later although the number of flocks declined: sheep were mentioned in three quarters of inventories before 1650, in only a third thereafter. Pigs were mentioned regularly throughout the period, and bees occasionally. Grain is known to have been marketed in the later 16th century at Woodstock, Witney, and Chipping Norton,⁹⁴ and wool at Cirencester (Glos.).⁹⁵

Each yardland was said in 1606 to have rights of common for all horses and cattle and for a generous 160 sheep; each cotland had rights equivalent to $\frac{1}{4}$ yardland. A total of c. 2,500 possible sheep commons was recorded,⁹⁶ but it is unlikely that the maximum was taken up, although Christopher Buckner, a half-yardlander, left 87 sheep at his death in 1591,⁹⁷ and John Ovenel, holder of 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ yardland, was alleged in a tithe dispute of 1711-12, to have been running almost his full allowance of 200 in the parish.⁹⁸ In the 18th century the stint was greatly reduced and the method of reckoning common rights was altered: at a court leet in 1768 the stint was determined by taxation levels, 1 horse, 1 cow, and 15 sheep being allowed for each £5 paid in tax, presumably meaning land tax. The maximum number of sheep thereby permitted was 923. In 1788, when the stint was based on rentals, a quota of 1 horse, 1 cow, and 12 sheep for every £10 of rent allowed a yet smaller maximum of 828 sheep.⁹⁹

In the 1620s and 1630s Crown leases of the larger farms were converted to freehold,¹ and much additional freehold land seems to have been created by the time that Combe was granted in 1705 to the duke of Marlborough. By the later 18th century there was a notably larger number of substantial farms in the parish, some put together by farmers renting land from more than one landlord: in 1778 Joseph Gunnis, based at the house later called Higher Westfield Farm, held 187 a. in five parcels, Richard Tustin of Combe Green Farm 127 a. in three, and Charles Rowles of the Grove 112 a. in two. The Blenheim estate's principal tenant was William Eagleton, who farmed 187 a. from Belson's. The chief owner-occupiers were Edward Golding, who farmed 103 a. probably from his house east

⁸⁶ Rest of para. based on *ibid.* LR 2/197, ff. 36-9; LR 2/224, ff. 58-93.

⁸⁷ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 44/3/13.

⁸⁸ Blenheim Mun., E/P/22; *ibid.* Combe map (1778).

⁸⁹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 44/3/13.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 297/3/19.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 132/2/7.

⁹² e.g. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 23, f. 364.

⁹³ Para. based on wills and inventories in O.R.O., MS.

Wills Oxon.

⁹⁴ P.R.O., SP 12/198, f. 105.

⁹⁵ *Archdeacon's Ct.* 1584, ii (O.R.S. xxiv), 234.

⁹⁶ P.R.O., LR 2/224, ff. 58-84.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* f. 74; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 3/3/7.

⁹⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 31, ff. 313 sqq.

⁹⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 69.

¹ Above, Manor and other estates.

of Combe Green Farm, Anne Bolton of Bolton's Farm, with 60 a. of her own land and the lease of the 88-a. West Close farm, and Mary Brice, who owned 55 a. and was tenant of a further 38 a. and of the house later called the Old Farm House.²

In 1609 there were said to be 710 a. of open-field arable in the parish and c. 500 a. of pasture, which included the green and the closes adjacent to houses and also some large outlying closes such as Frogden, which comprised 15 a., possibly former demesne, between Bury field and the green.³ By 1791 the amount of arable land had increased to 929 a., largely at the expense of pasture, which was reduced to 360 a. Although almost all the arable (896 a.) still lay in the open fields holdings had been consolidated, particularly in Land field and West field, and East End field, divided among only six tenants in the early 17th century, was shared by four in 1778.⁴ The number of occupiers fell from 38 in 1606 to 25 in 1778, largely because of the acquisition of land by outsiders. That process was accelerated by George Spencer, duke of Marlborough's, policy of buying out freeholds and copyholds. In 1778 he had c. 300 a. in Combe, leased to 5 tenants, and there were in the parish as a whole at that time 29 owners of land, 13 of whom were also occupiers. In 1790 there were 22 owners, 12 of them occupiers; in 1791 there were but 12 owners, 8 of them occupiers, and 15 of the 18 tenants in the parish held of the duke.⁵ The remarkable transformation of 1790-1 involved the purchase of 396 a. at a cost of £11,754, expenditure apparently facilitated by the willingness of vendors to allow part of the purchase money to remain with the duke at interest.⁶ By 1792 most of Combe was in his hands, and in that year, after exchanging land with Lincoln College and agreeing with the college for the composition of tithes,⁷ he inclosed the open-field land and reduced the parish to eight farms, occupied by men who had previously run holdings of mixed freehold and copyhold land, often from the same farmsteads. The largest new farms, Akeman Street farm (276 a., including 85 a. in Wootton) and Westfield, later Lower Westfield, farm (231 a.), were the only farms for which new, outlying, houses were built. Otherwise, the existing farmhouses lent themselves to the laying out of compact inclosed farms. Combe Green farm (150 a.) was based on the house later called Meeting House Farm, south of the great green; East End farm (136 a.) had at its core the former farm of the Bolton family, prominent in the parish since the late 16th century, which stayed on as tenant and for a time retained the freehold of the farmhouse, Bolton's Farm; Townsend farm (115 a.) seems to have been run from the house later called Old Farm House, and Middle farm (102 a.) from

that later called Foxhole Farm; Grindley Hill farm (101 a.) was run from Higher Westfield Farm, and Weir farm (51 a.) from Horne's Close. The duke kept 186 a. in hand, principally woodland and land taken into Blenheim Park from Old Assarts and the green.⁸

The number and size of farms fluctuated after inclosure, but the long-term trend was towards fewer, larger establishments within the Blenheim estate and not confined to the parish. By the early 19th century there had been little change other than the amalgamation of Middle and Townsend farms, and there were 10 farmers in Combe in 1841, but by 1851 the number had been halved.⁹ In 1863 there were only four significant farms, the largest being Combe farm (403 a.), formed out of Combe Green farm and Bolton's farm and run from a new farmstead west of the old. Combe farm occupied much of the eastern part of the parish, Lower Westfield farm 248 a. in the west. Higher Westfield farm occupied 144 a. south and west of the village, and also had land in Hanborough and North Leigh. Akeman Street farm, in the northern quarter of the parish, comprised 240 a. in Combe and land in Wootton, Hanborough, and North Leigh.¹⁰ In the later 19th and the 20th century farm sizes and composition rarely remained constant from tenancy to tenancy, although Combe farm, renamed Manor farm in the early 20th century, Akeman Street farm, and Lower Westfield farm have usually been at the heart of the larger amalgamations. Among the longer established farming families have been the Davises and Greens at Akeman Street and Manor farms, the Honours at Bolton's and Higher Westfield farms, and the Woodward at West Close and Alma Grove farms. Akeman Street farm was taken in hand for a period in the 1920s, but, after heavy losses, was again let to tenants. In 1980 Lower Westfield farm was taken in hand and run by a manager in conjunction with Lower Riding farm, North Leigh.¹¹ Whereas in neighbouring parishes the Blenheim estate sold much land, notably in the 1920s, in Combe it has remained the predominant landowner, retaining 1,160 a. in 1988.¹²

New leases granted at inclosure specified that the rotation should be three crops and a fallow, but that on Akeman Street and Westfield farms part of the arable land was to be set aside for grass and sainfoin, the remainder to follow a six-course rotation of (1) fallow and turnips (2) barley (3) grass for mowing (4) grass for grazing (5) wheat on a clover ley (6) oats, beans, or pulse.¹³ Mixed farming remained the norm, the north and west being favoured for arable, the centre and south for pasture. In 1877 there were 807 a. of arable land, 377 a. of pasture, and 141 a. of woodland¹⁴ which was largely the result of

² Blenheim Mun., E/P/22; *ibid.* Combe map (1778).

³ P.R.O., LR 2/202, ff. 35-36v.

⁴ *Ibid.* LR 2/224, ff. 58-84; Blenheim Mun., box 67; *ibid.* E/P/22.

⁵ P.R.O., LR 2/197, ff. 36-37v.; LR 2/224, ff. 58-84; O.R.O., land tax assess.; Blenheim Mun., B/M/216, pp. 347, 358, 403, 547, 572-3; *ibid.* E/P/22.

⁶ Blenheim Mun., boxes 65, 67, 69-70; *ibid.* B/M/217; above, Manor and other estates.

⁷ Linc. Coll. Mun., Z/COM/3; Duke of Marlborough

Estate Act, 33 Geo. III, c. 22 (Priv. Act).

⁸ Blenheim Mun., boxes 67, 69; *ibid.* E/P/22; *ibid.* Combe map (1778); *ibid.* Combe map and survey (1806).

⁹ P.R.O., HO 107/889; HO 107/1730.

¹⁰ Blenheim Mun., E/P/58; *ibid.* Combe map (1863).

¹¹ *Ibid.* E/P/62; P.R.O., RG 10/1448; RG 11/1511; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.); local inf.

¹² Inf. from the estate office, Blenheim Palace.

¹³ Blenheim Mun., box 65, Combe farms, 1791; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 172, f. 28.

¹⁴ *O.S. Area Bk.*

planting by successive dukes. There seems in the later 19th century to have been renewed emphasis on stock-raising, to the extent that in 1914 the parish was almost equally divided between arable and pasture, lying on the northern edge of intensive cattle rearing country and immediately south of a predominantly arable belt. Cattle and sheep were kept, and the parish was notable for its pigs. The main crops were barley (21 per cent), wheat (20 per cent), and oats (12 per cent); the amount of arable land (12 per cent) given over to root vegetables other than potatoes was unexceptional, but, as in some of Combe's neighbours, potatoes (3 per cent) occupied an unusually high acreage.¹⁵ Pasture farming remained important between the wars, with milking cows on most farms and beef cattle being kept in the river meadows. After the Second World War there was, as elsewhere, an increase in arable farming, but combined at first with a growing number of cattle, fed increasingly on root crops, hay, and silage as the permanent pastures were put to the plough. In the 1960s the dairy herds were sold off, but in 1983 Lower Westfield farm became a dairy farm with a herd of 120.¹⁶ In 1982 the combined Akeman Street and Manor farm was wholly arable with c. 500 a. of wheat and barley and 100 a. of potatoes; there were 70 a. of leys, 15 a. of peas, and, unusually, 40 a. of sugar beet, half the county's total acreage. The beet was taken to Kidderminster (Worcs.) for processing.¹⁷ In 1988 the only livestock in the parish were the cattle at Lower Westfield farm and sheep kept at Higher Westfield farm and Alma Grove.

In 1832 acute distress prompted 36 parishioners to ask George Spencer-Churchill, duke of Marlborough, to rent them allotments for spade husbandry. The duke apparently gave 57 a. of somewhat marshy land north of Alraa Grove on condition that half of each allotment be devoted to potatoes. Holdings varied from 9 a. to $\frac{1}{2}$ a. and were taken by 22 tenants, who drained the land, and besides potatoes grew corn and fattened pigs.¹⁸ That scheme may have been short lived, for in 1863 the only allotments recorded on ducal land were 14 a. west of Chatterpie House, 3 a. at the southern end of Brice's wood, and 1 a. at the east tip of Combe green.¹⁹ Allotments were much sought after by Combe families,²⁰ and it was presumably in response to local demand that more land was made available in the later 19th century: in 1899 additional allotments were recorded in Bury field east of Peagle

wood (16 a.), and, once more, north of Alma Grove (18 a.).²¹ There was also a close of 2 a. owned by the church, south of the school, which had been turned into allotments in 1845 at the instigation of the chaplain, John Hannah.²² In 1921 Charles Spencer-Churchill, duke of Marlborough, persuaded most farmers to offer plots of land to men from the village, but by c. 1930 almost all had been given up.²³ In 1988 only the allotments by the school survived, and they had been halved by the sale of land to the school.

Combe was apparently a source of stone roofing slates in the late 15th century,²⁴ but there is no indication of large-scale production. Stone was quarried in the 18th century and probably earlier for local use. The stone pit at the south-east edge of Peagle wood was worked in the mid 18th century by William Baggs,²⁵ in the later 18th century and earlier 19th by John Loyt or Lloyd,²⁶ and subsequently by the Collett family.²⁷ The quarry seems to have fallen into disuse in the early 20th century. Smaller quarries were recorded in 1806 just above the river west of Lower Westfield Farm, in 1863 north of the Stonesfield road where it crosses the parish boundary, and in 1876 north-east of Grintleyhill bridge and west of the road junction by Horne's Close.²⁸ In the later 19th century c. 15 stonemasons were regularly recorded living in Combe,²⁹ some probably working in the larger quarries in Bladon and Hanborough. Only agricultural labour employed more men, and a 19th-century chaplain thought that most of his parishioners were stone masons.³⁰ By 1863 the Blenheim estate had opened a brickworks at the north-west end of Bolton's Lane³¹ producing high-quality bricks, as used in the former vicarage and the village reading room. Lime burners were recorded in 1746 and 1774.³² In the 19th century lime was supplied from a kiln at the Grintleyhill bridge quarry. The kiln closed when brick production ceased in 1924; the quarry was used for a rubbish tip and finally covered in 1978.³³ Another brick kiln, north of West Close Farm and west of Chatterpie Lane, was disused in 1876, and no record of its operation has been found.³⁴

References occur from the 16th century to the usual rural trades and craftsmen such as tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, wrights, smiths, masons, bakers, and maltsters. A tallow chandler was recorded in 1578, and a fisherman in 1743. A woman huckster was mentioned in 1738, and a woman higgler in 1742.³⁵ A kiln near Pound

¹⁵ Orr, *Oxon. Agric.* statistical plates.

¹⁶ Inf. from Mr. E. Busby, Higher Westfield Fm., and Mr. H. Busby, Myrtle Fm., Long Hanborough.

¹⁷ *Oxf. Times*, 15 Oct. 1982; local inf.

¹⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 67; *Oxf. Herald*, 11 Jan. 1834.

¹⁹ Blenheim Mun., E/P/58, pp. 55, 57; *ibid.* Combe map (1863).

²⁰ *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202-I], p. 341, H.C. (1868-9), xiii.

²¹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 7 (1899 edn.).

²² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 340, f. 58.

²³ Inf. from Messrs. E. and H. Busby.

²⁴ Linc. Coll. Mun., Acct. Bk. 1456-1513, s.a. 1487-8, p. 37.

²⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 172, f. 30; Blenheim Mun., box 64, deed of 1741.

²⁶ Blenheim Mun., box 69, agreement of 1809; Bodl. MS.

Top. Oxon. d 23, f. 278.

²⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 340, f. 24; P.R.O., HO 107/889; *ibid.* RG 11/1511.

²⁸ Blenheim Mun., Combe surv. and map (1806); *ibid.* E/P/58, pp. 51, 54; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 7 (1880 edn.).

²⁹ P.R.O., HO 107/889; HO 107/1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1448; RG 11/1511.

³⁰ *Wood's Life* v (O.H.S. xl), 5 n.

³¹ Blenheim Mun., E/P/58, p. 51; *ibid.* Combe map (1863).

³² O.R.O., par. reg. transcript.

³³ *Combe Courier*, Jan. 1987; County Mus., P.R.N. 323-4; *Oxon. Brickmakers* (Oxon. Mus. pubn. no. 14), 21; inf. from Mr. H. Busby.

³⁴ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 7 (1880 edn.).

³⁵ *Cal. Witney Ct. Bks. 1538-1610* (O.R.S. liv), 86; O.R.O., par. reg. transcript.

Cottage was in the late 16th century producing high-quality pottery.³⁶ Clothworking was mentioned from the 17th century,³⁷ presumably undertaken for Witney masters, although Ethelbert Irons, broadweaver, had at his death in 1696 cloth in London valued at £30; his house in Combe contained wool, linen, coarse and fine yarn, and a loom.³⁸ It was reputedly common for Combe farmers in the 18th century to keep a few black sheep, the wool being mixed to produce a much prized motley cloth.³⁹ Witney masters seem by the early 19th century to have ceased sending wool to Combe for spinning.⁴⁰

In the 19th century between a half and two thirds of men in employment worked as agricultural labourers.⁴¹ Their wives and daughters commonly worked at gloving: 18 were so employed in 1841, 60 or 70 thereafter, although official totals were probably an underestimate, since it seems to have been usual for girls to learn gloving as early as 8 years old.⁴² A small amount of alternative employment was available to women as dressmakers, seamstresses, washerwomen, domestic servants, or shopkeepers. Combe sawmill usually provided work for several men, 9 in 1881, others worked as leather dressers,⁴³ and there was work in Blenheim Park for keepers, gardeners, woodmen, and grooms. Blenheim's influence appears to have been at its greatest in 1881, when there were in Combe 11 gardeners, 7 keepers, and 3 woodmen. There were 17 railway labourers in Combe in 1851, almost all temporarily resident for the building of the line, although one or two Combe men found permanent employment as porters or guards. The Collier and Harris families provided thatchers into the late 19th century and presumably beyond.

The difficulty of finding work in Combe drove some families out: 7 houses were uninhabited in 1861, 9 in 1871, and in that decade the population fell by 63, a decline attributed directly to migration to manufacturing districts.⁴⁴ There was support for the National Agricultural Labourers' Union, and a large meeting was held in Combe in July 1872, during the strike and lock-out at Wootton. At least one Combe farmer, Thomas Prestidge of Akeman Street farm, the parish's largest employer, was active in the association of farmers opposed to the union.⁴⁵

In 1918 the government employed c. 60 people in felling and cutting firs for pit props; large trees were transported to the sawmill.⁴⁶ During the 20th century the Blenheim estate has provided employment at the sawmill and in the

park, but the declining demand for agricultural workers has, as elsewhere, led people increasingly to look further afield for work. Combe's seclusion has attracted commuters for whom the railway provides the opportunity to work considerable distances away. Within the village the two or three shops regularly trading in the 19th century and earlier 20th gradually went out of business. A new general stores was opened in 1985. A poultry and fruit farm was run from the Old House in the 1930s. The Oliver family's building business has been in existence since the 1930s.⁴⁷

MILLS. The mill recorded in 1086 as paying 3s. to the lord of the manor⁴⁸ presumably stood on or near the site of the later Combe mill. John the miller held it with $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland in the 1270s for a combined rent of 24s. of which c. 20s. was for the mill.⁴⁹ It seems to have fallen into decay in the 1290s, was virtually rebuilt in 1298–9, and in the early 14th century was kept in hand.⁵⁰ By the 16th century the mill was leased to tenants. Robert Johnson held it at his death in 1542, and was succeeded by his son Geoffrey (d. 1546) and grandson Thomas Johnson.⁵¹ John Johnson was said in 1606 to have held the lease since 1587.⁵² The family was also lessee of the mills at Bladon and Hanborough.⁵³ By 1610 the freehold had been bought by Edward Ferrers and Francis Philips of London, probably speculators, who sold it in 1611 to Thomas Rawlins of Cassington, from whom John Johnson bought it in the same year. The property was said at that time to comprise, besides the mill, two houses, $\frac{1}{2}$ a. of garden, 10 a. of meadow and pasture, and fishing rights. It remained in the Johnson family until William Johnson sold it in 1766 to George Spencer, duke of Marlborough, whose successor retained it in 1988.⁵⁴ The tenant in 1778 was John Hudson,⁵⁵ whose family retained the tenancy until the mid 19th century. The last miller of whom record has been found was George Hudson in 1841. By 1851 there was no miller in the parish,⁵⁶ and work may have been under way in that year rebuilding the mill as estate workshops and fitting it with steam-driven machinery, a decision perhaps prompted by the opening of the railway line through the parish, extending the market for sawn timber from the Blenheim estate: the mill had its own siding.⁵⁷ A water wheel was retained at the south end of the mill, and the beam engine and boiler were housed at the north end.⁵⁸ The milling of corn seems to have ceased, and the building has been

³⁶ Inf. from Maureen Mellor, Oxf. Arch. Unit.

³⁷ e.g. O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 34/4/8; 41/2/34; 65/4/32.

³⁸ Ibid. 82 2/11.

³⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 228.

⁴⁰ Ibid. d 172, f. 46.

⁴¹ Para. based on P.R.O., HO 107 889; HO 107/1730; RG 10/1448; RG 11/1511. The returns for 1861 are missing.

⁴² *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* 341; N. L. Leyland and J. E. Troughton, *Glovemaking in W. Oxon.* 8–10.

⁴³ O.R.O., par. reg. transcript.

⁴⁴ *Census*, 1861, 1871.

⁴⁵ P.R.O., RG 10/1448; *Oxf. Chron.* June–Aug. 1872; *Agric. Trade Unionism in Oxon.* (O.R.S. xlviii), 23, 54.

⁴⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 340, f. 24.

⁴⁷ *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1854 and later edns.); *Combe Courier*, Dec. 1985.

⁴⁸ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 404.

⁴⁹ *Close R.* 1268–72, 483; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 856.

⁵⁰ P.R.O., SC 6/962/16–20.

⁵¹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 179, ff. 200, 335.

⁵² P.R.O., LR 2/224, f. 89.

⁵³ Above, Bladon, Econ.; below, Hanborough, Econ.

⁵⁴ Blenheim Mun., boxes 65, 67.

⁵⁵ Ibid. E/P/22, f. 3.

⁵⁶ O.R.O., land tax assess.; P.R.O., HO 107/889; *ibid.* HO 107/1730.

⁵⁷ Blenheim Mun., box marked '18th–19th cent. Noke, Combe, etc.', rly. papers.

⁵⁸ *Combe Mill* (publ. Combe Mill Soc.), 1–2; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 330, f. 18.

used primarily as a sawmill and estate smithy.⁵⁹ In 1854 the mill was equipped for the preparation of flax,⁶⁰ but no further reference has been found. The engine had ceased working c. 1910, and temporary engines were specially installed during the First World War. Thereafter power was supplied by the water wheel until the 1950s, when an electricity supply was connected and the mill leet was filled in.⁶¹ The sawmill has since produced timber and timber products for the Blenheim estate and for public sale. Since 1969 the Combe Mill society has restored the boiler, beam engine, forge, and water wheel.⁶²

In 1270 a Combe man was said to have died in a windmill accident,⁶³ but its location is unknown and may not have been in Combe.

A flax mill said to have been built in the 18th century near Foxhole Farm⁶⁴ has not been traced.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. Profits of the manor court and view of frankpledge from the mid 13th century to the early 14th were a valuable source of income to the Crown, ranging from 21s. in 1248–9 to 63s. in 1276–7.⁶⁵

The court's jurisdiction matched that of the other demesne towns, as did the customs enforced in the court, except that in Combe alone heriot was due from free land if it had meadow rights.⁶⁶ The court conducted the usual business of transferring copyholds, registering wills, dealing with offences, and appointing manorial officers, normally a constable and two tithingmen.⁶⁷ At a court in 1627 the underbailiff of Woodstock manor attempted to enforce a royal warrant for the impressment of horses to carry venison to Enfield (Mdx.) for the king, an extension of customary service resisted by the tenants, apparently successfully.⁶⁸ From the later 17th century the court also appointed fieldsmen and haywards, the latter usually acting also as mole catchers and crow keepers. Combe farmers used the court to regulate agriculture in the parish, setting stints, arranging the haining and breaking of pasture and meadow, and agreeing on crop rotation.⁶⁹ In the 19th and 20th centuries the court seems to have met at the Cock inn, but usually little business was transacted.⁷⁰ The court roll books were continued after the abolition of the court's jurisdiction in 1925, but only as a record of property transactions.⁷¹

In 1661 as many as 12 people attended the vestry held to appoint the two new overseers and to scrutinize the previous year's accounts, but vestries were not usually so well attended.⁷² In 1661–2 a total of £22 was spent on the poor, and £26 in 1664–5, but costs were very variable and often less than £10 a year. From the 1690s expenditure rose rapidly, and the earlier 18th century in particular was a period of heavy expense, the overseers generally spending £40–£50 a year between 1710 and 1736, although £78 was spent in 1714–15. The period was one of high mortality, and there may have been a large number of destitute dependents, although expenditure in similar circumstances at other times was not so high.⁷³ As elsewhere, expenditure rose again in the later 18th century, from £69 in 1776 to an average of £103 a year between 1783 and 1785. In 1803 it stood at £204, representing c. 11s. a head of population, rather a low rate for the area. In 1818, the peak year, the overseers spent £674.⁷⁴ The rate of £1 4s. a head was again relatively low, but the burden at about that time fell largely on the duke of Marlborough, who had acquired most of the land in the parish, and on a handful of his more substantial tenants. The duke seems always to have paid his share, but in 1821 some leading farmers defaulted, and the hostility engendered played a part in the events leading up to the 'Combe riot' of 1822. In 1831 the rate remained relatively low at 15s. a head.⁷⁵

In 1735 the parish agreed to send paupers to Kidlington's new workhouse, paying half its rent.⁷⁶ The workhouse closed after a few years, and by 1774 Combe had its own workhouse with accommodation for 20 people, on the site of the house later called the Old Stores, south of the village green.⁷⁷ There was in 1778 a close at the east end of the parish called Workhouse close, part of Bolton's farm, but no building is known to have stood there, and no reference has been found to a rent chargeable on it.⁷⁸ In 1791 a contractor was employed to maintain the workhouse poor for £10 a year.⁷⁹ Repairs were carried out until 1820 and possibly later, but official reports of the earlier 19th century make no mention of workhouse poor, and it seems likely that the building was being rented out as cheap pauper housing.⁸⁰

Expenditure in the later 17th century and in the 18th seems to have been entirely on maintenance for widows and children, the sick, and the

⁵⁹ *Combe Mill*, 9–10.

⁶⁰ *Jnl. R. Agric. Soc.* xv. 217.

⁶¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 340, f. 24; *Combe Mill*, 2; *Oxf. Times*, 28 Mar. 1975.

⁶² *Combe Mill*, 2.

⁶³ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* i, p. 242.

⁶⁴ Emden, *Combe*, 17.

⁶⁵ P.R.O., SC 6/962/4; SC 6/962/6–20.

⁶⁶ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, f. 15v. For the court and customs see below, Woodstock, Blenheim (Woodstock Manor).

⁶⁷ Blenheim Mun. B/M/208, *passim*.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* f. 128 and v.; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 345, ff. 8–9.

⁶⁹ Blenheim Mun. B/M/210–11; *ibid.* boxes 69–70; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 172, f. 28 and v.

⁷⁰ Blenheim Mun. B/M/218–28, *passim*.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 228, 289, *passim*.

⁷² Para. based on Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 23, ff. 114–202.

⁷³ O.R.O., par. reg. transcript.

⁷⁴ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406–7; 1818, 358–9; *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 556, p. 138 (1822), v.

⁷⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 23, ff. 317v.–320; *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 334, p. 173 (1825), iv; H.C. 83 (1830–1), xi; H.C. 444, p. 156 (1835), xlvii; above, Intro.

⁷⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 23, ff. 198–9; below, Kidlington, Local Govt.

⁷⁷ *Poor Abstract*, 1777, 439; inf. from Mr. E. Busby.

⁷⁸ Blenheim Mun., E/P/22, f. 25; *ibid.* Combe map (1778).

⁷⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 340, f. 19.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* d 23, f. 279; *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406–7; 1818, 358–9.

aged. In 1662–3 there were 4 children and 3 adults in receipt of regular relief. In the 1730s there were often 8 or 10 women, 2 or 3 men, and an unspecified number of children, in addition to people in the Kidlington workhouse.⁸¹ In 1803 there were 25 adults and 25 children on regular out-relief, and in the period 1813–15 the numbers rose sharply to 39 and 45 respectively, almost a sixth of the total population. In the late 18th century and early 19th paupers seem usually to have been found some employment, notably in spinning flax, and 5 men and a boy employed 'by the yardland' in 1791 were presumably roundsmen.⁸² During the 1790s the overseers regularly contracted with a doctor for attendance on the poor, and made additional payments for inoculation against smallpox.⁸³

Combe formed part of the Woodstock poor law union in 1834 and of Woodstock rural district in 1894. In 1974 the parish was transferred to West Oxfordshire district.⁸⁴

CHURCH. There was a church at Combe by c. 1141, when the Empress Maud granted it to Eynsham abbey.⁸⁵ The Crown claimed the advowson in 1220 and presented to the church, but withdrew in 1222 when the abbey proved its title. The Crown's appointee was left in possession, but Eynsham presented thereafter.⁸⁶ The abbey appropriated the rectory in 1399 and a vicarage was ordained.⁸⁷ In 1451 the abbey consolidated the rectory and the vicarage, serving the church from Eynsham until 1478, when it was acquired by Thomas Rotherham, bishop of Lincoln, and appropriated to Lincoln College, Oxford.⁸⁸ Thereafter Combe was served by chaplains, sometimes referred to as curates, whose appointment and dismissal was the prerogative of the college rector. In 1867 the living became a titular vicarage.⁸⁹ Lincoln College remained patron in 1988.

The rectory before appropriation was valued in the earlier 13th century at £5, from which a pension of 10s. was payable to Eynsham abbey,⁹⁰ in 1254 at only £4,⁹¹ but in 1291 at £8 net.⁹² At appropriation the vicar was given tithes, except for those of hay and corn, offerings, all the glebe save a croft adjacent to the rectory house, and the use of grass and wood growing in the churchyard. He was to find sacramental bread and wine, a sanctuary lamp, and two proces-

sional tapers.⁹³ Lincoln College's chaplains were paid £5 6s. 8d. a year, rising to £6 in 1527 and to £10, approximately the average for a priest-in-charge in Lincoln diocese, in 1559.⁹⁴ An additional £6 given by the college in 1641 was rescinded in 1655 when parliament granted a £30 augmentation. The latter was removed at the Restoration and the chaplaincy, acknowledged in 1703 to be 'very meanly provided for', was improved only in 1705 when the stipend was increased to £30. It was further augmented by £10 a year under the will of Nathaniel Crewe, bishop of Durham (d. 1721), benefactor of Lincoln College. An increase to £90 in 1812 left the incumbent still relatively poor, as did subsequent rises to £100 in 1861 and to £150 in 1865.⁹⁵ The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, matching private endowments, increased the annual income by £6 13s. 4d. in 1877, by £50 in 1883, and by £15 in 1915.⁹⁶

An obligation imposed upon Eynsham abbey in 1399 to build a vicarage near the church⁹⁷ was never fulfilled, the vicar and, later, Lincoln College's chaplain being given accommodation at the rectory or the lease of a college cottage.⁹⁸ The chaplains also had accommodation in college, residing at Combe only to hold services. From 1705, however, residence was more strictly insisted upon.⁹⁹ In 1729 the chaplain was permitted to live at Stonesfield because of the lack of a suitable house, but in 1758 the college bought a cottage north-west of the church to serve as the chaplain's residence.¹ It was demolished in 1892² and replaced by a substantial red brick house of suburban appearance which was sold in 1986.³

The medieval rectors and vicars of Combe included eminent churchmen who, in view of the poverty of the living, were evidently attracted by its proximity to the royal household at Woodstock. Several were pluralists, and non-residence may have been common. The rector at the centre of the dispute in the 1220s was a royal clerk.⁴ Another royal clerk, Henry of Woodstock, rector from c. 1273 until his death in 1277, was also the queen's chancellor, a papal chaplain, and a notable pluralist whose livings included Hanborough and Wootton.⁵ He was succeeded by his brother Andrew, also a royal clerk, whose incumbency of 44 years was the longest recorded in Combe⁶ and included a spell in Oxford gaol for alleged trespass in Woodstock

⁸¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 23, ff. 116, 194–202.

⁸² Ibid. c 340, ff. 19–21; *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406–7; 1818, 358–9.

⁸³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 340, ff. 19–20; d 23, f. 259.

⁸⁴ O.R.O., RO 263, 3251.

⁸⁵ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 51; *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* iii, p. 112.

⁸⁶ *Curia Regis R.* ix. 54, 187; x. 171, 226; *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i. 487; *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 17, 139–40.

⁸⁷ *Cal. Papal Reg.* v. 13; *Cal. Pat.* 1396–9, 361, 464–5; *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 180–3; above, Manor and Other Estates.

⁸⁸ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 200–8; *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77, 519; 1476–85, 115–16.

⁸⁹ V. H. H. Green, *Linc. Coll.* 708–9.

⁹⁰ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 17.

⁹¹ *Val. Norw.* 308, 568.

⁹² *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 31; *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 91.

⁹³ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 182–3.

⁹⁴ *Linc. Coll. Mun.*, acct. bk. 1494, p. 23; 1527–8, p. 122;

1559, f. 142; *Subsidy 1526*, 268; Green, *Linc. Coll.* 96.

⁹⁵ *Rep. Com. Eccl. Revenues* [67], H.C. (1835), xxii, p. 778; Green, *Linc. Coll.* 199, 295, 301, 312, 688, 709.

⁹⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1780–1; *Linc. Coll. Mun.*, order bk. 1872–89, 120, 128.

⁹⁷ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 183.

⁹⁸ *Linc. Coll. Mun.*, acct. bk. 1525–38, p. 31; Green, *Linc. Coll.* 96.

⁹⁹ *Linc. Coll. Mun.*, reg. bk. 1577–1739, f. 247v.

¹ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. c 342, f. 14; c 343, f. 6; Blenheim Mun., E/P/22, f. 37; *ibid.* Combe map (1778); *Linc. Coll. Mun.*, Pattison MSS., letter of 2 Apr. 1843.

² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 347, f. 69; S. Pearce, *St. Laur. Ch.* (1907), 17.

³ *Oxf. Times*, 9 May 1986; local inf.

⁴ Above.

⁵ *Cal. Papal Reg.* i. 445; *Cal. Pat.* 1272–81, 229; Pearce, *St. Laur. Ch.* 6.

⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1272–81, 229; *Rot. Gravesend* (L.R.S. xx), 234; *Lincs. R.O.*, *Episc. Reg.* iv, f. 249.

park.⁷ William of Huntingdon (fl. 1332) was a prebendary of Salisbury.⁸ Henry Wakefield, rector in 1361, and yet another royal clerk, subsequently became bishop of Worcester.⁹

The medieval church contained a sepulchre with lights, and a rood, also with lights, and a Lady altar that both survived in 1560.¹⁰ Lands given in the Middle Ages for an obit and a light were presumably the 2½ a. bought from the Crown in 1549 by John Dodyngton, a speculator.¹¹

Chaplains appointed by Lincoln College were not at first college fellows, and there seems to have been an awareness that the parish was not being well served. A resolution of 1630 that in future a fellow should lease the rectory and reside permanently, serving the cure himself, seems not to have been implemented, nor an agreement of 1649 that each fellow should preach at Combe at least once a year. Only from 1705 did it become usual for fellows to serve as chaplains.¹² In 1851 the college reverted to the earlier practice of appointing from outside its ranks. The college statutes required the rector to visit twice a year, and many rectors spent long periods at the rectory house, looking on it as a country retreat. The statutes also required that a fellow live at Combe during Lent to assist the chaplain but the commitment was reduced at the Reformation to an annual sermon.¹³ The conservative influence of Lincoln College is perhaps discernible in the Catholic tone of many Combe wills of the 1540s and 1550s, frequently witnessed, and probably drawn up, by the chaplain.¹⁴ Until the mid 19th century few chaplains lingered at Combe: with two notable exceptions the average length of incumbency from c. 1650 to c. 1850 was four or five years.¹⁵ Thomas Ashfield, 1662–91, was also rector of Stonesfield, where he lived, but he seems to have involved himself closely with Combe.¹⁶ His length of service was matched before the later 19th century only by that of William Smith, 1735–63. For a short time in 1726 the services were taken by John Wesley, who in 1731 preached the Lenten sermon.¹⁷

An assertive college head, able to dismiss the chaplain and periodically residing at the rectory, could influence church life considerably. Edward Tatham (d. 1834), perpetually at feud with his college, lived increasingly at Combe, where he served the chaplaincy personally for three periods between 1808 and 1817. His combative nature found expression at first in such

eccentricities as dragging the publican of the Cock inn bodily to church services, but in 1820 Tatham became embroiled in a bitter dispute with the chaplain, Bartley Lee, a Cambridge man whom he had appointed in 1817 to spite the fellows. Lee, believing that his appointment was for life, refused to leave his post, and only in 1823 did Tatham manage to eject him. Meanwhile the parish was divided, with two chaplains, two sets of churchwardens, 'tumultuous vociferations' and brawling in the church and a riot outside, to the delight of the neighbourhood and the despair of the bishop. There were more than church issues at stake, but Tatham alienated a large proportion of Combe's parishioners, and Lee's replacement, Charles Rose, 1823–38, was unable to heal the divisions.¹⁸ Congregations were affected, and the 1820s were years of resurgence for nonconformity in the parish.¹⁹

In the 18th century and earlier 19th there were two services and a sermon on Sundays and four communion services a year.²⁰ Although Lincoln College continued to nominate 'Combe preachers' for the Lenten sermons from among its fellows, the obligation was by 1843 a dead letter.²¹ The chaplaincy of John Hannah, 1843–5, wrought remarkable changes in church life. He introduced a second Sunday sermon and held communion services every six weeks, attracting as many as 100 communicants to each, but was, with his wife Anne, longest remembered in Combe for an uncommon interest in pastoral care. For example, he persuaded the vestry to provide allotments for villagers. At his resignation he was gently reproved by the rector of Lincoln College for having raised expectations in the parish beyond what could legitimately be expected of a chaplain on such a poor salary.²² In the event the number of services seems not to have decreased,²³ but there are indications that the Anglican revival of the later 19th century made little impact on Combe.²⁴ John Abrahall, 1861–91, was described as 'lax and eccentric',²⁵ and his successor, Stephen Pearce, 1891–1922, found both church and parish in a state of neglect. Pearce restored the church, rebuilt the vicarage, and devoted immense time and effort to parochial work.²⁶

For at least part of the Middle Ages Combe seems to have had two churches. Of the church, presumably once the parish church, that stood east of the mill,²⁷ part remained standing in 1533, when a bequest was made 'to the repairing of the old church of Long Combe',²⁸ but its

⁷ *Cal. Close*, 1288–96, 300. ⁸ *Cal. Papal Reg.* ii. 373.

⁹ *Lincs. R.O.*, *Episc. Reg.* ix, ff. 275–6; *Reg. Hen. Wakefield* (Worcs. Rec. Soc. N.S. vii), p. xxxv.

¹⁰ *O.R.O.*, MS. Wills Oxon. 178, f. 137; 183, f. 333; 184, f. 117.

¹¹ *Chant. Cert.* 33; *Cal. Pat.* 1549–51, 85.

¹² *Linc. Coll. Mun.*, reg. bk. 1577–1739, ff. 68v., 90, 274v.–8.

¹³ *Green, Linc. Coll.* 52, 96, 708–9; Pearce, *St. Laur. Ch.* 9; *Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon.* c 347, ff. 32–3.

¹⁴ *O.R.O.*, MSS. Wills Oxon. 178, ff. 137, 151; 179, ff. 24, 99, 102, 200, 335; 182, ff. 100, 159; 183, f. 333.

¹⁵ *Green, Linc. Coll.* 708–9.

¹⁶ *Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon.* c 339, *passim*; Pearce, *St. Laur. Ch.* 15–16.

¹⁷ *Green, Linc. Coll.* 328, 708; *Linc. Coll. Mun.*, reg. bk. 1577–1739, f. 30.

¹⁸ *Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon.* c 341, ff. 46–8; *ibid.* c 347, ff. 51v.–5v.; *ibid.* d 172, f. 29; *O.R.O.*, MS. *Oxf. Archd.* Oxon. c 62, f. 225; *Green, Linc. Coll.* 378–81; above, *Intro.*, *Local Govt.*

¹⁹ Below, *Nonconf.*

²⁰ e.g. *O.R.O.*, MS. *Oxf. Dioc.* b 39, ff. 105–7.

²¹ *Linc. Coll. Mun.*, Pattison MSS., letter of 2 Apr. 1843.

²² *Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon.* c 347, ff. 56–7v.; J. H. Overton, *John Hannah*, 35–9; Pearce, *St. Laur. Ch.* 17–18.

²³ e.g. *Wilb. Visit.* 41; *O.R.O.*, MS. *Oxf. Dioc.* c 332, ff. 139–40.

²⁴ *Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon.* c 347, f. 50v.

²⁵ C. S. Emden, *Combe Ch. and Village* (1951), 14.

²⁶ *O.R.O.*, MS. *Oxf. Dioc.* c 359, ff. 117–18; *Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon.* c 347, ff. 69–71v.

²⁷ Above, *Intro.*

²⁸ *O.R.O.*, MS. Wills Oxon. 184, f. 117v.

status at that time is unknown and the centre of worship in the parish had shifted to the church on the hill above.

The church of *ST. LAURENCE*²⁹ stands on rising ground at the south-east edge of Combe village, and comprises chancel, nave, embattled and pinnacled west tower, and north and south porches. White Kennett's assertion that the church was built in 1395³⁰ has led to a misconception that it is all of one build.³¹ A church may have stood there from c. 1200 or earlier if the round-headed doorway of that date leading from the south porch into the nave is *in situ* or was reused from a previous church on the site: the doorway is not of a quality to have merited transporting. The chancel and chancel arch were built or rebuilt in the earlier 14th century. The chancel is a modest structure but contains in its south wall notable sedilia, with canopies and detached shafts, and a trefoiled piscina. The arch is wide, indicating that the then nave, whose date is unknown, was spacious even before its rebuilding in the late 14th century or early 15th, and that it may have been aisled; the nave, 8.48 metres wide, is one of the broadest in the county, and was presumably rebuilt to the full width of any aisle or aisles flanking its predecessor. South of the chancel arch is a mid 14th-century niche with ballflower decoration: 'Our Lady's altar', the object of bequests in the 16th century,³² probably stood beneath or to the side of the niche, which contained a statue or painting of the Virgin. There is a 15th-century piscina in the nave wall adjacent, and some decorated floor tiles below. The niche's cramped position against the south wall of the nave may be the result of removal in the 15th century, possibly so as to balance the rood stair doorway, which occupies a similar position north of the chancel arch. The niche's location also allows a 15th-century wall painting of the Annunciation to depict the archangel Gabriel looking directly into it.³³ The nave is markedly superior to the chancel in design, and contains the church's most remarkable feature, a rare 15th-century raised stone pulpit built against the north wall of the nave at its east end: springing from a corbel in the form of a human head, the pulpit is polygonal, its traceried panels flanked by crocketed pinnacles and surmounted by a crenellated cornice. The tower was presumably added when the nave was rebuilt. The north porch contains

14th-century windows, and has an unusual stone-vaulted roof, but was extensively remodelled in 1595.³⁴ The south porch appears to be post-medieval, although it incorporates a 15th-century arch, of lop-sided construction, as its outer doorway.

The chancel windows appear to have been replaced at about the same time as the rebuilding of the nave, the new east window being unusually wide and flat-headed. A carved wooden rood screen of the 15th century survived until 1852 when it was removed and destroyed as being 'old and decayed'.³⁵ The rood stairs and doorways remain, north of the chancel arch. Wall paintings of the 15th century were uncovered in 1892 around the chancel arch and on the north and south walls of the nave. The Last Judgement is incomplete, the lower part, presumably painted on a tympanum, cut off by the chancel arch; the upper part is hidden by the later insertion of roof brackets. Between the arch and the lower rood doorway is a Crucifixion, painted c. 1500 over an earlier picture of the same scene. On the north wall of the nave is a painting of St. Catherine, and in the south-east corner of the nave the Annunciation. Above the south door are the remains of a large-scale painting of St. Christopher with fish and an otter, reckoned to display rare skill in perspective. It was overpainted with a table of the ten commandments in the 17th century and again in 1809.³⁶ The nave windows and the east window of the chancel appear to have been glazed by a single workshop in the earlier 15th century. Of the main lights, only one, in the south-east of the nave, retains its principal figure, St. James the Great. The chancel window retains in its upper lights the figures of Christ in Majesty blessing the Virgin Mary, flanked by cherubim identical to others in the nave windows. In the early 18th century the window's main lights still retained ten figures, beneath which were the kneeling figures of the donors, a man and his wife described as of Oxford.³⁷ Most of the windows were restored in the late 19th century and early 20th.³⁸

Complaints about dilapidations were made regularly in the 16th century and later.³⁹ Major works included reroofing the nave in 1632⁴⁰ and remodelling the north porch.⁴¹ The coved chancel ceiling, with its ribs and bosses, appears to be of the 18th century but might have formed part

²⁹ The dedication was recorded in 1475: *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 204.

³⁰ W. Kennett, *Paroch. Antiq.* 149. The date, for which no evidence has been found, perhaps arises from confusion with the appropriation in 1399.

³¹ E. T. Long, *St. Laur. Ch.* (1970), 5; Pearce, *St. Laur. Ch.* 7; Emden, *Combe Ch. and Village*, 8; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 551.

³² O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 182, f. 159; 183, f. 333; 184, f. 117v.

³³ C. Rouse, quoted in *Country Churchman* (Woodstock edn.), Dec. 1955, 11. The niche need not, as there claimed, have come from the old church.

³⁴ MS. note in Bodl. G. A. Oxon. 4° 697, facing p. 156: annotated copy of Parker, *Guide*; Pearce, *St. Laur. Ch.* 18. A fragment of the screen is preserved in the vestry.

³⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 340, 1 Apr. 1809; F. E. Howard, 'Oxon. Screens and Rood Lofts', *Arch. Jnl.* lxxvii, 183; O.A.H.S. *Proc.* N.S. vi. 59-61; *Country Churchman*,

Dec. 1955, 11. Pearce, *St. Laur. Ch.* 20-1, states that he discovered the paintings in Aug. 1894. The discovery was, however, reported by him in *Combe Par. Mag.* 1892; *ibid.* Oct. 1893.

³⁷ P. A. Newton, *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, i. 70-5; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 552; *Par. Colln.* 101. Emden, *Combe Ch. and Village*, 9, suggests that the kneeling man is Wm. Dagville (d. 1474), several times mayor of Oxford and a benefactor of Lincoln Coll. The coll. did not acquire the church until 1478, but Wm.'s widow Margaret (d. 1523) could have been the donor; in 1532 work was under way 'in the chancel about the glass window': *Linc. Coll. Mun.*, acct. bk. 1525-38, p. 246. Cf. O.A.S. *Rep.* (1929), 242.

³⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 347, f. 71; *Combe Par. Mag.* Mar. 1911.

³⁹ e.g. O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 56, f. 84; *ibid.* c 62, f. 165; *Archdeacon's Ct. 1584*, i (O.R.S. xxiii), 78-9.

⁴⁰ Date on west face of second truss from east.

⁴¹ Above.

of the repairs carried out by Lincoln College in 1824 in response to allegations that the chancel had long been open to the elements.⁴² The stone cross on the chancel gable, sometimes said to be medieval, was placed there by the college in that year.⁴³ The nave was reroofed in 1803–4.⁴⁴ Work was under way on a west gallery in 1821, but it is not clear if it was being installed or repaired. Box pews of deal were introduced in the 1820s,⁴⁵ some of which survive at the west end of the nave.

The internal state of the church was criticized in 1843 as 'miserable, deal pews, white and yellow wash, dirt, and everything most offensive', the pulpit occupied 'only by spiders and other vermin'.⁴⁶ Little seems to have been done before the late 19th century. A new window was placed in the chancel in 1887,⁴⁷ presumably that in the south-west corner, but in 1892 Stephen Pearce found the church in bad order and much neglected.⁴⁸ A programme of gradual restoration included the removal of the gallery in 1892,⁴⁹ the repair of chancel and nave walls, the uncovering of the wall paintings, the renewal of windows, and extensive repairs to the nave roof between 1907 and 1909. Pearce also refurnished the chancel, presumably including the Jacobean chairs kept there, and obtained pews for the nave from the chapel at Blenheim Palace. In 1918 the tower was gutted by fire, and repairs were completed only after 1922.⁵⁰

Choir stalls were placed in the chancel in 1928. In 1933 electric lighting was installed. In 1937 the south porch was converted into a vestry. The stonework of the tower was restored between 1952 and 1955, and a screen was erected at the tower entrance in 1971. The chancel was reslated by Lincoln College in 1963, and in 1976 the nave roof was re-covered in aluminium.⁵¹

The octagonal bowl of what appears to be a 15th-century font lies in the south-east corner of the nave. That it was a font is disputed,⁵² and it may have been the base of a churchyard cross such as those at Eynsham and Yarnton before being hollowed out to serve as a well-head.⁵³ It is roughly carved inside, and was used as a well-head in the late 19th century, but it appears to have served as a font in 1846.⁵⁴ It was returned to the church in 1912.⁵⁵

⁴² O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 44, f. 78; c 62, ff. 225, 234.

⁴³ Linc. Coll. Mun., coll. order bk. 1801–36, 10 Mar. 1824; *ibid.* acct. bk. 1824; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 66, nos. 182–3. Cf. Parker, *Guide*, 155; Pearce, *St. Laur. Ch.* 18.

⁴⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 341, ff. 44–5.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* d 172, f. 31; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 62, ff. 225, 230–1.

⁴⁶ Linc. Coll. Mun., Pattison MSS., letter of 2 Apr. 1843.

⁴⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 353, ff. 109–10.

⁴⁸ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. c 347, f. 69v.; d 42, f. 16.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* c 342, f. 20. Emden, *Combe Ch. and Village*, 11, alleges that the gallery was burnt in 1918.

⁵⁰ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. c 347, ff. 69v.–71v.; d 331, f. 121; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1780.

⁵¹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1780.

⁵² Emden, *Combe Ch. and Village*, 11; Long, *St. Laur. Ch.* 11; local inf.

⁵³ B. J. Marples, 'Medieval Oxon. Crosses', *Oxonienisia*, xxxviii, 304–6.

⁵⁴ O.A.H.S. *Proc.* N.S. vi. 76, 89; Parker, *Guide*, 154.

⁵⁵ *Combe Par. Mag.* Nov. 1912.

⁵⁶ Green, *Linc. Coll.* 708.

The monuments include, on the chancel floor, a memorial to John Horner (d. 1792), chaplain 1784–5,⁵⁶ and his wife Mary (d. 1789), and, in the nave, a memorial to members of the Golding family, prominent in the 18th century. There are plaques in the nave to Stephen Pearce (d. 1899) and to Alfred Spencer (d. 1885).

The church plate includes a chalice and paten cover dated WH 1575, recorded from 1624 in inventories of church goods.⁵⁷ A pulpit cloth of 1634, presumably that mentioned in an inventory of that date, hangs in a case.⁵⁸ The fire of 1918 destroyed the parish chest and its contents. The parish register for 1646–1705, and some 19th-century registers, vestry minutes, and churchwardens' accounts were at the vicarage and survived. Transcripts also survive of much of the burnt material.⁵⁹ Bequests for the maintenance of the bells were made from the earlier 16th century;⁶⁰ one bell in 1585 had been recently cast.⁶¹ In the late 19th century there were five bells, one dated 1602 or 1621, two made by James Keene of Woodstock in 1628 and 1629, the fourth dated 1723, and the fifth 1698.⁶² The bells were irreparably damaged in 1918, and were melted down and recast in 1925 as a ring of six at the Taylor foundry in Loughborough (Leics.). There is a turret for a sanctus bell on the nave gable; it was empty in the earlier 19th century, and the bell may by then long have been housed in the tower. It survived the fire, and was rehung in 1925.⁶³ A single-handed clock on the tower, damaged in the fire and discarded, was rescued and found to contain a 17th-century escapement apparently replacing an earlier mechanism. Restored, the clock was given to the History of Science Museum in Oxford.⁶⁴ A new clock was installed in 1948.⁶⁵

The churchyard has twice been extended on the south, in 1878 by $\frac{1}{2}$ a. given by the duke of Marlborough, and in 1917 by $\frac{1}{4}$ a. given by Lincoln College. Previously the churchyard had lain largely north of the church.⁶⁶ Two 15th-century table-tombs survive north-east and south of the chancel, with quatrefoil panelling matching that on the nave parapet.⁶⁷ Tombstones of the late 17th century survived north of the church c. 1900, but seem to have been among those removed in a clearance of 1961.⁶⁸ A low, thatched, building, probably a barn, by the

⁵⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 23, f. 104; Evans, *Ch. Plate Oxon.* 44–5.

⁵⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 23, f. 95.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* d 331, f. 121. Transcripts and extracts are in *ibid.* c 339–40; d 23.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 178, ff. 20, 97, 137; 179, ff. 24, 99, 102, 335.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 144/1/7.

⁶² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 346, f. 81, which dates the fifth bell 1696; *Ch. Bells Oxon.* p. 100, which dates the fifth bell 1628 or 1688. The chwdns. named on the bell, John Malcher and Jonah Smith, held office in 1698: Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 23, f. 150.

⁶³ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 66, no. 182; c 1780; d 331, f. 121; Skelton, *Antiq. Oxon.* Wootton hund., plates; *Ch. Bells Oxon.* p. 98.

⁶⁴ *Oxonienisia*, iii. 175; xi/xii. 181; Beeson, *Oxon. Clock-makers* (Banbury Hist. Soc. iv), 35–6.

⁶⁵ Date on clock.

⁶⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1780.

⁶⁷ Illus. in Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 66, nos. 182–3; c 522, f. 7.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* d 331, f. 213; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1780.

south-west corner of the church was removed in the later 19th century.⁶⁹

The church was by the mid 17th century the owner of c. 2 a. of land in Ten Acres furlong, in the north-east corner of the parish.⁷⁰ At inclosure in 1792 the church received instead a close at the southern edge of the village, east of the road to Grintley hill. From 1825 the close was leased annually by candle auction until in 1845 John Hannah persuaded the vestry to divide the land into allotments which survived, reduced in area, in 1988.⁷¹ Thomas Summer, by will proved 1530,⁷² devised to the churchwardens a cottage, later known as Church House, north-west of the rectory. The cottage was vested in the Charity Commissioners in 1861, and the proceeds continued to be applied to church repairs until 1952, when the cottage was sold.⁷³ It is apparently 17th-century and has elaborately decorated wooden lintels. After 1952 its thatch was replaced by clay tiles. Two cottages south-west of Green Close, towards the southern end of the village, were mentioned from 1623 as being in church ownership. They were demolished c. 1860 and replaced by a row of four terraced houses known as Church Cottages. They were sold in 1926. A cottage east of the lane leading to the church was church property in the mid 17th century. It was a public house, the Cock, from 1778 until 1828 when it was rebuilt as two cottages. There were still two cottages in the earlier 20th century, but by 1988 they had been converted into a single dwelling.⁷⁴

NONCONFORMITY. John White of Combe was sentenced to execution during the Catholic uprising of 1549.⁷⁵ A recusant woman was reported in 1592–3,⁷⁶ and a will made by a Combe man in 1619 was Catholic in tone.⁷⁷ There was one recusant in 1642,⁷⁸ and one, a convert, in the 1670s and 1680s.⁷⁹

Several Quakers were reported to be living in Stonesfield and Combe in 1682, but only one is likely to have been from the latter. The Presbyterian Thomas Whateley preached in Combe in the later 17th century,⁸⁰ and in 1685 there was a Particular Baptist group with its own minister, Henry Sanders, meeting at a malthouse near the later Meeting House Farm, c. 500 yd. west of Bolton's Lane. Up to 200 people attended, mostly from Woodstock.⁸¹ In 1740 a house was registered for meetings by Timothy Sanders,⁸²

possibly Henry's son. Baptists and their pastor were still meeting in Combe in 1763,⁸³ but no later record has been found.

There was a Methodist meeting in Bolton's Lane, at the house later called Wedgehook, in the 1770s, attended by a preacher from Witney,⁸⁴ and there were probably Methodists continuously in the parish from that time. A Primitive Methodist group active c. 1827, when the chaplain complained of the riotous behaviour of 'ranter',⁸⁵ may have been short lived. References to a Primitive Methodist chapel in the later 19th century seem to repeat a mistake in the Ordnance Survey map; no such chapel is known, and Combe was not part of the local Primitive Methodist circuit.⁸⁶ The popularity of Wesleyan Methodism was for long periods unchallenged by the Established Church which generally neglected the parish, and, in the 1820s, in the figure of Edward Tatham, rector of Lincoln College, alienated a large part of the population.⁸⁷ A meeting house at East End was registered in 1823, and two others in the parish in 1827 and 1829.⁸⁸ The chaplain claimed in 1834 that there were only a few Methodists, most of whom also attended church,⁸⁹ but in 1835 a chapel was built on the eastern outskirts of the village attended by 34 members and 2 local preachers.⁹⁰ Membership rarely exceeded 25 but attendances were much higher, and on Census Sunday 1851 there was a congregation of 60 adults and 20 Sunday school children for morning service, with 120 and 20 respectively in the evening; the figures were high relative to total population.⁹¹ The reported closure of the Sunday school in the 1840s, in the face of a more successful Church school,⁹² had clearly been temporary. As at Bladon the Wesleyan Reform movement split the congregation, and membership of the chapel, which reached a peak of 42 in 1861, fell to 24 in 1868, and thereafter exceeded 30 only once, although congregations remained high. The chapel was rebuilt in 1893, the new foundation stone being laid by Charles Spencer-Churchill, duke of Marlborough.⁹³

A United Methodist Free chapel was built south-west of the village green in 1861–3, on a site obtained by Alderman Gabriel Banbury of Woodstock. Its position just in front of a row of cottages is said to have been tolerated by the householders, who were prominent in its congregation.⁹⁴ It was claimed in 1872 that of 48 professed dissenters in the parish 28 attended

⁶⁹ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 66, no. 183; c 522, f. 7; Skelton, *Antiq. Oxon.* Wootton hund., plates; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 7.

⁷⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 340, f. 3; Blenheim Mun. E/P/22, f. 37.

⁷¹ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. c 340, ff. 56–9; c 342, f. 22; d 23, f. 395.

⁷² O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 178, f. 20.

⁷³ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1781.

⁷⁴ Ibid.; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 340, ff. 49–53.

⁷⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii. 36.

⁷⁶ *Recusant Roll 1* (Cath. Rec. Soc. xviii), 257.

⁷⁷ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 70/1/51.

⁷⁸ *Protestation Returns*, 88.

⁷⁹ *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 423; *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 12, 38, 54.

⁸⁰ *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 12, 48.

⁸¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, ff. 195–6; J. Hinton, *Hist. Sketch of Assoc. Chs.* 11.

⁸² O.R.O., Q. Sess. Min. Bk. 1688–1768, 657.

⁸³ J. Ivimey, *Hist. Eng. Baptists*, iv. 18.

⁸⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 23, ff. 370, 392v.

⁸⁵ Ibid. b 18, ff. 77–8.

⁸⁶ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circuit c 18, item a; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 7 (1880 edn.); *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883, 1891).

⁸⁷ Above, Intro.; Church.

⁸⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 645, ff. 19, 90, 124, 127–8; ibid. Cal. Q. Sess. viii. 814.

⁸⁹ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39, f. 107.

⁹⁰ Ibid. MS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circuit b 1–7; ibid. c 21, item 6, ff. 73–4; ibid. e 3.

⁹¹ *Ch. and Chapel, 1851*, nos. 280, 499–500.

⁹² J. H. Overton, *John Hannah*, 37; *Wilb. Visit.* 42.

⁹³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circuit c 21, item 6, ff. 73–4; inscription on chapel.

⁹⁴ *United Free Chs. Mag.* May, 1863, 328–9; inscription; inf. from Messrs. E. and H. Busby.

the free chapel,⁹⁵ though congregations were larger, and in 1882 the chapel was extended.⁹⁶

In the later 19th century some of the most prominent families in the parish were nonconformist. William Davis of Akeman Street Farm was a Wesleyan Methodist preacher.⁹⁷ Methodists at that time usually no longer attended the parish church.⁹⁸ At the Methodist union of 1932 the free chapel was closed and the congregation transferred to the Wesleyan chapel. Attendances declined, as elsewhere, in the later 20th century, but in the 1980s joint monthly services were held with the parish church, and in 1988 the chapel was extensively refurbished. Combe belongs to the Oxford circuit.⁹⁹

EDUCATION. Henry Sanders, a Baptist, kept a school in the parish in the later 17th century and earlier 18th.¹ In 1815 there was no school or Sunday school, but a few small children were taught to read by an old woman, and some boys attended a school in Hanborough.² In 1819 the chaplain, Bartley Lee, started a Sunday school in defiance of Edward Tatham, rector of Lincoln College. The school was attended by 95 children and was run on the Bell system as far as precarious funding permitted.³ By 1833 there were also three day schools in which 30–45 children were taught at their parents' expense, the number of pupils attending the Sunday school falling to 30 in consequence.⁴

A school with house adjoining was built in 1843 at the expense of Tatham's widow Elizabeth. The site, on the southern edge of the village, was given by Lincoln College.⁵ In 1854 the daily attendance was 40–60, and on Sundays 60–80. An evening school started in 1852 was initially very popular, and still met on three winter evenings a week in 1859, but with reduced attendances.⁶ In 1859 the day school, managed by a committee of parishioners, was supported by private subscriptions and by school pence of 2d. or 4d. a week.⁷ In 1866 there were 67 children in the day school and well attended evening lectures in the winter,⁸ although attendance at the latter declined when boys and girls were segregated after complaints of 'rude behaviour'. Serious absenteeism from the day school was attributed to mothers keeping their daughters at home to help with glove-making. A system of alternate weeks at school

and at work was tried with some success.⁹

The school was attended in 1872 by 33 boys, 16 girls, and 23 infants paying 2s. each. A parliamentary grant was first received in 1873. The master augmented his salary of £10 by taking private pupils, and there was also a private school in the village with 2 boys and 14 girls.¹⁰ In 1890 there was accommodation at the day school for 100 children and an average attendance of 92; the income from fees was £36 9s. 9d. and from subscriptions £156 8s. 10d.¹¹ The school was enlarged in 1893 to accommodate 180 children; in 1895 the average attendance was 110.¹² In 1928 the school became a junior school with 33 pupils; the older children went by bus to Church Hanborough until 1940, when the new secondary school opened at Woodstock. Combe school became a controlled Church of England school in 1952. It had a roll of 55 children in 1962 and of 66 in 1983. St. Andrew's, a boys' day and boarding school was at Combe House for a few years after the Second World War.¹³

Elizabeth Tatham gave £100 to maintain the village school. By 1870 the money had been added to £150 given by John Radford, rector of Lincoln College, by will proved 1852, to produce £7 10s. a year. A Scheme of 1905 allotted the money to the John Radford Educational Foundation, the income from which is devoted to repairing the school house.¹⁴

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. A fund known as Poor's Stock, derived mainly from bequests made in the 17th century, comprised £10 each from Mr. Irons of Charlbury (date unknown), Richard Ward (by will proved 1636), and an unknown donor; £5 each from William Annisson (by will proved 1672), John Hurst the younger (by will proved 1672), and Simon Hawkins (by will proved 1681); £4 from George Bolton (by will proved 1692); and £2 from John Hurst the elder (by will proved 1682).¹⁵ The stock was augmented by £5 from Gervase Bradgate, a former chaplain, by will proved 1713, and by £5 from Charles Mortimer (d. 1784), rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.¹⁶ By 1817 £1 had been lost, but the remaining £60 was secured on a 5 per cent bond given by Edward Tatham. The churchwardens distributed the interest among the needy of the parish, 80

⁹⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 338, f. 116v.

⁹⁶ County Mus., P.R.N. 621; inscription.

⁹⁷ P.R.O., RG 11/1511.

⁹⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 344, f. 115v.

⁹⁹ Inf. from Messrs. E. and H. Busby.

¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 341, f. 55; O.R.O., bur. reg. transcript, 20 Oct. 1736.

² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 433, f. 63.

³ Ibid. d 578, f. 75v. The college owned the rectory: above, Church.

⁴ Ibid. b 39, f. 106; *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, H.C. 62, p. 744 (1835), xlii.

⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 70, p. 69; P.R.O., ED 7/101/141; O.S. Map 1/2,500, XXVI. 7 (1880 edn.); *Char. Digest*, H.C. 292–II, pp. 20–1, (1871), lv; V. H. H. Green, *Linc. Coll.* 386 n.

⁶ *Wilb. Visit.* 41.

⁷ P.R.O., ED 7/101/141.

⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 139.

⁹ *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202–1], pp. 331, 333, 339, H.C. (1868–9), xiii.

¹⁰ P.R.O., ED 7/101/141; *Returns relating to Elem. Educ.* H.C. 201, p. 332 (1871), lv; *Rep. of Educ. Cttee. of Council*, 1873–4 [C. 1019–I], p. 394, H.C. (1874), xviii.

¹¹ *Public Elem. Schs. Return*, H.C. 403, p. 213 (1890), lvi.

¹² O.R.O., T/SM 18, i; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1895).

¹³ O.R.O., T/SM 18, ii; inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.; *Oxf. Times*, 5 Mar. 1948: ad. on p. 4; local inf.

¹⁴ Char. Com. files; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 340; Linc. Coll. Mun., Coll. Order Bk. 1872–89, s.a. 1872–4; Green, *Linc. Coll.* 450 n.

¹⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 71/1/28; 113/2/19; 33/4/19; 132/3/14; 8/1/4; 132/3/17; *Char. Don.* 1787–8, H.C. 511, pp. 992–3 (1816), xvi B.

¹⁶ Oxf. Univ. Arch., Chancellor's Ct. Wills BE–BV, Hyp/B/21; V. H. H. Green, *Linc. Coll.* 708.

families in 1823 sharing £5 14s. 7d., which was two years' accumulated income.¹⁷ By 1871 the stock had been reduced to £56 and the income to £1 16s., which was distributed in bread.¹⁸

George Spencer, duke of Marlborough, gave in 1776 a rent charge of £6 6s. on waste land at Combe, redeemed for £90 in 1973.¹⁹ Charles Richardson, by will proved 1827, devised £27 the interest from which was to be presented annually at the altar of the parish church to a poor old lady of religious disposition. The money was invested in a pasture close yielding £1 a year, which was redeemed for £15 in

1974.²⁰ John Radford, rector of Lincoln College, in pursuance of the wishes of his late wife Elizabeth, gave £100 in 1849 to buy bread or coal for the poor of Combe,²¹ the charity being known locally thereafter as Mrs. Radford's charity. In 1869–70 the capital stood at £108 16s. 5d.,²² as it still did in 1962 when the income was distributed in coal.²³

By a Charity Commission Scheme of 1974 Combe's four charities were merged, providing an income of c. £15 a year for distribution to the poor.²⁴

EYNSHAM

EYNSHAM, a former borough and market town and the site of a Benedictine abbey, lies 5 miles north-west of Oxford on the river Thames close to its confluence with the river Evenlode and to an important crossing of the Thames at Swinford.²⁵ The ancient parish was large, measuring 5,446 a. in 1876.²⁶ Although from 1869 Freeland (505 a. in the north-east quarter of the parish) comprised a Particular District for ecclesiastical purposes,²⁷ it remained part of the civil parish until 1932, when 977 a. around the hamlet were transferred to Hanborough, reducing Eynsham to 4,469 a.²⁸ In 1948 Freeland became a separate civil parish of 1,122 a. (454 ha.), all transferred from Hanborough.²⁹ Thirty acres north of the Witney–Woodstock road were transferred to North Leigh in 1953, reducing Eynsham to 4,439 a. (1,797 ha.).³⁰

The ancient parish was bounded on the south-east by the Thames, on much of the south by the Limb brook, on the west by an ancient track called Wood Lane, on the north chiefly by the Witney–Woodstock road and on part of the north-east by a brook running into the Evenlode. Much of the eastern boundary followed the Evenlode, though diverging near Eynsham mill and Cassington mill along side streams, perhaps the main stream before the mills were built; the detour which took land west of the Evenlode into Cassington was established by the 12th century.³¹ Elsewhere the boundary followed few natural features, and included, east of Freeland,

a long straight section; in the south-west its circuitous course from the Limb brook to Wood Lane excluded from the parish the site of the deserted hamlet of Hamstall (later Armstalls).³²

Most of the ancient boundary may be identified as that of an estate granted by Aethelmaer to his newly founded monastery at Eynsham in 1005;³³ that estate was bounded by the rivers Bladon (Evenlode) and Thames, by Bugga's brook (the Limb brook), by the way to the port street (Wood Lane), by the port street (the Witney–Woodstock road), and by the boundary brook, presumably the brook between Eynsham and Hanborough called Caverswell in the Middle Ages and Hanborough brook in 1615.³⁴ The old ditch near the heath field in the north-east was probably the straight section of parish boundary east of Freeland,³⁵ and the swain's croft between the port street and the old ditch probably stood at Cook's corner, which in 1650 as Breach corner was one of the boundaries of Eynsham heath;³⁶ in 1298 Oseney abbey had a sheepcot and croft there, on the Wychwood forest boundary, which from the Evenlode to the sheepcot clearly followed the parish boundary, excluding Eynsham from the forest.³⁷ In the south-west it seems likely that the Tilgar's ditch at which Aethelmaer's boundary left the Limb brook is represented by the thick hedge on the parish boundary between the brook and the site of Hamstall. The nearby *weardstige* ('ward sty'), perhaps denoting an enclosure for guarding

¹⁷ *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 334.

¹⁸ *Char. Digest*, H.C. 292–II, pp. 20–1, (1871), lv.

¹⁹ O.R.C.C., Kimber files.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Linc. Coll. Mun. Z/COM/7. Eliz. Radford's char. has sometimes been confused with her husband's educ. char. e.g. O.R.C.C., Kimber files. Above, Educ.

²² *Char. Digest*, pp. 20–1.

²³ O.R.C.C., Kimber files.

²⁴ *Ibid.*; Kimber, TS. Rep. on review of Oxon. chars.; Char. Com. files.

²⁵ This article, written in 1984, includes minor amendments to 1988. The contribution of Miss A. Beardwood, who wrote an earlier draft, is gratefully acknowledged. The principal O.S. maps used were O.S. Maps 1/25,000, SP 31, 40, 41 (1981 and later edns.); *ibid.* 6", Oxon. XXVI (1884 and later edns.), XXXII (1883 and later edns.); *ibid.* 6", SP 31 SE., 40 NW., 41 SW. (1955 and later edns.); *ibid.* 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 14–15; XXXII. 2–5, 6–8, 11–12 (1881 and later edns.).

²⁶ O.S. *Area Bk.* (1881, surveyed 1876).

²⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1823/1.

²⁸ *Census*, 1931.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 1951.

³⁰ O.R.O., RO 615; *Census*, 1961–81.

³¹ Cf. E. K. Chambers, *Eynsham under the Monks* (O.R.S. xviii), 49, which overstates the influence on the bdry. of intercommoning between Cassington and Eynsham, discussed below, Econ. (Agric.).

³² Below, Stanton Harcourt.

³³ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 19–25, discussed in Grundy, *Saxon Oxon.* 33–6 and Chambers, *Eynsham*, 46. Cf. H. C. D. Cooper, 'Saxon Bounds of Eynsham', *Top. Oxon.* no. 7, which differs widely from the interpretation given here.

³⁴ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 93; C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Map I. 11.

³⁵ Chambers, *Eynsham*, 49, 51, suggesting that 'the old ditch' is further south, on the edge of Thrift coppice.

³⁶ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1: survey of 1650 with 18th-cent. additions. For unamended survey cf. Bodl. Gough Oxon. 53.

³⁷ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 92–4.

animals,³⁸ may be recalled by a Stywardispath which c. 1360 crossed Eynsham's South field, and by Steward's Bush furlong towards Hamstall recorded in 1615.³⁹ Other points on the south-west boundary of Aethelmaer's estate are not identifiable: the parish boundary in that area is unchanged from the 17th century,⁴⁰ and although adjustments may have been made in the Middle Ages after the depopulation of Hamstall, where Eynsham abbey held all the land,⁴¹ arguments for large discrepancies between the Anglo-Saxon and later boundaries lack foundation.

The land granted by Aethelmaer in 1005 was evidently an amalgamation of two distinct estates, later the manors of Eynsham and Tilgarsley; they were divided by Tilgar's ditch, an estate boundary which probably ran northwards from the Tilgar's ditch near Hamstall past Newfield Cottages to the Chil brook, from Chil brook west of Chil bridge along ditches and tracks still traceable south of the Evenlode Hotel, then eastwards along a well defined, curving track between Evenlode Farm and Eynsham mill. In 1615 that section was called 'Torres grave mere',⁴² and in 1782 the point on Ache Hill where the mere crossed an ancient north-south lane was called Tar's grave.⁴³ 'Torres grave' was a corruption of 'Tilgar's', and later the 'Tar's grave' inspired the local legend of a hanged sailor.⁴⁴ Tilgar's ditch presumably defined the lands of an early Anglo-Saxon settler, Tilgar, whose name was given to the forest clearing or 'ley' which became Tilgarsley.⁴⁵ In the Middle Ages the ditch divided the open fields of Tilgarsley on the west and north from those of Eynsham on the east and south, although after the depopulation of Tilgarsley in the 14th century the boundary lost much of its significance.⁴⁶

Much of the southern half of the parish is low-lying and flat (c. 65 m.), but in the west the land rises to 84 m. at Twelve Acre Farm, and in the north to 105 m. near Freeland and 120 m. in Eynsham Hall park. Between Foxley Farm in the south and City Farm in the east (the area occupied by Eynsham's pre-inclosure arable) the land is river gravel, with broad alluvial deposits on the banks of the Thames and Evenlode, and the tributary brooks. In the west and north the land is mostly Oxford and Kimmeridge clay, overlain with large areas of unbedded glacial deposits in Eynsham Hall park and

around Freeland.⁴⁷ Much of the north (over 1,700 a.) remained uncultivated heath and woodland until the inclosure of the park in 1781 and the main inclosure of the parish, begun in 1800 and completed in 1802.⁴⁸ The soil there was poor, requiring extensive use of lime and fertilizers.⁴⁹ Before it became farmland the heath was exploited for its 'luxuriant furze'⁵⁰ and its deposits of sand, peat, and clay. An early 18th-century lord, Thomas Jordan, tried with four partners to exploit a coal seam which, though deep below the surface, was expected to yield profits in an area where fuel was 'scarce and dear'; after sinking a shaft some 80 yd. deep he was forced to desist, 'having no fire engine, and water rushing in'. A later lord, James Lacy, a London theatre owner, worked the same site (south of the Witney-Woodstock road) in 1764, but without success;⁵¹ Lacy's wealth was said to have been 'much lessened by searching for coal mines in Oxfordshire', and his colleague David Garrick remarked that 'the pit of Drury Lane is more profitable than the pit on Eynsham heath'.⁵²

Eynsham's early importance owed much to its position near the crossing place of the Thames at Swinford. To the east a ridgeway has been traced over Wytham Hill⁵³ and it remained in use as a road between Oxford and the west until the early 19th century. From Eynsham its line to Witney and the Cotswolds was mostly that of the present main road, though close to the village there have been changes. Until the 18th century traffic seems to have left Eynsham by Mill Street, turning west at Spare Acre Lane (called in 1615 Town's End)⁵⁴ and along a lane (preserved as a footpath until covered by modern housing in the Stratford Rise and Tilgarsley Road area), which joined the present Witney road at its junction with Cuckoo Lane; thence westwards the ancient route is preserved by the present main road, except where that bypasses Barnard Gate.⁵⁵ The lane from Town's End to the Cuckoo Lane junction was named in 1615 Honey Cross way, probably a mistake for the later Howling Cross;⁵⁶ a cross, perhaps similar in usage to 'weeping' crosses elsewhere, stood near the lane's western end until the early 19th century,⁵⁷ and may have marked a resting place for early medieval funeral processions from Tilgarsley to the parish church. In the mid 18th century a new route was laid out from the centre

³⁸ Cf. Chambers, *Eynsham*, 47.

³⁹ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 40; C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Map I. 13.

⁴⁰ Chambers, *Eynsham*, 48; O.R.O., Misc. Mas. I/1: photo. of map of 1769 at Eynsham Pk., showing bdry. marks of heath as surveyed in 1650 (cf. O.R.O., Palm. IV/1).

⁴¹ e.g. *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. xlvii-xlviii, which assumes, wrongly, that Armstalls was a hamlet of Eynsham.

⁴² C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Map I. 11.

⁴³ O.R.O., CH. XIX/1: map reproduced in part in Chambers, *Eynsham*. A supposed tumulus shown on the 1615 map (cf. Chambers, *Eynsham*, 103) appears to be a group of trees.

⁴⁴ Chambers, *Eynsham*, 103.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 104; cf. *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 261, 276.

⁴⁶ Below, Econ. (Agric.).

⁴⁷ Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid and drift, sheet 236 (1972 edn.).

⁴⁸ Eynsham Incl. Act, 21 Geo. III, c. 38 (Priv. Act); *ibid.* 39 & 40 Geo. III, c. 63 (Priv. Act); O.R.O., incl. award (1802). The incl. map and schedule are O.R.O., Misc. Pal. IV/1.

⁴⁹ Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 232; *Oxf. Region*, ed. A. F. Martin and R. W. Steel, 54.

⁵⁰ Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 232 sqq.; below, Econ. (Agric.).

⁵¹ B.L. Add. MS. 38476, ff. 193 sqq.; *Par. Colln.* i. 140; *Oxf. Jnl.* 21 July 1764; Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 203, p. 36. The site of the mine is marked on Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767).

⁵² *Gent. Mag.* xlix (1779), 172 n.; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. 143.

⁵³ Grundy, *Saxon Oxon.* 99.

⁵⁴ C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Map. I. 10-11.

⁵⁵ Cf. O.R.O., CH. XIX/1 (1782 map), and later O.S. maps cited above.

⁵⁶ Most other refs. are to Howling or Howland Cross: Chambers, *Eynsham*, 70.

⁵⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. 189.



of Eynsham to the Cuckoo Lane junction, passing from the west end of Acre End Street on a zig-zag course across the open fields;⁵⁸ its line is largely preserved by the present Witney Road and Old Witney Road.

By the mid 18th century, and probably long before, the east-west road through Eynsham and Swinford had ceased to be important.⁵⁹ The Swinford ferry and the road thence to Oxford were difficult, and it seems that heavier traffic from Oxford westwards preferred a northern route along the present Woodstock-Witney road.⁶⁰ That route, an ancient ridgeway linking the Burford-Witney ridgeway with the Oxford-Banbury ridgeway,⁶¹ was the 'port street' of 1005 on the northern boundary of Eynsham. By the time the Witney-Woodstock road was turnpiked in 1751 the old 'horse road' over Swinford ferry was merely included in the trust as a minor branch.⁶² The Witney-Woodstock road was disturnpiked in 1869.⁶³

In the early Middle Ages the route over Swinford ferry was sufficiently profitable to cause contention between the abbots of Eynsham and Abingdon, who respectively owned the Oxfordshire and Berkshire banks of the Thames at Swinford. In 1299 it was agreed that the ferry belonged solely to the abbot of Abingdon, who, in recognition of the abbot of Eynsham's rights over the Oxfordshire bank, was to pay 1s. a year and make concessions over tolls to the Eynsham monks.⁶⁴ The rent was paid throughout the Middle Ages;⁶⁵ the vicars of Cumnor continued to assert their parish's right to the full width of the river passage by traditional ceremonies at the annual perambulation.⁶⁶ The ferry crossing was frequently hazardous, and in 1636 a party of Welsh sheriffs delivering ship money to Charles I were capsized there, and several of the party drowned.⁶⁷ In 1764 John Wesley was nearly swept off a causeway near the ferry while riding through.⁶⁸ The causeway may have been that mentioned in 1565 as new and evidently on the Eynsham side of the river.⁶⁹

In 1751 the Oxford and Witney turnpike trustees had found the branch through Swinford dangerous, particularly in winter. Repairs were carried out in 1752 between Barnard Gate and 'Goodenough's turnpike' at the west end of Eynsham, possibly the new section from Acre End Street, and in 1753 the road between the village and the ferry was repaired at the joint

expense of the parish and the trustees; the vicar, Treadway Nash, was influential in promoting the improvements.⁷⁰ In 1765 Willoughby Bertie, earl of Abingdon, bought the ferry and adjoining land, and in 1767 Acts were passed for establishing Swinford toll bridge and repairing Botley causeway. The new bridge, probably designed by Sir Robert Taylor, was opened in 1769. By then the road over Wytham Hill had been improved to take carriage traffic, but it remained steep and difficult, and was a haunt of highwaymen.⁷¹ In 1810 the lower road through Farmoor to Botley was built, but the old road over Wytham was not technically given up by the trustees until 1835.⁷² The whole route from Witney to Oxford was disturnpiked in 1877.⁷³ The bridge tolls, abolished for pedestrians in 1835,⁷⁴ caused bitter controversy in modern times.⁷⁵

Traffic through Eynsham was greatly affected by the construction in the early 1930s of a section of trunk road linking Oxford's northern bypass with the old Witney road at Cuckoo Lane.⁷⁶ Access to the village from the new road was provided along the Cassington road, Mill Street, and a short northward extension of Witney Road which relegated Old Witney Road to minor status. To ease the nuisance caused by the passage through the village of gravel lorries from the Standlake area bypasses were built to the south and east in 1974 and 1983, the former following the track of an abandoned railway.⁷⁷

A network of ancient lanes linked the village with its fields and with neighbouring parishes: many of those altered or abandoned at inclosure in 1802 survive as footpaths.⁷⁸ Among the more important 'lost' roads was one, called Sutton way in 1615, which crossed South field to Bell Bridge⁷⁹ on a sinuous line south-east of the present Stanton Harcourt road, which was laid out at inclosure. Bag Bridge, mentioned in the 15th century, was evidently another name for Bell Bridge,⁸⁰ and Chil Bridge may be the Hugh's bridge mentioned in 1220.⁸¹ The medieval road to Cassington followed Newland Street, called in 1215 the great street towards the bridge of Cassington,⁸² then passed along the east-west section of Mead Lane before continuing eastwards in a curving line to cross the Evenlode at Cassington mill; the straight section from Newland Street to Cassington dates from inclosure. In 1361 the abbot of

⁵⁸ O.R.O., CH. XIX/1; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 74-5.

⁵⁹ By the 1670s the Oxford-Burford road was not a principal route between London and Wales: Ogilby, *Britannia* (1675).

⁶⁰ E. de Villiers, *Swinford Toll Bridge* (Eynsham Hist. Group, 1969), 4.

⁶¹ Grundy, *Saxon Oxon.* 98-9.

⁶² Turnpike Act, 24 Geo. II, c. 28.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 32-3 Vic. c. 90.

⁶⁴ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 342-4.

⁶⁵ e.g. *ibid.* ii, p. 251; B.L. Harl. Roll E 27.

⁶⁶ Chambers, *Eynsham*, 67-8.

⁶⁷ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636-7, 153; *Crosfield's Diary*, ed. F. S. Boas, 85.

⁶⁸ *Wesley's Jnl.* ed. N. Curnock, v. 44.

⁶⁹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 127/8, ff. 9-10.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* MS. Ch. Oxon. 2473; *Swinford Toll Bridge*, 5; *Index to Nash's Worcs.* ed. J. Amphlett, pp. v-vii.

⁷¹ *Swinford Toll Bridge, passim*; Turnpike Act 8 Geo. III,

c. 34.

⁷² *Oxf. Jnl.* 15 Jan. 1810; Turnpike Acts, 54 Geo. III, c. 186; 5-6 Wm. IV, c. 103.

⁷³ Turnpike Act, 40-1 Vic. c. 64.

⁷⁴ *Oxf. Jnl.* 10 Jan. 1835.

⁷⁵ *Swinford Toll Bridge*, 24-5; Westgate Libr., Eynsham newspaper cuttings.

⁷⁶ *Social Services in Oxf. District*, ed. A. F. C. Bourdillon, ii, 410.

⁷⁷ *Eynsham District Plan* (West Oxon. District Council, 1979): copy in Westgate Libr.

⁷⁸ For pre-inclosure lanes see maps of 1615 (C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Maps I. 9-14) and 1782 (O.R.O., CH. XIX/1). They are discussed in detail in Chambers, *Eynsham*, 68 sqq. For changes in 1802 see O.R.O. incl. award and map.

⁷⁹ For Bell Bridge, Chambers, *Eynsham*, 78.

⁸⁰ P.R.O., SC 2/197/38; below, Stanton Harcourt, Intro.

⁸¹ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 284; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 69.

⁸² *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 60.

Eynsham was fined for neglecting to repair a bridge and causeway between Eynsham and Cassington mill.⁸³ Three bridges may have been involved for in 1615 there was Bow Bridge at the point where the former Cassington road left Mead Lane, another over a brook further east called the Flam,⁸⁴ and presumably a third over the boundary stream.

The medieval road to Woodstock followed the line of the present Hanborough road, called Bladon way in the 13th century;⁸⁵ in 1615 the road crossed Tilgar's ditch at Stonend Bridge and the boundary brook at Token Bridge, perhaps the Chere Bridge of the 13th century.⁸⁶ A more direct route to Church Hanborough, partly preserved in field paths near City Farm, branched north-westwards from Mill Lane close to its present junction with the Oxford–Witney road, crossing the boundary brook by a foot-bridge north of City Farm; by the 18th century it was a bridleway. The lane may be ancient, and prehistoric sites in Eynsham and Hanborough seem to be related to it.⁸⁷ Several lanes in the north converged near Bowles Farm, where, as argued below, the hamlet of Tilgarsley may have stood. The most important, Cuckoo Lane, was presumably named from a Cuckoo well on the heath north of Bowles Farm.⁸⁸ Another ancient lane followed Spareacre Lane, passing northwards over Ache Hill and past 'Tar's grave' along the line of a surviving track: in the 18th century, at a triangle of waste called Turner's Green, the lane turned westwards towards Bowles Farm.

Before the heath was inclosed (partly in 1781 and wholly in 1802) it was crossed by several tracks in addition to the perimeter ways, Wood Lane on the west and the modern main street of Freeland on the east. A central north–south trackway running from North Leigh to South Leigh and crossing the Witney road near Eynsham Hall's South Lodge is preserved for much of its course as a path on the eastern edge of the park. Another central trackway linked North Leigh with the northern end of Cuckoo Lane, crossing an area later covered by the grounds of Freeland House.⁸⁹

Throughout the 19th century Eynsham was served by carriers visiting Oxford and Witney several times a week. Local carriers declined with the introduction of bus services in the 1920s but in 1939 the village was still served by carriers travelling to Oxford from North Leigh and Witney.⁹⁰ Communication by river to Ox-

ford and beyond was important in the Middle Ages, and again from the early 17th century when Thames navigation was greatly improved. By the early 13th century there was a wharf near Swinford, on a side stream of the Thames known later as the Wharf stream; it remained in use until the 20th century.⁹¹ A canal wharf established on the Cassington road c. 1800,⁹² although outside the parish, was also important to Eynsham's economy. Proposed railways through Eynsham in 1822, 1836, and the 1840s came to nothing,⁹³ but the establishment of the Oxford–Worcester line in 1853, with such nearby stations as Hanborough, affected Eynsham's waterborne coal trade long before the village acquired its own station.⁹⁴ In 1861 Eynsham station was opened on the Witney Railway Co.'s line to the Oxford–Worcester railway at Yarnton.⁹⁵ The line was closed to passenger traffic in 1962, and ceased operation in 1970.⁹⁶

Abundant evidence of human occupation from Palaeolithic times has been found in the parish, especially on the river gravels.⁹⁷ In the south, in a heavily crop-marked area between the village and Foxley Farm, finds included a Bronze Age cemetery of the Beaker period, and many other Bronze Age features;⁹⁸ a supposed henge south-east of the Stanton Harcourt road, however, is not now thought to be man-made,⁹⁹ though the site, called Deadman's Burial by the early 17th century,¹ perhaps contained a barrow. Bronze Age burials and other features have been discovered north of the village, notably in the New Wintles Farm area,² while the importance of the Thames crossing at that period is suggested by the discovery of shields at Swinford Bridge. The Foxley Farm area included an early Iron Age settlement, and another settlement of that period lay on the boundary with Hanborough north of City Farm.³ A large earthwork in Eynsham Hall park probably dates in part from the Iron Age; a smaller, oval earthwork close to the eastern boundary of the park has been ploughed out.⁴ A Romano-British settlement, with attached fields, has been identified north of Foxley Farm, and Romano-British artefacts have been found there, at New Wintles Farm, further south between Cuckoo and Mill Lanes, north of Newland Street near the primary school, and in the village itself, notably at the Gables and on and near the abbey site. An important Romano-British coin hoard, buried c. 330, was discovered in the fields in 1935, but the precise location was not recorded.⁵

⁸³ Ibid. ii, pp. 97 sqq.

⁸⁴ C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Map I.

⁸⁵ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 254.

⁸⁶ Chambers, *Eynsham*, 75–6; *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 253.

⁸⁷ For a suggestion that it formed part of a major 'natural' route see *Oxoniensia*, xxix/xxx, 50.

⁸⁸ O.R.O., Misc. Mas. I/1: map of heath in 1769.

⁸⁹ Ibid.; Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); cf. *Top. Oxon.* no. 7, which identifies the central track as the 'port way' of 1005.

⁹⁰ *P.O. (later Kelly's) Dir. Oxon.* (1847 and later edns.);

M. Harris, *From Acre End*, 12, 56.

⁹¹ Below, Econ. (Trade and Ind.).

⁹² Above, Cassington, Intro.

⁹³ *Handlist of Rly. Plans* (Oxon. C.C. Record Publ. no. 3), 3–4, 11, 15. For the proposal of 1836 see also Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 200, ff. 158–9.

⁹⁴ K. Belston and H. Compton, 'Eynsham Wharf', *Jnl.*

Rly. and Canal Hist. Soc. xiv (3), 48.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., PD 2/74; *ibid.* DAO 8; E. T. McDermot, *Hist. G.W.R.* i, 289; *Eynsham Rec.* v, 16–21.

⁹⁶ County Mus., P.R.N. 8994. For the station, *ibid.* 842.

⁹⁷ For a summary, see County Mus., Sites and Monuments record. For finds before 1939, *V.C.H. Oxon.* i.

⁹⁸ D. Benson and D. Miles, *Upper Thames Valley* (Oxon. Arch. Unit Survey, no. 2), 44–5.

⁹⁹ Cf. *ibid.* 44; H. J. Case, 'Deadman's Burial, Eynsham', *Antiquity*, xxix, 233–6.

¹ C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Map I, 13, which depicts a burial.

² Benson and Miles, *Upper Thames Valley*, 50–1.

³ H. J. Case and others, 'Excavations at City Farm, Hanborough', *Oxoniensia*, xxix–xxx, 1–98.

⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii, 313, 335; *Oxoniensia*, xxxi, 36–7.

⁵ *Numismatic Chron.* 5th ser. xvi, 251–3.

Early Anglo-Saxon bone implements were discovered just south of the railway station and an early Saxon settlement with sunken hut floors north of Newland Street; nearby, at Wytham View, was a pagan cemetery. Another extensive area of early settlement west of New Wintles Farm included framed buildings and sunken floors, and there were signs of weaving.⁶ Neither settlement, however, seems to have comprised, at any one date, much more than a farmstead with associated buildings, and it seems likely that the principal early settlement was at Eynsham itself: an early enamelled escutcheon and quantities of early Anglo-Saxon pottery, as well as prehistoric and Romano-British wares have been found on the abbey site,⁷ and similar evidence of Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon occupation has been found at the Shrubbery and near Tanner's Lane.

Eynsham (*Egonesham*) was mentioned as one of four widely dispersed places which fell to Cutha after a battle with the Britons at *Biedcanford*, allegedly in 571.⁸ British occupation could hardly have survived so late in the south Midlands,⁹ and the reference perhaps reflects only that Eynsham was well known by the time the *Chronicle* was compiled. Another of the places annexed by Cutha was Benson, also a major crossing point of the upper Thames, and the river's importance as a boundary is implied in 779 when Offa of Mercia, after defeating Cynewulf of Wessex at Benson, allegedly built a fortress on Wytham Hill, protecting the Swinford crossing.¹⁰

There are indications that by the 9th century Eynsham was an important royal estate. In 821 King Coenwulf of Mercia, demanded that Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury, surrender to him 300 hides at *Iognes homme*, which has been identified as Eynsham.¹¹ Certainly the Mercian kings seem to have retained an interest in Eynsham in 864.¹² There is evidence that Eynsham had an early minster church with a large *parochia* encompassing at least the southern part of the later Wootton hundred. In 864, when Burgred, king of Mercia, granted to Bishop Eahlhun of Worcester an estate at Water Eaton (on the eastern boundary of the hundred), he freed it of all tribute except for the large payment of 30s. to the church at Eynsham (*Egenes homme*).¹³ Likewise Cogges (on the

western boundary of the hundred) seems to have belonged to Eynsham's *parochia*, since in the early Middle Ages, by an ancient arrangement, Eynsham abbey received the crop of part of the Cogges demesne to compensate for the loss of burial fees there.¹⁴ By then only a few closer neighbours of Eynsham were directly dependent upon its church,¹⁵ the *parochia* presumably having been broken up in unrecorded grants of the Anglo-Saxon period.

The possibility that Eynsham's early *parochia* stretched westward to Bampton is suggested by a payment of 13s. 4d., noted from the 17th century to the early 19th, to the vicar of Eynsham when preaching in Bampton church at the feast of the Assumption.¹⁶ In 1291 Eynsham abbey was in receipt of 13s. 4d. a year from Bampton, presumably for the same service.¹⁷ The origin of the custom, and of the substantial annual payment, is unknown, though it may have arisen out of an agreement over the tithes of the abbey's estates in Bampton.¹⁸ The annual visit on Bampton church's dedication day, however, suggests closer links:¹⁹ if indeed it reflected some former dependence of Bampton upon Eynsham as a mother church it was of great antiquity, for Bampton itself was the site of a pre-Conquest minster. It is not implausible, however, that Eynsham was the earlier centre.

A further possibility that in the 10th century Eynsham belonged to a succession of closely related members of the West Saxon royal household depends upon its identification as the *Inggeneshamme*, *Incgenaesham*, or *Igenesham* of several surviving wills. The forms have been attributed usually to Inglesham (Wilts.), although the 10th-century Latin chronicler Aethelweard used the very similar form *Ignesham* for the undisputed *Egenesham* of 571 in his translation of the *Chronicle*.²⁰ Aethelweard, whose son Aethelmaer founded Eynsham abbey, may have known Eynsham, since it possibly already belonged to a kinsman. In the mid 10th century Wynflaed, probably grandmother of King Edgar, by will gave *Inggeneshamme* to her son Eadmaer.²¹ Later Aelfheah (d. c. 971), ealdorman of Hampshire, by will gave *Incgenaesham* to King Edgar, to whom he was related.²² The chronicler Aethelweard, as a descendant of Ethelred, king of Wessex, was related to both Wynflaed and Aelfheah.²³ Aelfheah's successor as ealdorman of

⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 359; *Oxoniensia*, iii. 167; xvii/xviii. 216, 224; xxxiv. 1-4; *Arch. of A.-S. Eng.* ed. D. M. Wilson, 419, 430.

⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 359; M. Gray and N. Clayton, 'Excavations on site of Eynsham Abbey, 1971', *Oxoniensia*, xliii. 100-22.

⁸ C. Plummer, *Two Saxon Chrons. Parallel*, 18-19. The possible early prominence of Eynsham is discussed in J. Blair, 'St. Frideswide Reconsidered', *Oxoniensia*, lii. 85-93.

⁹ e.g. F. M. Stenton, *A.-S. Eng.*, 26-8; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 1-2; cf. *Oxoniensia*, xlviii. 161-2.

¹⁰ *Chron. Mon. Abingdon* (Rolls Ser.), i. 8; ii. 269.

¹¹ M. Gelling, *Early Chart. of Thames Valley*, pp. 102-4; cf. Ekwall, *Dict. Eng. Place Names*, 172; *Anglo-Saxons*, ed. J. Campbell, 127.

¹² Below.

¹³ Gelling, *Thames Valley Chart*, pp. 126-7.

¹⁴ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 4, 13; ii, pp. xxxviii-xxxix; J. Blair and J. M. Steane, 'Investigations at Cogges', *Oxoniensia*, xlvii. 44.

¹⁵ Below, Church.

¹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 40, f. 128; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 448, f. 60 and v.; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 38, item c.; *Par. Colln.* 17.

¹⁷ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 32.

¹⁸ For the estate, *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. lxx sqq.

¹⁹ The church was dedicated to St. Mary, and until 1752 Bampton fair (and presumably the parish feast day) was 15 Aug. (the Assumption): J. A. Giles, *Hist. Bampton*, 59; *Par. Colln.* 17. Eynsham abbey shared the same dedication, and one of Eynsham's medieval fairs was on 15 Aug.: *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii. 65; below, Econ. (Mkts. and Fairs).

²⁰ *Chron. of Aethelweard*, ed. A. Campbell, 13. The editor dismisses the translation as a 'slip': *ibid.* p. lviii.

²¹ D. Whitelock, *A.-S. Wills*, pp. 10-15, 108-10; Finberg, *Wessex Chart.* pp. 44, 90.

²² Whitelock, *Wills*, pp. 22-5, 121-2.

²³ *Chron. of Aethelweard*, pp. xiii sqq.; S. Keynes, *Diplomas of King Aethelred*, p. 188; cf. Whitelock, *Wills*, pp. 118-19.

Hampshire, Aethelmaer (d. 982), by will gave *Igenesham* to an unnamed elder son,²⁴ and before 1005 Aethelmaer, son of Aethelweard the chronicler, acquired *Egnesham* by exchange from another Aethelweard, his son-in-law.²⁵ The son-in-law's antecedents are not known, but it is possible that he was a descendant of Aethelmaer, ealdorman of Hampshire, and that the *Igenesham* bequeathed in 982 was the *Egnesham* of 1005. Interpretation of the place-name Eynsham, which compounds with *hamm* (river meadow) a personal name which is either Anglo-Saxon or Celtic, depends upon which early forms are accepted.²⁶

A minster or abbey already existed when its foundation was confirmed by King Ethelred in 1005,²⁷ a date that may represent only the endowment and establishment of a Benedictine community there. The appointment as abbot of Aelfric, a prominent spiritual leader of the period, presumably brought fame to Eynsham but the abbey was not recorded until the Conquest when the monks fled and their house was devastated.²⁸ Its estates were used to endow the see of Dorchester (later removed to Lincoln), but it had probably been re-established by 1086 when Eynsham was held of the bishop by Columban, a monk, and elsewhere in Domesday Book the abbey was referred to expressly.²⁹ In 1091 Columban and the abbey's endowments were transferred by Bishop Remigius to Stow (Lincs.) but that decision was reversed by Robert Bloet, who was nominated as bishop in 1093. After a period of uncertainty, perhaps lasting into the early 12th century, the abbey recovered its old endowments; by the end of the Middle Ages it was one of the richest religious house in Oxfordshire. It received royal patronage because of its proximity to Woodstock. Henry I excused the abbot's men from service to the royal hunt whenever his household was lodging at Eynsham,³⁰ and there seem to have been regular royal visits. In 1175 and 1186 bishops were elected there when the king was at Woodstock.³¹ Royal writs were issued at Eynsham in 1291 and the king and chancery were there in 1329–30.³² The abbey bakehouse was repaired in preparation for a visit by Richard II in 1389 and Prince Arthur visited Eynsham in 1501.³³

Although the abbot complained frequently of the burden of entertaining the 'concourse of magnates'³⁴ such visitors probably enriched the abbey by stimulating trade. Eynsham was a borough, and some of its inhabitants held of the abbot by burgage tenure and were governed by a

separate court, the portmoot.³⁵ The town was probably flourishing long before it was granted a market in the 1130s.³⁶ Whereas Aethelmaer's estate there had comprised 30 holdings or houses (*mansiunculi*), by 1086 there were 70 tenants, each perhaps representing a household.³⁷ When Henry II confirmed the market and added two annual fairs one was in the week of Pentecost, when Eynsham was the focus of processions from local deaneries bringing pentecostals or 'smoke farthings', originally payable at the bishop's seat but granted to Eynsham abbey by Bishop Alexander in 1138.³⁸ Large crowds were thus attracted to the town and its principal fair. The processions seem to have continued in the later Middle Ages, for in 1391 the pope granted indulgences to any visitors giving alms in St. Leonard's chapel (Eynsham's parish church) in Whitsun week.³⁹

The town was presumably flourishing in 1215 when the abbot provided for more traders by laying out Newland.⁴⁰ By the end of the 13th century, however, some of the new burgages were regranted as ordinary freeholds and there are other indications that Eynsham failed to establish itself as a successful town, probably because of its proximity to Oxford and other market centres. Though retaining its market and a small trading community, it ceased to grow, and remained dependent upon agriculture. A survey of 1279 enumerating only 49 tenants in Eynsham and Tilgarsley apparently omitted the trading community but early 14th-century tax assessments confirm that Eynsham was in decline: indeed by 1334 its assessed wealth was the lowest of all Oxfordshire towns, and much lower than the hamlet of Tilgarsley.⁴¹ After the parish was ravaged by the Black Death of 1349–50 Tilgarsley was abandoned, its fields were mostly inclosed, and the surviving population regrouped at Eynsham. In 1377 only 211 adults were assessed for poll tax, placing Eynsham among the smallest Oxfordshire market towns.⁴² By the early 16th century, though apparently more populous than some market centres such as Charlbury or Bampton, Eynsham's tax assessments indicate a village community dominated by small farmers and monastic servants.⁴³ It retained the institutions of a borough in the 15th century, including the portmoot and officers, of whom the chief was sometimes called mayor, but by the later 16th century the borough institutions were moribund.⁴⁴

In the mid 17th century there were c. 115 village tenements, some of them perhaps in multiple occupation, and a half dozen outlying

²⁴ Ibid. pp. 24–7, 125–6; Finberg, *Wessex Chart*. pp. 55–6, 99; Gelling, *Thames Valley Chart*. pp. 133–4.

²⁵ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 19 sqq. For Aethelmaer see *Chron. of Aethelweard*, pp. xiii sqq.; Keynes, *Diplomas*, 192, 209–10.

²⁶ *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 258–9; Ekwall, *Dict. Eng. Place Names*, 171–2.

²⁷ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 19 sqq.

²⁸ For hist. of abbey, see *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii. 65–7; *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. vii sqq.; E. Gordon, 'Eynsham Abbey: a historical note', *Oxoniana*, xliii. 105–8; Chambers, *Eynsham*, *passim*.

²⁹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 402–3; *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. ix.

³⁰ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. xii; ii, p. 155.

³¹ Ibid. i, p. xvi.

³² *Cal. Fine R.* 1272–1307, 288–9; *Cal. Pat.* 1281–2,

419–21, 454; *Cal. Close*, 1288–96, 161–2, 190; 1327–30, 534; 1330–3, 135, 139–40, 143.

³³ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. lxxviii; *Oxoniana*, i. 93.

³⁴ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. xvi.

³⁵ Below, Local Govt.

³⁶ Below, Econ. (Markets and Fairs).

³⁷ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 20; *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 402–3.

³⁸ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 37–8, 66, 424 sqq.

³⁹ *Cal. Papal Reg.* iv. 392.

⁴⁰ Below.

⁴¹ Below, Econ. (Agric.)

⁴² *P.R.O.*, E 179/202/59; *Historic Towns in Oxon.*, ed. K. Rodwell, 201–2.

⁴³ Below, Econ. (Agric.).

⁴⁴ Below, Local Govt.

houses and cottages. Probably there were far fewer than 150 households.⁴⁵ In 1662 only 91 people were assessed for hearth tax on a total of 188 hearths, and for later hearth taxes exemption and evasion reduced the number of taxpayers by two thirds.⁴⁶ The 300 conformists reported in 1676 and the 200 houses and 2,000 people estimated in the early 18th century are round and unreliable figures, but in 1738 the vicar reckoned that there were 160 houses and 153 families.⁴⁷ Baptisms averaged only between 15 and 18 a year in the four decades from 1660, compared with between 27 and 42 a year in the period 1770–1810:⁴⁸ the population supporting the last figure was, in 1801, only 1,116 divided between 208 families occupying 183 houses.⁴⁹ It seems likely that the population in the late 17th century was not much more than 500. In most decades in the period 1660–1809 the number of baptisms far exceeded the burials, except for the 1720s when smallpox caused great mortality; in the winter of 1714–15 over 40 smallpox deaths were recorded, and there were more serious outbreaks in the winter months of 1728–9 and 1729–30. Losses in those years perhaps account for the fall in baptisms to only 18 a year in mid century, after a rise to between 20 and 24 a year in the first four decades. From the 1760s the rise in baptisms and in the excess of baptisms over burials was steep and continuous. A serious 'epidemic fever' recorded in 1801 resulted in far fewer deaths than the early 18th-century outbreaks of smallpox.⁵⁰ Cholera, frequently recorded, caused heavy mortality in 1832 and there was a serious typhoid outbreak in Crown Crescent in 1875.⁵¹

The population rose rapidly to 1,705 in 1821, then more slowly to a peak of 2,177 in 1871. A steady decline reduced the population to only 1,644 in 1921. The expansion which transformed Eynsham into a dormitory town began in the 1920s, for by 1931 the number of houses had risen from 406 to 483, and the population to 1,963. By 1951, though Freeland had been removed from the parish, there were 588 houses and 2,373 people. After only a modest increase in the 1950s intensive house-building caused a rise in population from 2,628 in 1961 to 4,427 in 1971. The population in 1981 was only 4,449 but rapid growth was then resumed.⁵²

The town was established where the route from the river crossing reached higher ground on a gravel terrace. After Tilgarsley was abandoned Eynsham was for long the only centre of

settlement in the parish. There were a few small farmsteads near Freeland, and Twelve Acre Farm was established by the later Middle Ages;⁵³ otherwise the only outlying settlements until the late 18th century were the mill and a scattering of heathside cottages.⁵⁴ Eynsham Hall was built in the 1770s and its park laid out after a partial inclosure of the heath in 1781.⁵⁵ The main inclosure of the parish in 1802 led to the establishment of many outlying farms and the development of a substantial hamlet at Freeland.

Eynsham's early street plan centred on the intersection of the road from Swinford ferry with a north-south road, now Mill Street and Abbey Street. In the Middle Ages the parts of the settlement were distinguished as Acre End, Mill End, and Hut (i.e. hythe or wharf) End.⁵⁶ Within the town the ferry or Oxford road was later called Thames Street until the 19th century, then briefly George Street,⁵⁷ and by 1851 High Street; in 1851 the name Thames Street was evidently used by some for the part of High Street running along the north side of the Square,⁵⁸ a practice continued in modern times. The name Abbey Street for the southern end of Mill Street was first recorded after the 17th century,⁵⁹ while the names Church Street, for the short section between the Square and Abbey Street, and Lombard Street for the section between Mill Street and Abbey Street, were late 19th-century innovations: the name Lombard Street was presumably inspired by the bank established there by the Gibbons family of grocers and wine merchants.⁶⁰

The central crossroads was called Carfax by the 16th century, perhaps in imitation of the Oxford street-name.⁶¹ Immediately to the east was a large market square, which included the area between Church Street, Lombard Street, and Thames Street as well as the surviving square, reduced to its present size before the mid 18th century.⁶² The Co-operative stores seems to have been the site of a detached medieval building,⁶³ and other encroachments in the original square probably began as temporary structures, perhaps as a shambles: there were shops (selds) in the middle of the street by the 14th century and several butchers were established in the market place.⁶⁴ Although in the 16th century two 'butchers' houses', apparently part of a shambles,⁶⁵ were said to be in Mill Street, they may have been at the west end of the original square. The badly weathered market cross is probably of the 14th century.⁶⁶ The

⁴⁵ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1; cf. analysis of survey in M. A. Havinden, 'Rural Econ. of Oxon. 1580–1730' (Bodl. MS. B.Litt. d 860).

⁴⁶ P.R.O., E 179/164/504; *Hearth Tax Oxon.* 121–2, 237.

⁴⁷ *Compton Census*, ed. A. Whiteman, 423; *Par. Colln.* ii. 140; *Secker's Visit.* 60.

⁴⁸ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. d 671, c 901: par. reg. transcripts. For pop. from 1650 see *Eynsham Rec.* iv. 41–6.

⁴⁹ *Census*, 1801.

⁵⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 671; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 1, p. 24.

⁵¹ C.C.C. Mun., An. I/11; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham b 7, p. 73; G. W. Child, *Sanitary Condition of Oxon.* 78–81.

⁵² *Census*, 1811–1981.

⁵³ Below, Other Estates.

⁵⁴ Blenheim Mun., E/P/9b: map of 1762.

⁵⁵ Below, Manor.

⁵⁶ *Eynsham Cart. passim*; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 78 sqq.

⁵⁷ P.R.O., HO 107/889.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 107/1731.

⁵⁹ It was still Mill Street in 1650: O.R.O., Palm. IV/1.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., RG 11/1513; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1903); local inf.

⁶¹ *O.E.D.*; cf. *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), i. 38; ii. 259.

⁶² Blenheim Mun., E/P/9b.

⁶³ Below, Bldgs.

⁶⁴ e.g. B.L. Harl. Rolls E 32.

⁶⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 178, f. 100v.

⁶⁶ B. J. Marples, 'Medieval Crosses of Oxon.' *Oxonienia*, xxxviii. 299–311; W. Bainbridge, *Eynsham Cross* (Eynsham Par. Council, 1978): copy in Westgate Libr.; *Eynsham Rec.* iv. 17–21. For illustrations see Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 66, no. 258; b 283, ff. 16–17; c 522, f. 9; d 514, f. 27; Westgate Libr., I 1343.

shaft bore carved figures in four canopied niches, while on the base were arches with crockets and finials, and, in four corner niches, small carved figures. The original head was replaced by a sundial, perhaps in the 1560s when a levy was made to repair the cross.⁶⁷

The last major encroachment on the square was the building later called the Bartholomew Room, which was built c. 1703.⁶⁸ In 1701 the site was granted from the manorial waste for a court house and other purposes.⁶⁹ Probably it was already intended to house the charity school endowed in 1701 by John Bartholomew, and in 1703 a subscription raised £87 for 'the school of Eynsham',⁷⁰ presumably to finance the new building. Thereafter the school remained in the court house until 1847.⁷¹ The building's lower storey was arcaded,⁷² and presumably from the outset it served as a market house. The parish fire engine was housed beneath it from the early 19th century until 1949. In the later 19th century the arcade was blocked, the lower floor serving partly as a lock-up.⁷³ The upper floor continued in use as a court room and general meeting room, and the building was sometimes referred to as the town hall. For a time in the 20th century it served as a Roman Catholic church.⁷⁴ In 1983 the building was bought by the parish council and restored. The carved stone shield above the entrance, removed from a barn in Back Lane in 1963, may be from the demolished abbey.⁷⁵

The abbey stood south of the market place in a large precinct which probably included the site of the later parish church and churchyard. The cramped nature of the church site between the abbey and market place suggests that the trading area had been defined before the church was built. How soon the new church was provided for parishioners after their minster was taken over by monks in the early 11th century is not known, but it was not recorded until the late 12th century.⁷⁶

By the 13th century there were tenements some distance from the town centre, on both sides of the ferry road and south of the Chil brook on the Stanton Harcourt road.⁷⁷ Some tenements south of the ferry road were later taken into the abbey precinct and those on the Chil brook seem to have been abandoned during the Middle Ages.⁷⁸ The alignment of back lanes and early tenement boundaries along Acre End Street suggests that its development preceded that of Mill Street. Mill Street was built up at least as far north as Newland Street before the

early 13th century, since plots then laid out in Newland Street clearly respected existing boundaries.⁷⁹ Until the early 13th century Abbey Street continued south across the Chil brook towards Stanton Harcourt, but it was closed c. 1217 and a new road (later Station Road) provided further west so that the abbey precinct might be enlarged; the northern section of Station Road, linking with Acre End Street, may date from 1290.⁸⁰

In 1215 the abbey attempted to stimulate its market and increase its rental by founding a new borough. By a charter granted to the *communa* of prospective tenants, all the abbey's demesne between the town and the Cassington road, together with a strip half a furlong deep north of that road, was assigned for division into plots of nominal acres, half acres, and quarter acres; the plots were to be held by burgage tenure at rents of 4s. an acre.⁸¹ The new borough, so called in 1294⁸² but usually known as Newland, acquired its own court and officers, and though it soon failed as an urban community and lost its burgage tenure it maintained its identity as a separate manor until the 20th century.⁸³ The plots laid out in the early 13th century were surveyed with great precision in 1366,⁸⁴ and some 14th-century plots may be traced in detail in later maps.

They were laid out on both sides of Newland Street and Queen Street. The generous width of Newland Street suggests that it was intended as the site of a market or fair. Queen Street, called Puck or Pug Lane in the Middle Ages, probably already existed as an access road into the fields, crossing a small stream at Gosford (goose ford) near the present Queen's Head inn.⁸⁵ It was there, perhaps, that Puck Bridge was built, later giving its name to the annual Powkebridge court at which pannage of pigs was levied.⁸⁶ When Queen Street was renamed, probably in the 18th century,⁸⁷ the name Pug Lane was transferred to the perimeter lane running along the south and west sides of house plots in Newland Street; in 1650 the lane had been called Love Lane.⁸⁸ In modern times the lane was renamed Newland Close and Queen's Lane, but the name Pug Lane was retained for the footpath from the perimeter lane to High Street.

On the south and west Newland stretched to the edges of the existing built-up area, defined by the perimeter lane. On the north side of Newland Street the western boundary of the plots was in line with Newland Close,⁸⁹ and a perimeter lane survived there until the 19th

⁶⁷ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 127/8, f. iv.

⁶⁸ *Eynsham Rec.* ii. 16–19.

⁶⁹ O.R.O., Palm. I/1, p. 202.

⁷⁰ Benefactions board in the Bartholomew Room, originally in church: Bodl. MS. Rawl. B 400c, f. 233v.

⁷¹ Below, Educ.

⁷² A drawing by W. Alexander (d. 1816), showing a timber arcade, and thus implying a complete rebuilding before 1826, (cf. Westgate Libr. I 1343; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 66, no. 252) is probably unreliable; his interest was to record the medieval cross.

⁷³ *Eynsham Rec.* ii. 16–19; O.R.O., Misc. Eynsham. I/4, p. 5.

⁷⁴ Below, Rom. Cath.

⁷⁵ Below, Site and Rem. of Abbey.

⁷⁶ Below, Church.

⁷⁷ e.g. *Eynsham Cart. passim*; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 76, 78–81.

⁷⁸ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 316–17; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 80, 82.

⁸⁰ Below, Site and Rem. of Abbey.

⁸¹ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 60–1; ii, p. xli; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 84 sqq.

⁸² *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 177.

⁸³ Below, Local Govt.

⁸⁴ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 50–6.

⁸⁵ Chambers, *Eynsham*, 85.

⁸⁶ Below, Local Govt.

⁸⁷ It was so named before 1802: O.R.O., incl. award and map.

⁸⁸ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1.

⁸⁹ e.g. Blenheim Mun., E/P/9b; O.R.O., incl. map.

century. The northern boundary was marked by another back lane, reputedly a medieval salt way: it seems to have provided a bypass in the 19th century for carts passing from Mill Street to Mead Lane and the wharf,⁹⁰ whence salt was certainly transported, but it is unlikely that the lane was an early route.

An 'ancient holding' (probably an existing freehold of Eynsham manor in 1215) lay roughly half way along the north side of Newland Street, flanked by the new plots; because its frontage escaped measurement in 1366 the eastward extension of the new borough on that side cannot be defined precisely. Later, however, Newland manor extended as far on the north side of the street as on the south, where the eastern boundary, as in 1366, followed that of the large corner tenement (later the Gables and its garden).⁹¹ Immediately to the east, flanking the Cassington Road, were two closes, Chatterholt (charter hold) and Mortar Pits; the name of the one and the shape of the other (half a furlong deep), and the fact that both were former abbey demesne,⁹² suggest that they, too, may have been assigned for the new borough but were never divided into house plots.

In 1366 the measured area⁹³ of the new tenements was c. 18½ a., divided into 27 holdings, of which a few contained subordinate plots, while two had evidently formed a single half-acre plot. Most plots clearly represented nominal fractions of an acre, but their area was remeasured to the nearest part of a barleycorn, and the rent recalculated at 4s. an acre. Most plots were near to 20 perches deep, but in the south-west, where Newland abutted the irregular outline of the old borough, there was greater variety, while elsewhere some of the corner tenements were of unusual size or shape. The width of frontages varied, but many plots of standard depth were also roughly 2 or 4 perches wide, yielding a nominal quarter- or half-acre area. Most plots were divided into a curtilage (containing a house or cottage on the street front) and behind it a larger close. On the north side of Newland Street the third tenement from the west, described as a hall (*aula*) and possibly the court house of the new borough, may be identified as the White Hart inn, while the 'ancient holding' became the site of Newland House.⁹⁴ The site of the Gables was an unusual plot in 1366, comprising an unbuilt 'place' in the lord's hand, and a large, almost square, close of nearly 4 a., partly planted with trees; in the earlier 13th century it had been held by manorial servants, including

John the porter, who was commemorated in the later name, Porter's Close.⁹⁵ The shape and early history of the holding again suggest that the demand for urban plots in Newland was satisfied before the remoter parts of the site were developed. After 1366 Newland changed little; the revised rental then was c. £3 14s., and in 1518 it was still only £3 16s., though it rose for a time in the mid 15th century to c. £4 10s.⁹⁶ In 1650 there were only 31 separate holdings in Newland,⁹⁷ and widespread subdivision of plots did not take place until the 19th century.⁹⁸

After the addition of Newland Eynsham expanded little during the Middle Ages, although a 'new row' in Thames Street mentioned in the late 15th century⁹⁹ and encroachment in the square suggest that space was restricted in the central area. The dissolution of the abbey in the 16th century stimulated building activity in Eynsham, and even before the abbey was finally demolished in the later 17th century its masonry was used widely in local buildings.¹ By 1650, in addition to the 31 Newland tenements, there were 41 separate holdings in Mill Street (including Abbey Street), ranged along both sides of the street from Abbey Farm to Spareacre Lane, although there was little building on the east side north of Newland Street. In Acre End Street there were 25 holdings, the buildings ending well short of Witney Road. There were 18 holdings (of which one was the churchyard) in 'Thames Street and Carfax', stretching eastwards only as far as the Elms and the Shrubbery.² Most houses probably had wells, but there was a conduit house at the west end of Conduit Lane in 1615.³ By 1762 there had been almost no expansion, except for the addition of a few houses at the west end of Acre End Street.⁴

The shops and principal inns were close to the centre. In 1587 three innkeepers in Eynsham were recorded as brewers, one of them, Robert Browne (d. 1604) holding the Angel, which later in the 17th century belonged to the Wise family.⁵ Later, as the Red Lion (a name acquired in the 18th century),⁶ its central position made it an obvious choice for events such as inclosure meetings or cock fights between the 'gentlemen' of Oxford and Burford.⁷ It was bought by the Oxford brewers, the Morrells, in 1800.⁸ Also in the Square in 1650 was the Green Dragon, on the site of the Co-operative Stores.⁹ In the later 18th century, as the George and Dragon, it was held by the Meades family and seems to have closed by the 1780s.¹⁰ Another early inn, the Eagle and Child, probably on the north side of

⁹⁰ At its west end the lane was shaped to ease access from Mill Street in the 19th century: O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 8 (1881 edn.).

⁹¹ O.R.O., Palm. IV/4: map of 1836, showing Newland boundary.

⁹² Merton Coll. Mun., Reg. ii, pp. 481-2.

⁹³ The survey printed in *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 50-6 contains errors, notably the conflation of two separate holdings (under the name of John Bampton, p. 55): cf. Ch. Ch. Arch., D and C, vi. a 3. Calculations suggest that the surveyor's perch may have been only 15 ft. 8 in.

⁹⁴ Below, Bldgs.

⁹⁵ Chambers, *Eynsham*, 85-6.

⁹⁶ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. xliii, lxxiv, 56; B.L. Harl. Rolls F 25, 30; G 2, 10, 12.

⁹⁷ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1.

⁹⁸ Cf. O.R.O., incl. map; *ibid.* Palm. IV/4-5.

⁹⁹ P.R.O., SC 2/197/38.

¹ Below, Site and Rem. of Abbey.

² O.R.O., Palm. IV/1.

³ C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Map I. 10.

⁴ Blenheim Mun., E/P/9b.

⁵ P.R.O., SP 12/198, ff. 108-109v.; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 4/1/5, 71/1/29; *ibid.* Palm. I/1, pp. 37-8; Palm. IV/1 (plot 14 in Thames Street).

⁶ O.R.O., vctls' recogs.; *ibid.* Blake XV/i/5.

⁷ e.g. *Oxf. Jnl.* 29 Jan. 1781; 11 Apr. 1787.

⁸ O.R.O., Blake XV/i/5.

⁹ *Ibid.* Palm. IV/1; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 69. See also Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 4324.

¹⁰ Cf. O.R.O., vctls' recogs.; *ibid.* incl. award and map; below, Bldgs.

the Square, has not been traced after the late 17th century.¹¹ By then the Swan in Acre End Street was the meeting place for the Eynsham manor courts,¹² and it flourished after the turnpike was diverted along that street in the later 18th century. The building contains 16th- or 17th-century features¹³ and was greatly enlarged in the 19th century as coaching traffic increased after the improvement of the route from Oxford to the west. In 1844, when bought by Samuel Druce, a prominent Eynsham farmer, the inn had stabling for 36 horses. The Druces sold it in 1862 to a relative, J. W. Clinch, the Witney brewer.¹⁴

From the later 18th century there were usually ten or more licensed houses in the parish, including those at Barnard Gate and Freeland.¹⁵ The White Hart in Newland Street was recorded as the Haunch of Venison from the 1780s until 1835.¹⁶ There was an inn at the wharf by the late 18th century; it was called the Horse and Jockey¹⁷ and seems to have acquired its present name, the Talbot, on the closure of an untraced inn of that name c. 1845.¹⁸ The Queen's Head in Queen Street appears to have been a private house until the earlier 19th century.¹⁹ The Railway inn at the corner of Acre End Street and Station Road was probably built as the Britannia by the brewer James Gibbons c. 1850.²⁰ The Star on the Witney road dates from the 1860s. The Newlands (earlier the Newland) inn formed two cottages until becoming an inn in the 1860s.²¹ The Jolly Sportsman in Lombard Street, a house of the 17th century or earlier, became a public house c. 1870.²² The Evenlode Hotel was opened in 1936 on the new Oxford–Witney road²³ and the Board Hotel (later a restaurant) in Lombard Street was opened after the Second World War.²⁴ Lost inns include the Malt Shovel (later Maltster and Shovel) at the corner of Thames Street and Mill Street, recorded from 1774 until the early 20th century;²⁵ the Royal William, established probably in the 1830s at no. 24 High Street (later Lynwood), by the 1870s called the King's Arms, and closed in the late 19th century; and, from the 1860s until the earlier 20th century, the Fountain in Crown Crescent (no. 18 Acre End Street) and the New Inn (no. 3 Mill Street).²⁶

Eynsham lost much of its urban character after the early Middle Ages but retained features

that distinguished it from a rural parish. Its abbey and market made it a local centre, and later, particularly when the turnpike was improved, it attracted some small industries. Access to Oxford by road and river influenced its history, and prominent Oxford citizens, such as the aldermen John Barry and Henry Dodwell in the 16th century and William Bailey and Roger Griffin in the 17th, were involved in Eynsham in various ways.²⁷ Eynsham retained a substantial population, with a large poorer element. The great extent of former woodland and heath, in which many of the poor retained a stake until inclosure in 1802, perhaps contributed to the growth of an independent spirit, which was further encouraged by the absence, after the early 17th century, of a truly resident squire, for the owners of Eynsham Hall remained fairly aloof. Even when, from the 1920s, the village became something of a satellite to Oxford, it preserved many independent features.²⁸

Social unrest was recurrent in Eynsham's history. In 1296, when the town was crowded during the Pentecostal fair, there was a riot in which Oxford scholars were wounded and killed.²⁹ In 1344 townsmen were presumably involved in the conflict between rival abbots of Eynsham which on one occasion brought 1,500 armed men to the abbey gates.³⁰ In 1350, shortly after the Black Death had ravaged the parish, the inhabitants 'like madmen' attacked the justice, Thomas Langlely, apparently because, as royal forester, he was claiming that the fields of Tilgarsley belonged to Wychwood.³¹ In 1398 Eynsham men were prominent in a treasonable uprising in west Oxfordshire.³² A violent attack on the abbey by Sir Robert Harcourt's retainers in 1503, however, seems largely to have involved outsiders.³³ Royalist troops were quartered at Eynsham in 1644.³⁴ Attempted inclosure of commonable land led to riots and fence breaking at Twelve Acre in 1615.³⁵ There were riots on Eynsham heath in 1696, when Thomas Jordan, lord of the manor, may have been attempting to inclose land around his new house there, and again in 1780 when a later lord, Thomas Langford, began to inclose.³⁶ In the 19th century parochial life was frequently turbulent, especially during the incumbency of W. S. Bricknell (vicar, 1845–88), whose quarrels with his parishioners became notorious in the county.³⁷

¹¹ O.R.O., Palm. I/1, pp. 152, 187.

¹² Ibid. 197.

¹³ County Mus., P.R.N. 12859.

¹⁴ O.R.O., Acc. 2184: deeds from 1720; C. Gott, 'Druces of Eynsham' (Oxf. Univ. External Studies Dept., Local Hist. thesis, 1983).

¹⁵ O.R.O., vctls' recogs.

¹⁶ Ibid.; ibid. Acc. 2184: deeds from 1785; below, Bldgs.

¹⁷ O.R.O., incl. award and map; ibid., vctls' recogs.; ibid., Palm. IV/4, 5; *Jnl. Rly. and Canal Hist. Soc.* xiv (3), 47–8.

¹⁸ Pigot, *Dir. Oxon.* (1830 and later edns.); *Hunt's Oxf. Dir.* (1846), showing that Phil. Scholey changed his sign although remaining at the wharf 1841–51: P.R.O., HO 107/889, 1731.

¹⁹ Cf. O.R.O., incl. award and map; ibid. Palm. IV/4, 5.

²⁰ *Eynsham Rec.* v. 20–1.

²¹ O.R.O., Palm. 1/3, p. 1 and *passim*; I/5, p. 52.

²² P.O. (later Kelly's) *Dir. Oxon.* (1847 and later edns.); P.R.O., RG 9/904; RG 10/1450.

²³ O.R.O., Acc. 2184.

²⁴ Local inf.

²⁵ O.R.O., vctls' recogs.; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1903).

²⁶ Census returns and trade dirs. cited above.

²⁷ P.R.O., PROB 11/96, ff. 270v–271v. (will of Dodwell); Oxf. Univ. Arch., Chanc. Ct. pps. 1644/2: 1–15; ibid. 1645/5: 1–37 (Bailey and Griffin). For Barry, below, Other Estates.

²⁸ *Social Services in the Oxf. District*, ed. A. F. C. Bourdillon, i. 117.

²⁹ *Reg. Sutton*, v (L.R.S. lx), 165–6.

³⁰ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. xxiv–xxv.

³¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1348–50, 594; cf. *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 107.

³² *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii. 179; *Oxon. Sessions* (O.R.S. liii), 73–4, 84–5.

³³ *Sel. Cases in Star Chamber, 1477–1509* (Selden Soc. xvi), 137 sqq.

³⁴ J. Varley, *Siege of Oxf.* 11.

³⁵ P.R.O., STAC 8/257/14.

³⁶ Below, Manor; Econ. (Agric.)

³⁷ Below, Church.



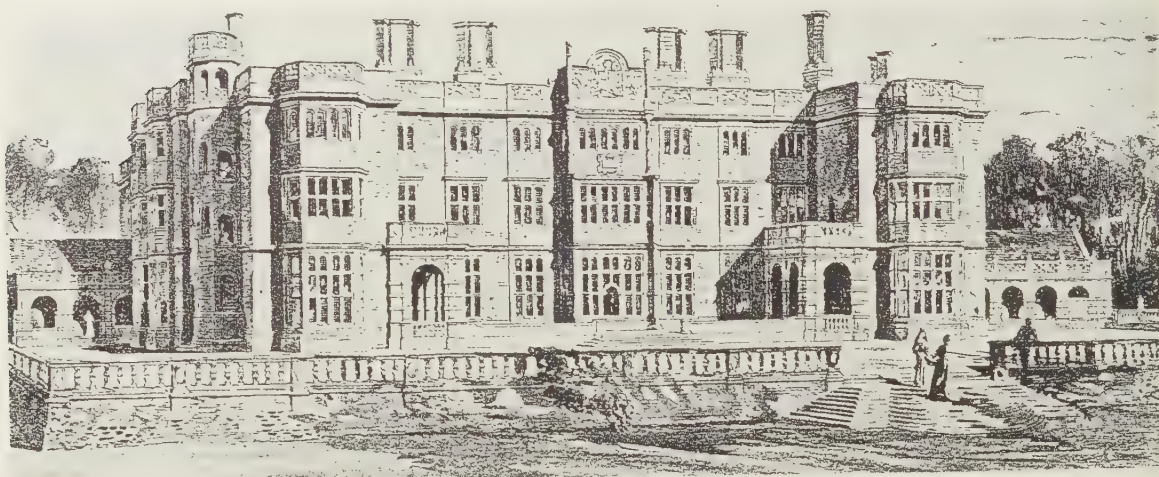
EYNSHAM: Acre End Street in 1906, looking east



EYNSHAM: the market place in 1826, with the market house, cross, and stocks



EYNSHAM HALL from the south-east in 1862



EYNSHAM HALL from the south: the building completed in 1908



AN ANGLO-SAXON BOUNDARY: Wood Lane, dividing Eynsham and North Leigh

The annual perambulation of parish boundaries at Rogation was mentioned as early as 1449, when the vicar and parishioners were accompanied by the abbot and convent.³⁸ An ancient custom, recorded in the 17th century, may recall the inhabitants' traditional rights in the forest: on Whit Monday, a day on which many similar forest customs were observed,³⁹ parishioners were allowed to cut as much timber as could be drawn by hand into the abbey yard (the churchwardens having marked suitable trees), and thereafter they might retain as much as they could cart away 'notwithstanding all the impediments could be given the cart' by the lord's servants; some of the timber was apparently for church repair, but the origin and details of the custom were by then uncertain.⁴⁰ Certainly in the mid 17th century the churchwardens annually received and sold 'Whitsun wood', sometimes distributing money 'when the wood was brought in'.⁴¹ The custom was presumably riotous, and seems to have been given up in the 1670s, partly because little timber survived and it was feared that the custom would discourage replanting.⁴²

'Jovial doings' at Whitsun,⁴³ deriving from the medieval Pentecostal fair, continued into the 20th century. Whitsun ales were recorded in the mid 17th century, and after the Restoration a 'summer pole' was reintroduced and a feast held in the church house (presumably in the Square) and nearby houses.⁴⁴ The Whitsun ale was recorded in 1738 and was banned by local magistrates in 1789.⁴⁵ In the early 19th century a club feast took place at Whitsun, which the vicar alleged to be a modern practice associated with the formation of the Sunday schools.⁴⁶ The Whitsun celebrations included a custom, apparently dying out in the late 18th century or early 19th, whereby a lady of the lamb was chosen.⁴⁷ Morris dancing was not recorded expressly before 1856, but probably was an element in the Whitsun ales from an early date.⁴⁸ Thereafter morris dancing at Whitsun and Christmas, and a mummers' play, were recorded regularly;⁴⁹ the morris side, whose style and costume were particularly distinctive, visited large houses in the neighbourhood such as Blenheim Palace and Eynsham Hall. After the 1930s there was little

dancing until the Eynsham tradition was fully re-established in 1979.⁵⁰

In addition to the Whitsun celebrations a club feast was held at Easter in the 1830s, presumably the 'revels' recorded in 1832 which involved sports and races.⁵¹ In the late 19th century a popular event was an annual Temperance fete at Eynsham Hall park.⁵² From the late 19th century pleasure fairs were re-established in the town,⁵³ and after the Second World War, when the fair declined, the annual Eynsham carnival, held in July, was established, first on the Bartholomew school site in the Witney road and later on the recreation ground.

Some 85 parishioners belonged to friendly societies by 1815; box clubs were founded at the Red Lion in 1807 and at the Swan in 1828.⁵⁴ In 1829 a benefit society was founded with 58 families contributing 3d. a week: perhaps it was the Penny Club recorded from the 1830s which at one time had as many as 360 members.⁵⁵ The Eynsham Loan Fund was established in 1836 and ended in 1866. The original subscription of over £100 was lent in small sums at low interest, and during 30 years nearly £6,000 was lent to 3,250 persons. The fund was also used to buy coal, and there was an annual dinner for subscribers.⁵⁶ Self-help of a different kind was represented by the Eynsham Association for the Prosecution of Felons, established in 1784 and still active in 1816; its funds were used to supplement statutory rewards to informants.⁵⁷ Eynsham was active in the agricultural trades union movement of the 1870s.⁵⁸ There was a flourishing cricket team by the late 19th century and a football club was established in 1897.⁵⁹ A recreation ground was acquired in 1939, and a pavilion was opened there in 1978.⁶⁰ A social club, the Institute, in Swan Street was started after the First World War with help from the Mason family of Eynsham Hall; it served as a village hall and picture house.⁶¹ The former Methodist chapel in Thames Street became the parish room for St. Leonard's church.

Henry of Eynsham (fl. 1301–43) was a prominent master mason engaged on royal works.⁶² The celebrated beauty Venetia Stanley (1600–33), wife of Sir Kenelm Digby, was allegedly brought up at Eynsham.⁶³ A noted divine,

³⁸ *Eynsham Cart*. ii, p. 43.

³⁹ e.g. Gardner, *Dir. Oxon.* (1852), s.v. Woodstock; B. Schumer, *Evolution of Wychwood* (Leic. Univ. Occas. Pps. 3rd ser. 6), 40.

⁴⁰ Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxon.* (1705 edn.), 206–7.

⁴¹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham b 12, *passim*.

⁴² Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxon.* 206–7; C. Cooke, *Topog. Description of Oxon.* (1805), 139.

⁴³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. 143.

⁴⁴ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham b 12, f. 18v.

⁴⁵ *Secker's Visit.* 61; 'Notes on Hist. Eynsham' (TS. in Westgate Libr.), p. 30.

⁴⁶ Bodl. MS. Don. e 139, s.a. 1809; *ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. 143.

⁴⁷ Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 160–1.

⁴⁸ *Oxf. Chron.* 17 May 1856.

⁴⁹ e.g. *ibid.* 23 May 1891; 4 Jan. 1924; 7 Jan. 1926; O.A.S. Rep. (1904), 29; Harris, *From Acre End*, 53, 57–8; C. Sharp, *Morris Book III* (1924), 83.

⁵⁰ [M. Heaney], *Eynsham Morris* (Eynsham 1983); *Eynsham Rec.* iii. 41–4. Mr. Heaney of the Bodleian Libr. kindly provided inf. on the Eynsham Morris.

⁵¹ Bodl. MS. Don. e 140, s.a. 1834; *ibid.* G.A. Oxon. c

317/20.

⁵² Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/20.

⁵³ Below, Econ. (Mkts. and Fairs).

⁵⁴ *Poor Abstract*, 1818, 361; O.R.O., QSD.R.19–20.

⁵⁵ *Oxf. Jnl.* 10 Dec. 1829; Bodl. MS. Don. c 161, ff. 31 sqq.

⁵⁶ O.R.O., Misc. Druce V/i/1–2; *Oxf. Chron.* 25 Feb. 1854.

⁵⁷ *Oxf. Jnl.* 13 Feb. 1784; Bodl. MS. d.d. Dew, c 7; *ibid.* G.A. Oxon. c 317/20.

⁵⁸ *Agric. Trades Unionism in Oxon.* (O.R.S. xlviii), 46; *Oxf. Chron.* 29 June 1872.

⁵⁹ *Oxf. Chron.* 23 May 1891; Harris, *From Acre End*, 70; inf. from the late Mr. D. Wastie, Wastie's Motors, Eynsham.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., Misc. Eynsham I/3, pp. 60–1, 126; Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/20.

⁶¹ O.R.O., Misc. Eynsham I/2, p. 120; *Eynsham Dir.* (1974 and later edns.): copies in Westgate Libr.; local inf.

⁶² J. Harvey, *Eng. Medieval Architects*, 104–5.

⁶³ *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark, i. 229–33; *D.N.B.* s.v. Digby. For the Stanleys, below, Manor.

John Rogers (1679–1729) was son of Eynsham's vicar of that name and was buried in the church.⁶⁴ Treadway Nash, the historian of Worcestershire, was vicar of Eynsham (1751–61) and his relatives held the advowson into the 20th century.⁶⁵ The Druce family, prominent farmers in Eynsham in the 19th century, played a major part in the evolution of the Oxford Down sheep.⁶⁶ Several surviving Eynsham families, including those of Wastie, Pimm, Ayres, and Buckingham, were established in the parish by the 17th century or earlier.⁶⁷

BUILDINGS. Eynsham's early buildings are predominantly of local limestone with Stonesfield slate roofs.⁶⁸ Surviving drawings⁶⁹ and signs that many central cottages acquired a second storey in the 19th century suggest that earlier most smaller houses were single-storeyed with steep thatched roofs. Only a few thatched cottages survive. Many fires were recorded, including one on Whit Monday 1629 which destroyed over 100 bays of building and another in 1681 when 20 houses were burnt.⁷⁰ There were serious fires in 1696 (in Newland Street), 1709, and 1854, the last damaging Abbey Farm and houses in Swan Lane, and reaching as far as Queen Street.⁷¹

The earliest surviving domestic building in Eynsham is the White Hart inn in Newland Street, which retains parts of a medieval roof. The building may be the hall occupied by Thomas Schermon in 1366,⁷² probably the court house of Newland. The medieval building occupied the frontage of a large burgage plot, but by the 17th century the building seems to have become a minor constituent of a large holding covering the whole north-west corner of Newland. The holding passed from the Almond family to the Leggs and in the 1750s was divided, its eastern half, including the later White Hart, passing afterwards to the Day family.⁷³ In 1785 John May bought it and licensed the Haunch of Venison. Earlier Francis Ladson, a tenant of the Days, had licensed the Rose and Crown, probably on that site.⁷⁴ The inn became the White Hart in 1835 and was the meeting place of Newland courts into the 20th century.⁷⁵ For a time in the 19th century the eastern end was used as a grocer's shop.⁷⁶ The original house extends into the property on the east. Its centre is marked by a raised cruck roof of two large

bays, soot-encrusted and evidently designed to be seen above an open hall. To the east the roof continues for one short bay over what was probably a service end. At the south end of the presumed screens passage is a respond of chamfered ashlar with a finely carved medieval stop and in the bedroom above is the wide carved oak head of the medieval entrance; a jamb with roll moulding may be traced in the outside wall. The west, or solar, end was presumably medieval in origin, but its roof is contemporary with a later reconstruction of the hall roof. The hall was divided into two rooms and a first floor inserted, probably in the 17th century; then or earlier a fireplace was built against the rear wall of the central bay. In the 18th century a rear wing was added, and later extended by a large clubroom, probably in 1828 when the adjacent stable block was built by the publican, John Weller.⁷⁷

On the site of the Co-operative stores was a building once known as the old manor house, rebuilt in 1954.⁷⁸ In the 19th century its owners still received from the lords of the manor a rent charge of 5s., which in 1535 the abbey paid to Thomas Blackman and was later paid to his heirs.⁷⁹ The Blackmans were prominent in Eynsham from the later Middle Ages until c. 1600, frequently acting as manorial officials; in 1574 the family claimed arms.⁸⁰ The building, aligned with Mill Street and Abbey Street, was evidently an encroachment on the original square, and the residual payment and the tradition of manorial status suggest that it may have been the court house of the medieval manor. The Blackmans' successors by the mid 17th century were the Greens, and by then the building was the Green Dragon;⁸¹ it ceased to be an inn in the late 18th century and later included a shop and a bank. When demolished in 1954 it comprised an L-shaped building of rubble and stone slate, incorporating fragments of abbey masonry. The earlier wing, on Lombard Street, contained a central chimney and fireplaces of the 16th century or earlier and part of the block was timber-framed and jettied, with a moulded wooden oriel of four lights with mullions and transoms. The east-west wing was refronted in the 18th century.

In the 16th and 17th centuries Eynsham was dominated by a few wealthier men whose houses, mostly rebuilt in that period, are among the most substantial buildings in the village.

⁶⁴ *D.N.B.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*; below, Church.

⁶⁶ C. Gott, 'Druces of Eynsham' (Oxf. Univ. External Studies Dept., Local Hist. thesis, 1983); J. R. Walton, 'Diffusion of Improved Sheep Breeds in Oxon.' *Jnl. Hist. Geog.* ix. 187; below, Econ. (Agric.).

⁶⁷ e.g. *Hearth Tax Oxon.* 121; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 5/5/7 (Buckingham), 71/4/5 (Wastie), 171/3/24 (Pimm).

⁶⁸ Principal sources for 19th-cent. occupants mentioned in this section were trade dirs., espec. *P.O.* (later *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1847 and later edns.), and census returns 1841–81: P.R.O., HO 107/889, 1731; *ibid.* RG 9/904; RG 10/1450; RG 11/1530.

⁶⁹ e.g. Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 66, no. 251; c 551, f. 113; *ibid.* MS. Top. Gen. a 11, f. 125.

⁷⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 118, f. 6; *Oxon. Justices* (O.R.S. xvi), pp. xl–xlii; *Wood's Life*, ii (O.H.S. xxi), 537; *Eynsham Rec.* iii. 14–17.

⁷¹ O.R.O., Q.S.R. iii, pp. 343, 417–18; *Eynsham Rec.* iii. 19–21; *Eynsham: A Medieval Town by the Thames* (Eynsham

Conservation Area Advisory Cttee. 1982); *Oxf. Jnl.* 7 Oct. 1854. The brief for the 1709 fire was for a total loss of £1,475: Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 340.

⁷² *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 52; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 84.

⁷³ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1 (plot 15 in Newland St.); Palm. I/1 (section 1), p. 211; *ibid.* (1743–57), pp. 40, 48–9; *ibid.* (1757–1817), pp. 16, 32–3, 112–13.

⁷⁴ O.R.O., Acc. 2184; *ibid.* vctls' recogs.

⁷⁵ Cf. *ibid.* Acc. 2184 (deed of 1835); *ibid.* Palm. IV/4–5; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 84.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* Acc. 2184 (sale cat. 1849).

⁷⁷ Date and initials on bldg.

⁷⁸ H. C. D. Cooper, 'Old Manor Ho., Eynsham', *Oxonien-sia*, xix. 146–8; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 69. For illust., Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 487.

⁷⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 207; P.R.O., C 66/2619, m. 27; Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b 85a, no. 30 (sale cat. 1862).

⁸⁰ Chambers, *Eynsham*, 42; *Oxon. Visit.* (Harl. Soc. v), 193.

⁸¹ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1 (plot 29 in Mill Street).

The leading taxpayers were farmers, occupying Abbey Farm, Twelve Acre Farm, and the Elms (all treated below),⁸² and the Gables, the Shrubbery, and one or two other central farmhouses. The Gables, on the corner of Newland Street and Queen Street, is a timber-framed house of possibly late medieval origin, on a site which in 1366 was the largest plot in Newland borough but seems to have been vacant.⁸³ In 1650 the house belonged to John Green, gentleman, whose father John (d. 1615) was a tanner who had come to Eynsham from Tamworth (Staffs.); in much of their property the Greens succeeded the Blackmans,⁸⁴ who may have built the Gables. By the 17th century the site was divided into three parts, the house, the adjacent Porter's close, and a malthouse, which was sometimes held separately. The house and close passed from the Greens through coheirs to Anthony Saywell in 1673, to the Wises in 1703, to the Colliers in 1761, and in 1819–20 to James Swann of Eynsham mill, papermaker, whose family held the whole property until the 1890s.⁸⁵

The house has a long timber-framed front with four large gables, and tall, diagonally set, brick chimneystacks. The southern gable is of a possibly late medieval cross wing, against which stands a long 17th-century central range, terminating in a northern cross wing which contained the kitchen. The main entrance is probably of the 16th century; a 17th-century staircase at the south end of the main range rises to the attics and another stair was inserted at the north end in the 18th century. A 19th-century corridor on the west side incorporates 17th-century timber-framed windows, probably removed from the earlier west wall. Sash windows were inserted on the east front in the 19th century, and the house was much restored in the early 20th century.⁸⁶ The wide two-storeyed stone malthouse and associated cottages have distinctive low-pitched roofs designed for a covering of tarred paper, of which fragments survive. The Swanns were leading proponents of paper roofs in the early 19th century,⁸⁷ and the buildings probably date from 1820 when John Pimm was working for James Swann at 'the late Collier house', which included a 'new building at the malthouse'.⁸⁸ By tradition an ancient acacia in the garden was planted by the author William Cobbett, though at the time of his recorded dealings with the Swanns they lived at the mill, not moving to the Gables until at least the late 1820s.⁸⁹

The Shrubbery on High Street was probably

rebuilt in the later 16th century by another leading Eynsham family, the Martins.⁹⁰ By 1650 the house and associated estate were held by Thomas King, a sequestrated clergyman, whose interest derived from his wife Dorothy, formerly Martin. King died in 1681 and from Dorothy's son Michael Martin the house passed to Michael's children, Richard, and later Christopher, Knight or Martin (d. 1702).⁹¹ It was acquired by the Knapps, who sold it in the 1740s to Edward Ryves, a Woodstock lawyer whose large Eynsham estate passed to the Holloways. In the later 18th century the house seems to have been let as a working farmhouse, but Edward Vere Holloway, who acquired it in 1812, lived there.⁹² From the later 19th century it was occupied by one of the town's doctors.⁹³ The walls incorporate much re-used ashlar, presumably from the adjacent abbey site, suggesting a date no earlier than the mid 16th century. The cross passage retains its original entrance doors and on the north there is a slightly later two-storeyed porch. Wings projecting northwards from each end of the main range were built later, perhaps in the early 17th century,⁹⁴ but that on the west was rebuilt or remodelled c. 1900 and further extended eastwards c. 1950.

Another substantial 17th-century house forms the core of the later Newland House, the site of the 'ancient holding' around which Newland borough was laid out in the 13th century.⁹⁵ In the 17th century and later the site was freehold,⁹⁶ surrounded by Newland copyholds. Its owner in 1650 was Mrs. Brown, presumably relict of Thomas Brown, one of the four Eynsham taxpayers in 1642 described as 'gentleman'.⁹⁷ In 1708 another Thomas Brown sold the house to George Knapp, whose family retained it until 1771. It was acquired in 1787 by Joseph Druce, who sold it before inclosure to an Oxford family, the Atwoods, who held it until 1847; in the early 19th century it was a girl's boarding school.⁹⁸ From 1858 until the 1890s the house was owned and occupied by the Shillingfords, woolstaplers.⁹⁹ The 17th-century house evidently comprised a central block with cross wings, set well back from the road on a large site whose skewed boundaries dictated the alignment of the wings. In the early 18th century the interior was altered, notably by the addition of a fine staircase which rises to the attics; later in the century a new kitchen was built behind the central range and the front was refaced. By the early 19th century it was already

⁸² Below, Other Estates.

⁸³ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 54; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 85–6.

⁸⁴ Chambers, *Eynsham*, 86; *Par. Colln.* 143–4; P.R.O., PROB 11/229, ff. 317–18; below, Econ. (Agriculture.)

⁸⁵ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1 (plots 21–3 Newland Street); *ibid.* I/1, pp. 33, 66, and *passim*; I/2, pp. 198–9 (will of Jas. Swann, 1846); I/4, pp. 213–16.

⁸⁶ *The Times*, 10 Feb. 1913.

⁸⁷ J. C. Loudon, *Acct. of Paper Roofs used at Tew Lodge*, Oxon. (1811), 5, 9.

⁸⁸ O.R.O., Misc. Pimm I/2, pp. 56 sqq. For the malthouse. cf. County Mus., P.R.N. 12759.

⁸⁹ Chambers, *Eynsham*, 86–7; cf. below, Econ. (Mills).

⁹⁰ In 1615 Ric. Martin held the site: C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Map I.9.

⁹¹ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1; P.R.O., C 5/182/23, 37, 41; M.I. in

church.

⁹² Below, Other Estates; P.R.O., HO 107/889; HO 107/1731.

⁹³ P.R.O., RG 10/1450; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.).

⁹⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 551, f. 114; *ibid.* MS. Top. Gen. a 11, f. 125.

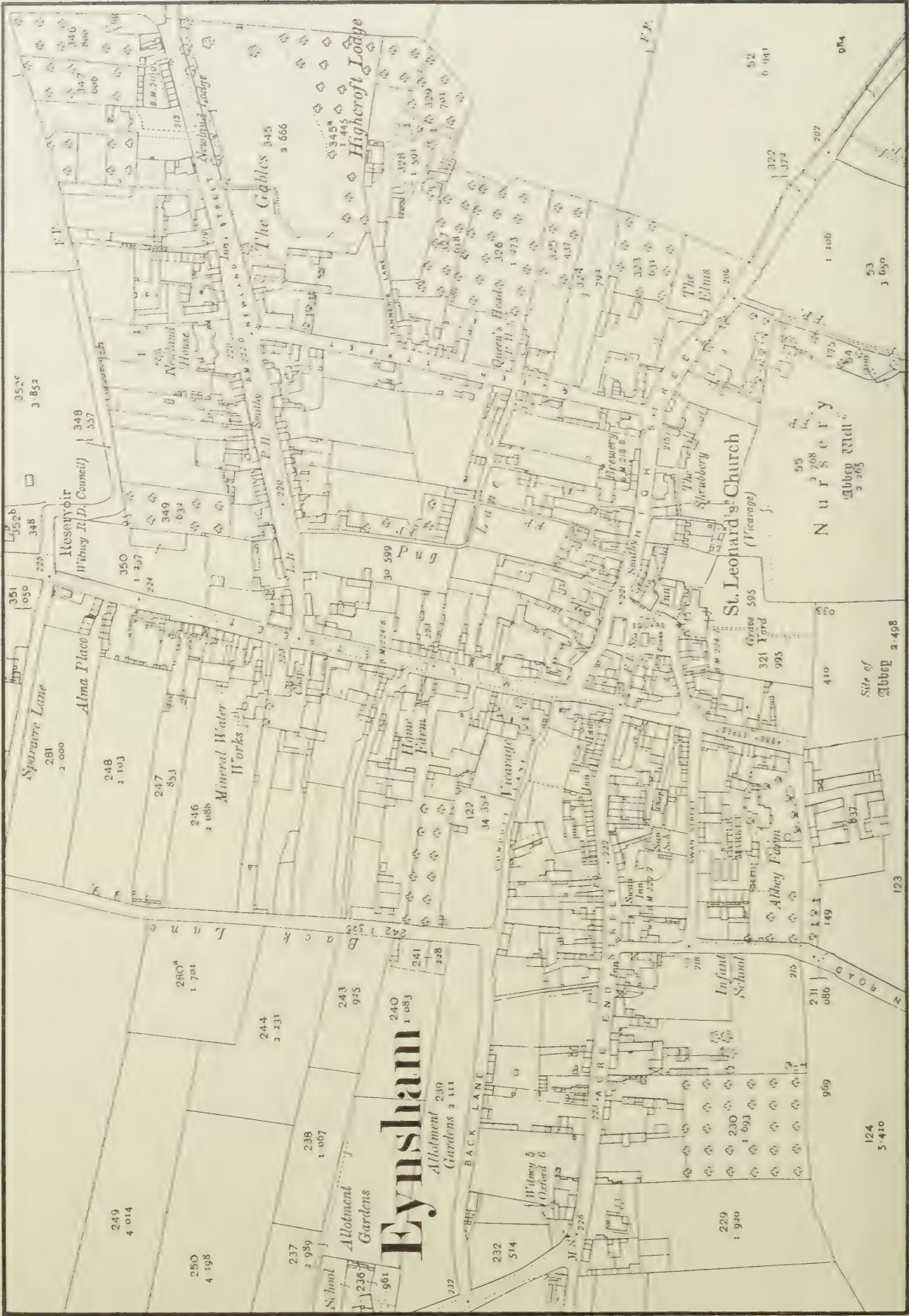
⁹⁵ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 53.

⁹⁶ e.g. O.R.O., Palm. I/2, pp. 191–6. The holding may be traced in the ct. rolls by ref. to adjacent copyholds.

⁹⁷ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1 (plot 10 in Newland Street); P.R.O., E 179/164/479.

⁹⁸ Cf. Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 693; O.R.O., Acc. 1369; *ibid.* incl. award and map.; *ibid.* Palm. I/1–2, s.vv. Knapp, Atwood, Webb; *ibid.* Palm. IV/4–5 (plot 133).

⁹⁹ O.R.O., Palm. I/3, pp. 24–8, 173; census returns and dirs. cited above.



EYNSHAM c. 1910. Scale 1:4,000 (approx. 16 in. to 1 mile).

a large house with a long frontage, extensive gardens, and outbuildings.¹ It was greatly enlarged, probably by the Shillingfords, by building behind the cross wings and gutting the west wing to create a large drawing room with bay window, matched by another bay on the east of the front. In the 20th century the rear garden was sold for building.

A house (now Abbey Stones) at the corner of Abbey Street and Swan Street bears the date 1561 and the initials TP. The datestone, probably re-used, was in its present position by the early 19th century, before the house was raised and refronted.² The house and associated malthouse (later Malthouse Cottage) was for long the centre of a substantial farm, belonging to the Egletons (1650), the Castells (1762), and from the later 18th century the Druces.³ Its site stretched to Station Road until 1847, when Samuel Druce, by then living at Home Farm, gave land for the National school; in 1858 the house was occupied by the prominent Baptist minister, Henry Matthew.⁴

Several other smaller houses and cottages, though much restored, date from the late 16th or early 17th century, notably the Jolly Sportsman and Swan inns mentioned above. A group of substantial early farmhouses lined Mill Street. Home Farm, one of many Druce family acquisitions in the 19th century,⁵ is a good example of the 17th-century regional style of rubble and slate building with gabled roofs; Samuel Druce (d. 1860) was living there by 1841.⁶ Middle Farm, adjacent on the north, belonged to the Castells from the mid 17th century or earlier and was occupied in the 19th century by the Arnatts;⁷ the 17th-century rubble and thatch farmhouse and an 18th-century barn were demolished in recent times. Old Wintles Farm at the junction of Mill Street and Newland Street was probably the large 'new' house occupied by Joan Hampshire at her death in 1618, though she also held another farmhouse, now long demolished, in Acre End Street.⁸ The Hampshires' estate passed to the Jordans, and in 1748 the 'newly built house' and the farm were bought by the lawyer Edward Ryves and so descended to the Holloways. The Wintle family owned and let the farm from 1845 until 1920.⁹ The house, after the rebuilding of the early 18th century, is a large rubble and stone slate building of two storeys, with five wood mullioned and transomed windows and an original door. Redthorn House, of similar date and style on the opposite corner of Newland Street, was a working farmhouse until the 19th century.

In the mid 18th century it belonged to the Devalls¹⁰ but later passed to the manorial lords and in 1801 was sold, as Blagrove's Farm, to W. E. Taunton, who soon afterwards sold to the Swanns.¹¹ In the mid 19th century it was let as a working farm but was later a private house, in the early 20th century housing a school run by Miss H. G. Swann.¹² The building, of rubble and stone slate with a hipped roof and two ranges of six windows, probably dates from the early 18th century.

Notable 18th-century buildings were the Bartholomew Room and the vicarage house.¹³ The Grange in Acre End Street, the earliest brick house in Eynsham, was built as a long range, comprising a house, malthouse, and granary, later acquiring at the rear a corn mill. In the 19th century the west end of the range was altered and raised. The small size of the earlier bricks, and the elaborately moulded cornice, suggest an early 18th-century date. The house seems to have set a style, using plat bands and Flemish bond with all headers black, which was used in the village for over a century. The Grange may have been built by Thomas Loder, an Oxford brewer, who in 1737 acquired what in 1650 had been two tenements (Blackman's and Coleman's copies) and were merged in the early 18th century by the Quartermain family. By 1760 the house and malthouse belonged to Dr. Nourse of Oxford, and passed later to Thomas Adkins (d. 1796), a wealthy maltster.¹⁴ For much of the 19th century the property was owned by the Sheldons, corn dealers, maltsters, and millers.¹⁵

Murray House (formerly the Laurels), immediately to the east, is an 18th-century house of coursed rubble and stone slate, with original doors, staircase, and panelling. The property was bought in the 1770s by Edward Minn (d. 1788), a wealthy landowner, who may have rebuilt it since shortly afterwards he was seeking a pew in the church to go with his 'handsome house'.¹⁶ It belonged to the Minns until at least the 1830s,¹⁷ and in 1841 was occupied by James Hinton, the prominent Baptist and Irvingite.¹⁸ Myrtle House in Mill Street has a mid 18th-century front of three bays and three storeys with 'pattern book' architraves and doorcase; re-used 17th-century doors survive in the attics. The house belonged to a branch of the Wastie family from the 18th century until modern times: William Wastie acquired a house on part of the site in the 1740s, but Myrtle House in its present form probably dates from after 1767 when the Wasties acquired the main part of the

¹ O.R.O., Palm. I/2, pp. 191-6; *ibid.* IV/5.

² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 551, f. 115.

³ Blenheim Mun., E/P/9b; O.R.O., incl. award and map; *ibid.* Palm. IV/1; *ibid.* IV/4-5 (plot 715).

⁴ O.R.O., Misc. Druce VIII/i/1; *ibid.* Acc. 2361 (will of Sam. Druce, pr. 1860).

⁵ *Ibid.* incl. award and map (plot 110); *ibid.* Misc. Fleming VII/1-3; Misc. Druce XIII/ii/1 (sale cat. 1905); C. Gott, 'Druces of Eynsham', (Oxf. Univ. External Studies Dept., Local Hist. thesis, 1983).

⁶ P.R.O., HO 107/889.

⁷ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1, 4-5; *ibid.* Morrell IX/e/v/3; Blenheim Mun., E/P/9b.

⁸ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 30/3/33; *ibid.* Palm. IV/1.

⁹ Below, Other Estates.

¹⁰ Blenheim Mun., E/P/9b; O.R.O., land tax assess.

¹¹ Below, Other Estates.

¹² Dirs. and census returns cited above; *Eynsham Rec. i.* 33-4.

¹³ Above; below, Church.
¹⁴ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1 (plot 20 Acre End Street); *ibid.* Misc. Blake V/1-8; *ibid.* land tax assess.; *ibid.* incl. award and map; *ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 2/5/17.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Palm. IV/4-5 (plot 706, wrongly marked on map); dirs. and census returns cited above.

¹⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 95, ff. 156-7, 180-1; c 97, ff. 102-7; *ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 46/4/14.

¹⁷ O.R.O., Palm. IV/4-5.

¹⁸ P.R.O., HO 107/889.

site.¹⁹ Llandaff, on the north side of the Square, held as a farmhouse by the Arnatts in the 18th and 19th centuries,²⁰ dates from 1732; a circular window and crenellated bays were added in the early 20th century.²¹ Its name recalls Francis Matthew, last earl of Llandaff, apparently related to Henry Matthew, Eynsham's 19th-century Baptist minister.²²

In 1792 Eynsham was said to exhibit 'little more than wretched cottages', but a few decades later it was described as 'extensive and cheerful'.²³ There was increased building activity in the early 19th century, chiefly in response to rising population, partly as a result of some reorganization of farms at inclosure. Blankstones Farm in Acre End Street, for instance, bears the date 1802 and the initials of James Preston (d. 1805), a major farmer in the parish, whose family continued there for much of the 19th century.²⁴ Many cottages were built, chiefly in local brick.²⁵ A typical early row, using black and red bricks for the facade and stone rubble at the rear, was Trap Alley at the south end of Queen Street, built by Richard Bowerman in 1817 and until the 1930s extending further north.²⁶ Another brick group, on the west side of Mill Street, was built in 1833 by Jonathan Arnatt, whose initials it bears. Other early 19th-century additions include a row of small cottages on the east side of Queen Street, Lord's Row on the Oxford road, cottages in Pug Lane west of the Queen's Head, a brick pair in Mill Street south of the vicarage house, and a stone row built by Peter Wastie north of his house, Myrtle House.²⁷ Some early cottage building was of very poor quality, creating insanitary yards such as Curtis's in Acre End Street, where seven cottages were cramped on a small plot around a single well; they were demolished in 1896 to create space for Merton Farm.²⁸

Cottage rows of the mid 19th century include Columbia Terrace in High Street, Crown Crescent in Acre End Street (owned by the adjacent Crown brewery of the 1850s, but not occupied principally by brewery workers),²⁹ Chapel Yard off Newland Street, built c. 1860 by the Arnatts on the site of a former brewery,³⁰ and further east a brick row built by the Druces c. 1870.³¹ A row built for wealthier villagers was Wytham Terrace, a group of three-storeyed brick houses

of the 1860s on the south side of Acre End Street.

During the 19th century several older farmhouses in Eynsham were rebuilt or enlarged, notably Abbey Farm and the Arnatts' chief farmhouse, no. 5 Thames Street, which they had owned since the early 18th century and was known in the later 19th as Ache Hill or Home Farm.³² Some farmhouses emerged in the 19th century as gentry residences, notably Newland Lodge (later Chesneys) in Newland Street, which seems to have been separated from its agricultural lands in the early 19th century. It was on the site of a large copyhold (c. 1½ a.), held in 1650 by John Woodley, a London haberdasher, and in the early 18th century by the Knapps. In 1755 it was sold to Edward Ryves, and passed to his heirs the Holloways.³³ The plot was divided in the early 19th century and the house and the eastern part were bought in 1821 by Samuel Druce (d. 1860), whose family retained it throughout the century. In the earlier 19th century the house was let as a boys' boarding school.³⁴ Before 1876,³⁵ perhaps in 1862, the date on a surviving weather vane, a large new house was built north-east of the old buildings, perhaps for Samuel Druce's son-in-law, Edward Welchman, a retired chemist, tenant of Newland Lodge in the 1870s.³⁶ A Roman Catholic mission met there in the 1890s.³⁷ After a fire the house was rebuilt in 1898 and renamed Chesneys by Conrad Marshall Schmidt, a London art decorator, whose initials are over the main doorway:³⁸ the interior, perhaps to Schmidt's design, includes ornate ribbed ceilings and panelling, and some plaster decoration in 18th-century style.

The Hythe Croft (earlier the Lodge or Highcroft Lodge), on the site of a former tannery established by the Day family in the early 18th century, was sold in 1832 by Robert Day to Samuel Druce, whose family retained it until 1897.³⁹ In the early 19th century a house was built on the site of a cottage there, and after 1832 the associated farmyard was sold and many of the former tannery buildings demolished.⁴⁰ The Druces for long sublet the property, notably to William Shillingford in the 1840s and 1850s, but they lived there in the later 19th century.⁴¹ In 1907 an extension was built to the designs of Clough Williams Ellis.⁴²

¹⁹ O.R.O., Misc. Gardner I/1-10; *ibid.* Palm. IV/4-5 (plot 26); census returns cited above.

²⁰ O.R.O., incl. award (s.v. Mary Arnatt); *ibid.* Palm. IV/4-5; census returns cited above.

²¹ For the front in 1897 see Westgate Libr., photo. colln. 81/4333.

²² Harris, *From Acre End*, 121. Cf. *Complete Peerage*, vii. 420-1.

²³ *Topog. Miscellanies*, ed. J. Robson and H. D. Symonds, i, s.v. Eynsham; Brewer, *Oxon.* 436.

²⁴ e.g. O.R.O., incl. award; census returns cited above.

²⁵ Below, Econ. (Trade and Ind.).

²⁶ Date and initials on bldg.; O.R.O., Palm. IV/4-5; census returns cited above. The row was built on Trap Close: cf. O.R.O., Misc. Flemings I/1-3.

²⁷ Cf. O.R.O., incl. award and map; *ibid.* Palm. IV/4-5.

²⁸ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 7 (1881, 1898 edns.); *inf.* from estates bursar, Merton Coll., Oxf.

²⁹ Census returns cited above.

³⁰ O.R.O., Palm. I/3, pp. 1, 9, 14, 304-5; I/5, pp. 45-7, 52; P.R.O., RG 9/904.

³¹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 8 (1881 edn.);

O.R.O., Palm. I/4, pp. 97-8.

³² O.R.O., Morrell IX/e/v/3. For earlier hist., Oxf. City Arch., non-registered deeds, trunk 6; O.R.O., incl. award and map; *ibid.* Palm. IV/4-5; census returns cited above.

³³ Below, Other Estates. For Woodley's properties, Oxf. City Arch., non-registered deeds, trunk 6.

³⁴ O.R.O., incl. award and map; *ibid.* Palm. I/3, p. 126; I/4, pp. 235-7; IV/4-5; *ibid.* Misc. Flemings IV/1, V/1, VI/1.

³⁵ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 8 (1881 edn.).

³⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1877). Welchman was at Home Fm. in 1861: P.R.O., RG 9/904. The name Newland Lodge was sometimes given to the later Hythe Croft.

³⁷ Below, Rom. Cath.

³⁸ O.R.O., Palm. I/4, pp. 235-7, 350; I/5, pp. 30-1; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1903 and later edns.).

³⁹ Chambers, *Eynsham*, 87-8; O.R.O., Acc. 2361; *ibid.* Palm. I/2-4, *passim*; below, Econ. (Trade and Ind.).

⁴⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 200, ff. 87-91v.; O.R.O., Palm. I/2, pp. 27, 42; *ibid.* IV/4-5.

⁴¹ Dirs. and census returns cited above.

⁴² *Eynsham: A Medieval Town by the Thames.*

Perhaps because of improved communications with Oxford in the 19th century Eynsham began to attract a few wealthier newcomers who built substantial houses. Acre End House, for example, was probably rebuilt in the early 19th century by the Pinfolds, an Oxford family.⁴³ Willow Bank, a large brick house on the eastern edge of the town, was built in the 1830s for Matthew Hastings, land agent and surveyor.⁴⁴ Some 19th-century rebuilding, notably of Mansard House in Acre End Street⁴⁵ and of the Holt in Mill Street, with its imposing late-Victorian Gothic front, made no concessions to the essentially rural setting. On the north-western edge of the built-up area Inglemere (renamed Fruitlands when it became a market garden) was added in the earlier 20th century.⁴⁶

Institutional buildings of the 19th century included the Baptist chapel of 1818, the National school of 1847 (later a private house) in Station Road, the Board school of 1878 (later the Bartholomew School), the Wesleyan chapel of 1884 (later the parish room) in Thames Street, and the late 19th-century Catholic Apostolic church in Mill Street.⁴⁷ New commercial premises, besides the inns mentioned above, included the Crown brewery in Acre End Street, Gibbons brewery north of High Street, and a mineral water factory off Mill Street (all demolished),⁴⁸ the tall, red-brick Pimms' stores in the Square, added to the shop opened by the family in the 1880s,⁴⁹ and the large house and associated wine and grocery shop of the Gibbons family in Lombard Street (later the Board Hotel and a restaurant).⁵⁰ Gas street lighting was introduced in 1871 from a gas works in Spareacre Lane, which was sometimes called Gas Street.⁵¹ There were many difficulties over supply and even in the 1930s only half the village houses were connected.⁵² Mains electricity became available in the 1930s, and electric street lighting was fully installed soon after 1945.⁵³ Main drainage was introduced in 1899, and mains water supply in 1903; a tall brick water tower at the junction of Mill Street and Spareacre Lane was demolished in 1972.⁵⁴

Although the population rose sharply from the 1920s there was little outward expansion until after the Second World War. In the 1920s a sugar beet factory was established on the wharf, which continued as an industrial site thereafter.⁵⁵ Houses built between the wars included council houses of the 1930s at Clover Place and on Spareacre Lane.⁵⁶ By 1960 many

houses had been built on the edge of the village notably on the Wytham View estate, along the Hanborough, Witney, and Old Witney roads, and on Spareacre Lane. In the 1960s the town was transformed by building behind houses in the central streets, particularly between Mill Street and Witney Road and between High Street and Newland Street; more houses were added on the outskirts, between Spareacre Lane and Hanborough Road, and east of Hanborough Road. The Bartholomew School was greatly enlarged and a new primary school built in the fields north of Newland Street. Small industries were established on an industrial estate on the Stanton Harcourt road, on the Station site, and the Freeland road. New shops were built away from the centre, particularly on Mill Street. In 1974 Eynsham was designated a conservation area.⁵⁷ After relatively little growth in the 1970s rapid expansion followed the completion of the eastern bypass in 1983.

TILGARSLEY. Though the extent and location of Tilgarsley's fields may be traced, the site of the deserted hamlet remains uncertain.⁵⁸ By the early 14th century Tilgarsley was a substantial settlement, paying more in taxes than Eynsham itself.⁵⁹ In 1327 there were 28 taxpayers in Tilgarsley and 27 in Eynsham.⁶⁰ In 1359 it was alleged that Tilgarsley was abandoned in 1350 because all the inhabitants had died; the mortality was perhaps overstated, since several long-established family names survived, but the hamlet was evidently deserted, and the abbot was accordingly granted relief from subsidies.⁶¹

By the early 15th century the open fields of Tilgarsley were divided into inclosed 'crofts and pastures' which may be traced in later maps.⁶² There are no later references to habitations there but in 1390 the abbot was storing tithe hay for his own use at le Bolde.⁶³ Bold croft and Bold close were frequently recorded in the later Middle Ages,⁶⁴ and later, as the Bowles (c. 34 a. in 1650), they included the site of the surviving Bowles Farm.⁶⁵ The land was former demesne, and the presence there of the abbot's barn in the later 14th century suggests that before the catastrophe the site may have been the centre of the home farm in Tilgarsley's fields. West and south-west were Grange coppice (70a., of which only Castle's coppice remains wooded) and Grange close (59a.),⁶⁶ names which presumably recall the monastic grange.

'Bolds' were buildings and the field name

⁴³ Cf. O.R.O., incl. award and map; *ibid.* Palm. IV/4-5; *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 475.

⁴⁴ O.R.O., Palm. IV/4-5; A. M. Taylor, *Gilletts*, 56.

⁴⁵ *Eynsham Rec.* iv. 34-40; v. 45-6.

⁴⁶ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 7 (1898, 1913 edns.); Harris, *From Acre End*, 57.

⁴⁷ Below, Nonconf.; Educ.

⁴⁸ Below, Econ. (Trade and Ind.).

⁴⁹ Photo. in Harris, *From Acre End*, 122.

⁵⁰ Photo. c. 1920 in Westgate Libr., photo. colln. 76/2650.

⁵¹ *Oxf. Jnl.* 30 May 1868; 30 Dec. 1871; P.R.O., RG

11/1513.

⁵² O.R.O., Misc. Eynsham I/1, *passim*; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1903 and later edns.); *Social Services in the Oxf. District*, ed. A. F. C. Bourdillon, ii. 399.

⁵³ O.R.O., Misc. Eynsham I/2-3, *passim*.

⁵⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1903); County Mus., P.R.N. 4610; Westgate Libr., photo colln. 81/4258.

⁵⁵ Below, Econ. (Trade and Ind.).

⁵⁶ O.R.O., Misc. Eynsham I/2, pp. 211, 300.

⁵⁷ *Eynsham District Plan* (West Oxon. District Council, 1979).

⁵⁸ Below, Econ. (Agric.); M. Beresford, *Hist. on the Ground*, 99.

⁵⁹ e.g. B.L. Harl. Roll E 24.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., E 179/161/9.

⁶¹ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 69 sqq.

⁶² Below, Econ. (Agric.).

⁶³ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. lxxiv.

⁶⁴ e.g. B.L. Harl. Rolls F 2, 13, 17; G 12. In *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 259 two 13th-cent. references to Bowles are assigned, probably in error, to Bowles Farm.

⁶⁵ e.g. O.R.O., Palm. IV/1; Blenheim Mun., E/P/9b.

⁶⁶ Cf. O.R.O., Palm. IV/1; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/5; O.R.O., CH. XIX/1.

probably denotes the site of deserted dwellings.⁶⁷ In the early 18th century it was alleged that Tilgarsley had contained a church, and 'they call the ground surrounding the place the Bowles'.⁶⁸ In 1802 a field south of Bowles Farm was called Churchyard ground, and in the early 19th century Eynsham's vicar mentioned that 'stones and bones are frequently found there'.⁶⁹ There is no documentary reference to an early chapel at Tilgarsley, and it is unlikely that valuable burial rights were granted away from Eynsham without record; Churchyard ground, moreover, is not recorded among abundant references to Tilgarsley's fields in the later Middle Ages. The reference to a churchyard rather than to a church suggests that the field name may have been inspired merely by the discovery of burials, whose date and significance remains uncertain. It was probably correct, however, to link Tilgarsley with Bowles. In addition to evidence placing the abbot's home farm there it is clear that in 1449 the 'place called Tilgarsley' lay near the southern perimeter of the High wood, later Eynsham heath;⁷⁰ the convergence of many ancient lanes near Bowles Farm seems to imply an important settlement and the arrangement of early closes, particularly along the west side of Cuckoo Lane, may indicate former tenement sites.⁷¹ Archaeological evidence is lacking, however, and the only remains identified as a possible habitation site lie $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south-east of Bowles Farm in an area once called Turners Green.⁷² Tilgarsley was perhaps large enough to include both that site and the Bowles.

Some alternative identifications of the lost hamlet were based on a misinterpretation of references to the manor or its fields, for the name Tilgarsley, denoting a wide area in the north and west of the parish, survived into modern times.⁷³ There is no evidence to support the identification of Twelve Acre Farm as the site of the hamlet, although it lay within Tilgarsley's fields and indeed became a centre of demesne farming in the later Middle Ages: masonry ploughed up near Stockman's close may have been from that period.⁷⁴ Eighteenth-century county maps located Till Guzzel or Tilgarsley near Barnard Gate.⁷⁵

BARNARD GATE AND FREELAND. The heathside cottages which developed into the settlements of Barnard Gate and Freeland were mostly post-

medieval, though there were a few earlier farmsteads near Freeland. In 1738 the vicar mentioned 'near twenty' houses on the heath, which presumably included both settlements.⁷⁶ In 1763 Eynsham manor included several cottages 'taken from the heath'; one was expressly stated to be held on a lease from Mr. Jordan, whose family ceased to hold the manor in the early 18th century.⁷⁷ Probably the Jordans, who from the mid 17th century sold off much manorial property, also sanctioned small encroachments on the heath, but there had been a few houses at both Barnard Gate and Freeland in 1650 before the Jordans became lords.

Barnard Lane and Barnett Close were mentioned from the 16th century and Barnard Gate in the early 18th.⁷⁸ Similar gates on the periphery of the heath were Cuckoo and Freeland gates.⁷⁹ Barnard may be a corruption of barnyard, and the lane may have led to the abbot's grange near Bowles Farm.⁸⁰ By 1650 there were at least two houses at Barnard Gate, one of them on the site of the later Barnard Gate Farm.⁸¹ By the mid 18th century and at inclosure in 1802⁸² there were a few houses alongside the Chil brook and on the site of the Britannia inn; the inn, first recorded by name in 1836, was probably one of several houses licensed at Barnard Gate during the later 18th century as turnpike trade developed.⁸³ After inclosure some outlying farmhouses were established near Barnard Gate, and in the early 20th century a corrugated iron Methodist chapel was built there.⁸⁴

Freeland developed from a medieval freehold, probably worked from the site of the present Elm Farm, near the wood called the Frith (later Thrift coppice); several residents of the Frith were mentioned when a man was killed there in 1241.⁸⁵ Other early heathside farmsteads near Freeland, at Cook's Corner, Little Blenheim, and Heath Farm, lay just outside Eynsham's boundary,⁸⁶ but they probably worked the various early encroachments on Eynsham heath known as the Breaches on the eastern edge of the parish.

By the 16th century the ancient freehold was called Frithlands or Freelands, and Freeland was named as an address by the late 17th century.⁸⁷ In 1650, besides the house at Elm Farm, there were at least two leasehold cottages at Freeland, one of them at the south-west corner of the later Blenheim Lane.⁸⁸ In 1762

⁶⁷ *O.E.D.* A deserted settlement in Bucknell was discovered in a field called Bolliers (Ball yards in 1695): *Deserted Villages of Oxon.* 43; County Mus., P.R.N. 5491.

⁶⁸ *Hearne's Colln.* vii (O.H.S. xlviii), 236.

⁶⁹ O.R.O. incl. map; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. 13. In another copy of his note the vicar interlined 'grave' before 'stones': *ibid.* MS. Don. d 180, f. 3v.

⁷⁰ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 42-3.

⁷¹ Blenheim Mun., E/P/9b.

⁷² County Mus., P.R.N. 5424.

⁷³ e.g. P.R.O., RG 11/1513.

⁷⁴ Corresp. in County Mus., P.R.N. 5424.

⁷⁵ Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797).

⁷⁶ *Secker's Visit.* 60.

⁷⁷ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/15.

⁷⁸ Oxf. Univ. Arch., Hyp. A 15, f. 224; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/1; P.N. Oxon. (E.P.N.S.), ii. 261.

⁷⁹ O.R.O., Misc. Mas. I/1 (map of heath, 1769). For Cuckoo gate see P.N. Oxon. (E.P.N.S.), ii. 262, 438.

⁸⁰ The personal names Bernard or Barnett are not recorded in medieval Eynsham.

⁸¹ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1 (leaseholds of Thos. Blackwell and Thos. Pentecross). Pentecross's house belonged in the 18th century to the Blagroves, and may be identified in 1802: *ibid.* incl. award and map (plot 266). For Barnard Gate Farm (now nos. 49-50 Barnard Gate) cf. O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII. NW. (1898 edn.); *ibid.* 1/2,500, SP 4010-4110.

⁸² O.R.O., Misc. Mas. I/1; *ibid.* CH. XIX/1; *ibid.* incl. map.

⁸³ *Ibid.* Palm. IV/5 (plot 283); *ibid.* vctls' recogs.

⁸⁴ Below, Nonconf.

⁸⁵ Below, Other Estates.

⁸⁶ e.g. O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 15, XXXII. 3 (1881 edn.).

⁸⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 29, f. 23.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* Palm. IV/1 (holdings of widows Wheeler and Salter). Wheeler's holding may be identified as that of widow Sermon in 1762: Blenheim Mun., E/P/9b.

there were fewer than a dozen cottages at Freeland, mostly south and east of the perimeter lane round the heath, the present main road from Eynsham through Freeland; one group lay close to the Green, another in and near Blenheim Lane.⁸⁹ Several cottages were owned by the Buckingham and Merry families,⁹⁰ Pigeon House Lane was formerly Merry Lane.⁹¹ At inclosure most of the land west of the heath road was awarded to W. E. Taunton, becoming the park of Freeland Lodge (later Freeland House), built in 1807,⁹² but a few new cottages were inserted between the park and the road. Employment provided by the Taunton and Eynsham Hall estates and by several small brickworks⁹³ stimulated the growth of the hamlet, and by 1869, when Freeland became an ecclesiastical district, there were 52 houses with a population of 241.⁹⁴

Until the 1870s the buildings of Freeland were mostly small cottages, apart from Freeland Lodge, Elm Farm, and Upper Farm, an early 19th-century building on the main road south of Broad Marsh Lane, built to work the outlying parts of the Taunton estate.⁹⁵ In the absence of a church the Methodist chapel of 1817 was central to the hamlet's life in the early 19th century. Several unidentified public houses were recorded in Freeland in the later 18th century.⁹⁶ The Royal Oak, mentioned in 1836 but not thereafter, was probably in one of the cottages on the east side of the main road, north of Blenheim Lane.⁹⁷ The New Inn, Freeland's only licensed house for most of the 19th century, is dated 1842 and bears the initials of William Merry, who sold it to Morrell's brewery in 1846.⁹⁸ In 1974 the restored inn was renamed the Oxfordshire Yeoman.⁹⁹ Roslyn, a house dated 1738, once standing alone on the North Leigh road close to the former boundary of Eynsham parish, was the 'Wrosling House' in the 19th century, reputedly an inn and a meeting place of pugilists.¹ The North Leigh road, formerly Hicks Lane,² is now Wroslyn Road. South of the hamlet, in the angle of the Freeland road and that leading towards Eynsham Hall, was a pest house, recorded as Lower Farm and Pest House Farm from the mid 19th century and demolished in the early 20th.³

The Taunton family transformed the village by building the church and associated parsonage in 1869 and the school and schoolhouse in 1871.

The new buildings, all by J. L. Pearson, provided a unified centre to an otherwise scattered hamlet. St. Mary's House was built in 1875–6, presumably for Sarah Percival Taunton (d. 1896) after the family sold Freeland House.⁴ In the earlier 20th century it served variously as a home for invalid ladies and as a retreat,⁵ and in 1950 it became an enclosed convent for the Community of St. Clare (Anglican).⁶ The house is of stone, with irregular, half-hipped roofs and sash windows; a Gothic chapel was added in 1960.⁷ The Taunton connexion with Freeland was kept up long into the 20th century by the Misses Taunton who lived at Taunton House, built in the 1890s at the south-east corner of the park.⁸

Freeland's population fell from 232 to 160 during the 1880s,⁹ presumably because of the agricultural depression, and in 1932, when Freeland was transferred to Hanborough parish, the population was only 214. In 1951 the newly formed civil parish of Freeland contained 140 houses and a population of 530;¹⁰ the increase was partly because of the inclusion of houses in the north and east which before 1932 belonged to Hanborough, partly because of extensive post-war building of detached houses and bungalows north of the old centre. Houses lined Wroslyn Road on the west side as far as Parklands, and on the east there was ribbon development south of Roslyn.¹¹ The population rose to 654 in 1961, 961 in 1971, and 1,374 in 1981, when there were 435 households.¹² Most new houses were north of the old centre, but Pigeon House Lane and Blenheim Lane were also built up. Until 1935, when mains water became available, supply was from wells or from a pump near Freeland House gate supplied from the Eynsham Hall lake. Mains electricity was connected in 1935. The first village hall, an army hut north of the old school, was opened c. 1920; the present hall dates from the 1960s and the adjacent playing fields were opened in 1958.¹³ A large new school was opened on Wroslyn Road in 1964 and an industrial estate on Broad Marsh Lane in the 1970s.

SITE AND REMAINS OF THE ABBEY. The abbey site covered a wide area on the south side of Eynsham village: land between Station Road on the west and the Wharf stream on the east, the church and High Street on the north, and the

⁸⁹ Blenheim Mun., E/P/9b.

⁹⁰ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/15.

⁹¹ O.R.O., Misc. Mas. I/1.

⁹² Below, Other Estates.

⁹³ Below, Econ. (Trade and Ind.).

⁹⁴ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1823/1; R. C. West, *St. Mary the Virgin, Freeland*, 9.

⁹⁵ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/48 (sale cat. 1874).

⁹⁶ O.R.O., vctls' recog.

⁹⁷ Ibid. Palm. IV/5 (plot 417); *ibid.* incl. map (probably plot 219).

⁹⁸ Ibid. Palm. I/2, pp. 181–3.

⁹⁹ *Oxf. Mail*, 12 Mar. 1974.

¹ 'Freeland Village Bk.' (TS. of c. 1930 in Westgate Lib.).

² P.R.O., RG 11/1513.

³ Ibid. HO 107/889, 1731; O.S. Map 1/2,500 Oxon. XXXII. 3 (1881 edn.); *ibid.* 6", SP 41 SW. (1955 edn.).

⁴ Below, Other Estates; P.R.O., RG 11/1531; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1877 and later edns.); West, *St. Mary's*, 12, which is

probably wrong to imply an institutional purpose for the house from its foundation.

⁵ West, *St. Mary's*, 15; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1911 and later edns.).

⁶ *Guide to Religious Communities of the Anglican Connexion* (1962 edn.), 65.

⁷ Pevsner, *Oxon.* 607, which states, incorrectly, that the house was built for a Marion Taunton.

⁸ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 3 (1898 edn.); *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1903 and later edns.); Marjorie Fox, 'Freeland 1931–81' (TS. in Westgate Lib.). For the Tauntons see Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1875), 1358–9; M.I.s in Freeland churchyard.

⁹ P.R.O., RG 11/1513; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1895 edn.). The pop. in 1881 is wrongly given as 420 in *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1887 edn.).

¹⁰ *Census*, 1931, 1951.

¹¹ O.S. Map 6", SP 41SW.

¹² *Census*, 1961–81.

¹³ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1931 and later edns.); Fox, 'Freeland'.

Chil brook on the south seems to have been kept in hand by the abbey for much of the Middle Ages, and was later known as the Parks.¹⁴ The walled precinct was presumably much smaller and the chief monastic buildings evidently stood in an area south of the original parish churchyard known in 1650 as Abbey Court; to the west stood the home farmstead and tithe barn, on the site of Abbey Farm.¹⁵

At the Dissolution the abbey and grounds were sold to Sir George Darcy and were then retained by successive lords of the manor until the mid 17th century.¹⁶ The western part of the site was usually let: the farmstead and adjacent close (c. 1½ a.) formed part of the demesne farm known as the Farm and was sold with it in 1655, while the abbey barn and the adjacent 4 a. (known in 1650 as the Farm Court) were let with the great tithes until sold in 1658. Both portions were united in the ownership of the dukes of Marlborough from the early 18th century and sold as part of Abbey Farm in 1920.¹⁷ The eastern part of the site, comprising in 1650 Abbey Court (c. 3½ a.) and Upper, Middle, and Lower Parks (c. 43½ a.),¹⁸ was sold from the manor in the later 17th century and by 1700 was mostly in the hands of John Bartholomew.¹⁹ The bulk of the Bartholomew family's property passed before 1762 to Edward Ryves and so to the Holloway family,²⁰ whose trustees at inclosure in 1802 held 27 a. of the Parks, including the whole central area.²¹ Outlying portions of the former abbey grounds, c. 10 a. towards the Wharf stream in the east and c. 11½ a. along the Chil brook, were held in the 18th century by the Arnatt and Stevens families respectively.²² The Holloway portion passed to E. V. Holloway, who sold it in 1824 to J. V. Harrison.²³ Before 1802 the Parks immediately south of the then churchyard were redivided by a north-south fence, creating closes called Upper Park (4½ a.) to the west and Lower Park (11 a.) to the east.²⁴ Some time in the early 19th century Lower Park was turned into a nursery, leased by Joseph Day, who bought it in 1858;²⁵ Upper Park descended separately,²⁶ and in 1863 Jonathan Sheldon sold part of it to extend the churchyard.²⁷ In 1930 the west end of the nursery was taken into the churchyard,²⁸ and later the remainder of Upper Park became the site of the Roman Catholic church.

What appeared to be part of the burial ground of the Anglo-Saxon minster was discovered at the north-west corner of the nursery field.²⁹ The parish church seems to have been built on a site taken from the abbey precinct after a market place had been established,³⁰ and thereafter the main approach to the precinct was by Abbey Street. In 1217 the abbot was licensed to divert a street that passed inconveniently between his *curia* and barton, crossing the Chil brook towards Stanton Harcourt.³¹ The condemned road was clearly an extension southward of Abbey Street. The diversion was to the west, and seems to have involved building a new bridge over the Chil (now Chilmore Bridge) and laying out a new street on the line of the later Station Road.³² The new street was to rejoin the old at the gate of the cemetery of the 'great church', passing between the abbey barton and the tenement of John the porter; the barton evidently stood south of the present Abbey Farm,³³ and the upper section of the new street is probably represented by the east-west driveway through the farm grounds, linking Station Road to the southern end of Abbey Street.

By 1290 the abbot was seeking to close another street in that area, which linked the abbey with the almonry; the abbot undertook to provide a suitable alternative street outside his precinct.³⁴ The site of the almonry, which in the 16th century comprised a derelict mansion and great barn,³⁵ is uncertain, but if the almonry was the 'hospital' mentioned c. 1217 it stood near the west end of the drive through Abbey Farm.³⁶ If so it seems likely that in 1290 the abbot closed that drive and opened the northern end of Station Road as an alternative route, thus bringing within the precinct any farm buildings north of the drive, perhaps the new grange known to have been built in the early 13th century.³⁷

Next to the abbey c. 1360 lay a large, well stocked garden, containing recently built fish ponds, and to the west a large *curia* with a grange, cattle sheds, and other farm buildings.³⁸ The garden seems to have been enlarged on the east in the 1280s when Robert Belgrave surrendered a house and land on the south side of the ferry road.³⁹ There are vestiges of fish ponds beside the Chil brook in both east and west portions of the abbey grounds, and signs that the

¹⁴ e.g. O.R.O., Palm. IV/1; *ibid.* CH. XIX/1: map of 1782, printed in part in Chambers, *Eynsham*.

¹⁵ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1 (plot 27 in Mill Street). For Abbey Court and Farm Court, below, Other Estates.

¹⁶ Below, Manor.

¹⁷ Below, Other Estates.

¹⁸ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1 (summary of demesnes).

¹⁹ Cf. *ibid.* Misc. Hac. X/v/1; *ibid.* MSS. Wills Oxon. 116/1/9; 126/2/19.

²⁰ Blenheim Mun., E/P/9. For small sales from Abbey Court by the Bartholomews see O.R.O., Misc. Pim. II/ii/2-5; II/iii/1. For the Ryves-Holloway connexion, below, Other Estates.

²¹ O.R.O., incl. award and map.

²² Cf. Blenheim Mun., E/P/9; O.R.O., incl. award and map.

²³ O.R.O., Welch XVI/1-16.

²⁴ Cf. *ibid.* incl. map; *ibid.* CH. XIX/1.

²⁵ *Ibid.* Welch XVI/1-16. It was a nursery by 1836: *ibid.* Palm. IV/4.

²⁶ e.g. *ibid.* Palm. IV/5 (plot 721).

²⁷ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1811.

²⁸ *Ibid.*; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 11, item i.

²⁹ M. Gray and N. Clayton, 'Excavations on site of Eynsham Abbey, 1971', *Oxoniensia*, xliii. 100-22.

³⁰ Below, Church.

³¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1216-25, 78.

³² Chambers, *Eynsham*, 76 sqq.

³³ e.g. *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 165-6.

³⁴ O.R.O., DL I/xii/6, p. 338.

³⁵ B.L. Harl. Rolls F 29, G 12; P.R.O., SC 2/197/38 (s.a. 1486).

³⁶ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 156-7; cf. Chambers, *Eynsham*, 77, where it is assumed that Robert Halthein lived west of Station Road.

³⁷ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 156-7, 165-6; cf. Chambers, *Eynsham*, 77-8, where the surviving house name, the Grange, is considered significant.

³⁸ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 37.

³⁹ *Ibid.* i, pp. 313, 316-17.

brook was diverted to the south when the ponds were made.⁴⁰ In the early 18th century the complexity of the derelict site inspired an exaggerated local story that there had once been 52 ponds, 'according to the number of weeks in the year'.⁴¹

In the late 16th century and early 17th the Stanleys resided in part of the abbey.⁴² In 1647 there was still a memory of 'a world of painted glass' and 'curious buildings' on the site, with 'excellent carved wainscot, and wainscot-ceilings gilded: a curious chapel'.⁴³ In 1657 the ruins included two high towers at the west end of the church and part of the north wall; the remains, together with an 'entrance or lodge', were sold for building stone soon afterwards.⁴⁴ Sales of materials, presumably from the abbey, included loads of stone, brick, and timber, and a table from the 'great hall'; a Charlbury carpenter paid £14 for six bays of stables.⁴⁵

In 1710 John Bartholomew owned a building in the Abbey Court called 'the little tower or study', which may have been the recently built tenement on that site mentioned in 1714.⁴⁶ Certainly Thomas Hearne in 1706 had seen no abbey remains except an outer gate on the west side.⁴⁷ The gate he saw was not the former main entrance (allegedly destroyed in the 17th century), but another which stood a furlong west of the abbey barn, presumably on the boundary of the western precinct (Station Road), perhaps near the end of the driveway into Abbey Farm: Hearne's crude sketch shows a pinnaced tunnel gateway of later medieval character, partially blocked and set in post-medieval walling.⁴⁸ Almost certainly it was that gateway which was removed before 1783 by the duke of Marlborough for 'some business at Blenheim'.⁴⁹ It may have been intended to form part of the plan to gothicize Blenheim Park in the 1760s.⁵⁰

The abbey's main entrance has not been precisely located although in 1217 it stood near the southern end of Abbey Street.⁵¹ A small freehold cottage there, on the west side immediately south of the present gateway of Abbey Farm, was held separately from the rest of the Abbey Farm site; the tenants of the farm required a special right of way round the east side of the cottage in order to reach the abbey barn.⁵² When

the cottage fell down c. 1850 it was seen to incorporate the respond of a medieval archway;⁵³ it possibly marked the western side of a gateway which straddled the southern end of Abbey Street. The cottage's separate ownership suggests that it was part of Abbey Court itself rather than of the farmstead.

A large barn on the site of the medieval abbey barn is of the 19th century. In 1802 the duke of Marlborough paid for the removal of the 'abbey stables', presumably part of the Abbey Farm buildings.⁵⁴ The foundations of a possible gateway were unearthed in 1825 on the southern side of the road to the ferry, near the bridge over Wharf stream, and there were 'in all directions' in the meadow south of the churchyard remains of old buildings, thought to be a former castle.⁵⁵ The last standing remnant of the abbey, a doorway, was reputedly removed in 1843.⁵⁶ In 1851 a large number of 14th-century inlaid tiles were dug up in the nursery garden, 15 yd. south of the churchyard, and further east a well and cistern, also surrounded by medieval tiles; cartloads of tiles were sold as building rubble.⁵⁷ In 1901 seven skeletons were recovered from an unrecorded site in the nursery field,⁵⁸ and in modern times grave-digging in the extended churchyard revealed massive foundations, floor tiles, and stone and lead coffins.⁵⁹ The main abbey buildings were restricted largely to the churchyards of the parish and Roman Catholic churches,⁶⁰ although buildings extended c. 10 m. east of the parish churchyard. Other structures, probably outbuildings, lay further east in the nursery field. Along the south side of the field was what appeared to be the boundary ditch of the precinct, dividing it from the fishponds.⁶¹

Architectural fragments incorporated in village buildings⁶² confirm that much of the abbey was of 12th-century date. Two carved shields, one on the market house, the other set on its side on no. 6 Abbey Street, bear arms attributed implausibly to Aethelmaer, the abbey's founder.⁶³ Fragments preserved in the vicarage garden⁶⁴ include a 16th-century archway, and above it a panel with the arms of Chandos: Anne, daughter of William Stanley, earl of Derby, married Grey Bridges, lord Chandos (d.

⁴⁰ County Mus., P.R.N. 4615 includes a detailed rep. of 1979 by C. J. Bond.

⁴¹ *Hearne's Colln.* i (O.H.S. ii), 244.

⁴² Below, Manor.

⁴³ Bodl. MS. Ashmole 1722: MS. note in copy of Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxon.* (1677), endpapers.

⁴⁴ *Wood's Life*, i (O.H.S. xix), 228; sketch in Bodl. MS. Wood E 1, f. 45, reproduced in *Eynsham Cart.* ii, facing p. xlvi, of which later copies are misleading: cf. Bodl. MS. Willis 46, f. 96 (reproduced in *Oxoniensia*, xliii, pl. IV); *Hearne's Colln.* x (O.H.S. lxvii), 266, 444; *Oxoniensia*, xlv, 104.

⁴⁵ O.R.O., Palm. I/1, ff. 1-2v.

⁴⁶ Ibid. Misc. Hac. X/v/1; *ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 126/2/19.

⁴⁷ *Hearne's Colln.* i (O.H.S. ii), 244.

⁴⁸ Bodl. MS. Hearne's Diaries 50, pp. 221-2.

⁴⁹ *Torrington Diaries*, ed. C. B. Andrews, i. 214.

⁵⁰ Below, Woodstock, Blenheim, Pk. from 1705.

⁵¹ *Pat. R.* 1216-25, 78.

⁵² O.R.O., incl. award and map; *ibid.* Palm. IV/4-5.

⁵³ Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/20: corresp. and drawings.

⁵⁴ O.R.O., Misc. Pim. I/1, s.a. 1802.

⁵⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. 188. The idea of a castle at Eynsham derived from a medieval misinterpretation of the *A.-S. Chron.* entry for 571: cf. *Chron. Rob. of Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 333.

⁵⁶ Gardner, *Dir. Oxon.* (1852).
⁵⁷ Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/20: corresp. and drawings; *Gent. Mag.* N.S. xxxv. 191-2; *Archaeol. Jnl.* viii. 211. The site of the discovery was further west than suggested in *Oxoniensia*, xliii. 104. For tiles see Loyd Haberly, *Medieval Eng. Paving-tiles*, *passim*.

⁵⁸ *Oxf. Times*, 28 Sept. 1901.

⁵⁹ *Oxoniensia*, xxviii. 88-9. For summary of modern finds see County Mus., P.R.N. 3112.

⁶⁰ Pinnacles preserved in the R.C. churchyard are fragments of a 19th-cent. Oxford bldg.

⁶¹ *Oxoniensia*, xxix-xxx. 191; xliii. 100-22.

⁶² W. Bainbridge, *Visible Remains of Eynsham Abbey* (Eynsham, 1980): pamph. in Westgate Libr.

⁶³ Cf. *N. & Q.* clxxxvii. 14; *Oxoniensia*, xxxvii. 248.

⁶⁴ There are also collns. in County Mus., Woodstock, and Ashmolean Mus., Oxf. For 19th-cent. drawings of fragments see Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 66, ff. 250, 256; c 551, f. 113; d 514, f. 27v.

1621).⁶⁵ A tomb slab of John of Cheltenham, abbot of Eynsham (d. 1330), was removed to Elsfield church probably before 1645.⁶⁶ A medieval tomb, perhaps of an abbot, survives in the parish churchyard.

MANOR. In 1005 Aethelmaer gave an estate comprising the whole of Eynsham to his newly founded abbey there. After the Conquest the abbey's lands were used to endow the bishopric of Dorchester, later transferred to Lincoln, and in 1086 *EYNSHAM* manor was held of the bishop of Lincoln by Columban, a monk. After a period of uncertainty⁶⁷ the re-established abbey held the estate undisturbed until the Dissolution. The manor included Tilgarsley and Newland, and in later times was sometimes described as the manors of *EYNSHAM*, *TILGARSLEY*, and *NEWLAND*.⁶⁸

In 1538 the abbey was dissolved⁶⁹ and in 1539 Eynsham was granted to Sir George Darcy. Darcy sold it in 1543 to Sir Edward North who surrendered it to the Crown in 1545. It was granted in that year to Edward Stanley, earl of Derby (d. 1572), as part of an exchange to settle the family's debts.⁷⁰ On the earl's death Eynsham, subject to the dower of his relict Mary (d. 1580) who married Henry Grey, earl of Kent,⁷¹ passed in accordance with a settlement to his second son Sir Thomas Stanley (d. 1576) and then in moieties to Sir Thomas's relict Margaret for life and son Edward.⁷² Margaret married William Mather who sold her interest in Eynsham to Sir Thomas Peniston of Bampton, who insisted on a strict partition of the manor; the life interest continued until 1595 or later.⁷³ Edward, who married Lucy Percy and became a knight of the Bath in 1603,⁷⁴ was probably the Edward Stanley esquire who with his wife was living at Eynsham in 1582. Also living there then was Sir Edward Stanley,⁷⁵ possibly the third son of the earl of Derby (d. 1572); although he is thought to have been knighted only in 1586, he is alleged to have succeeded Sir

Thomas at Eynsham and to have died there in 1609, but the evidence is conflicting.⁷⁶ Other Stanleys were also concerned in Eynsham: in 1584 William Stanley, younger son of Henry, earl of Derby (d. 1593), caused a disturbance in Eynsham church by seeking to prevent Sir Thomas Peniston's son from using the manorial pew; he was still in Eynsham in 1586.⁷⁷ William became earl of Derby in 1594 on the death of his brother Ferdinando: an agreement that Eynsham should revert after Edward Stanley's death to Ferdinando's daughters seems to have been overturned by an Act of 1606, under which Eynsham was to revert to the earldom.⁷⁸ Sir Edward Stanley, son of Sir Thomas (d. 1576), survived until 1632;⁷⁹ meanwhile the reversion was settled on Charlotte de Tremoille on her marriage with James, son of William, earl of Derby.⁸⁰ In 1634 the manor was confirmed to James,⁸¹ who in 1642 succeeded to the earldom. In 1649 he forfeited his estates as a delinquent, and parliament granted Eynsham to Col. Henry Marten, the regicide.⁸²

In 1651 Marten sold Eynsham to Orlando Bridgeman and others acting for Charlotte, countess of Derby,⁸³ who a year later was appealing for discharge from the sequestration on her Eynsham estate.⁸⁴ In 1653 the estate was granted to her son-in-law Henry Pierrepont, earl of Kingston-upon-Hull, and in that year he and Charlotte sold the furze and bushes on Eynsham heath to Thomas Jordan, a Witney clothier; in 1657 Jordan purchased the rest of Eynsham.⁸⁵ He was succeeded in 1666 by his son John (d. 1692), whose son Thomas (d. 1716)⁸⁶ heavily mortgaged the estate to Sir Robert Jenkinson of Walcot. By 1714 Jordan owed c. £2,500 and was pleading for time in the vain hope that his coal mining on the heath would prove profitable.⁸⁷ Henry Perrott of North Leigh had acquired the mortgage by 1717 and in 1719 bought the freehold.⁸⁸ He died in 1740 and his daughters Cassandra and Martha sold Eynsham in 1763 to James Lacy.⁸⁹

Lacy, a co-patentee with David Garrick of the

⁶⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. 188; cf. Skelton, *Antiq. Oxon.* Wootton hund. p. 8, which suggests a different Bridges connexion.

⁶⁶ W. Bainbridge, 'Looking for Abbots', *Eynsham Rec.* i. 16-18; ii. 19.

⁶⁷ Above, Intro.

⁶⁸ e.g. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. 142; *ibid.* G.A. Oxon. b 85 a, no. 30. Newland retained separate cts.: below, Local Govt.

⁶⁹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii. 67; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 40.

⁷⁰ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xliii (2), pp. 425, 478; xiv (1), p. 417; xviii (1), pp. 446, 540; xviii (2), p. 132; xx (2), p. 540; Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 27-31; Lancs. R.O., DDK 4/10; B. Coward, *The Stanleys*, 24.

⁷¹ *Complete Peerage*, iv. 210-11.

⁷² Lancs. R.O., DDK 7/7, p. 26. For differing versions of the settlement cf. J. Seacome, *Ho. of Stanley* (Preston, 1793), 131-2; P. Draper, *Ho. of Stanley* (1864), 52; *Eynsham Rec.*, ii. 35.

⁷³ P.R.O., C 78/63/10. Margaret Mather was alive in 1595; Lancs. R.O., DDK 7/7, p. 26.

⁷⁴ *Collins's Peerage*, iii. 78-9; *Complete Peerage*, ix. 730; W. A. Shaw, *Knights of Eng.* i. 154.

⁷⁵ *Acts of P.C.* 1581-2, 430.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Collins's Peerage*, iii. 79; Seacome, *Ho. of Stanley*, 133-4; Draper, *Ho. of Stanley*, 52-3; *Topographer*, iii. 112. The idea that Sir Edw. was commemorated in the ch. seems

to be an error: cf. Bodl. MS. Rawl. B 397, ff. 330-4 (memorials in 1659).

⁷⁷ *Archdeacon's Ct.* (O.R.S. xxiii), 109; Bodl. MS. Rawl. B 400c, f. 239.

⁷⁸ Coward, *The Stanleys*, 47; Hist. MSS. Com. 9, *Salisbury XII*, p. 571; copy of Act, 4 Jas. I, c. 3 (Priv. Act), in Lancs. R.O., DDK 9/4.

⁷⁹ Brass in Eynsham church; copy of will in Lancs. R.O., DDK 11/13. For Stanley tombs see G. Griffiths, *Hist. Tong and Boscobel* (1894), 64-72.

⁸⁰ *Hearne's Colln.* v (O.H.S. xlii), 352; *Complete Peerage*, iv. 214.

⁸¹ P.R.O., C 66/2619, no. 27.

⁸² *C.J.* vi. 248, 269, 279, 300; copy of Act in Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/1, no. 2.

⁸³ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/1, no. 3; *Hearne's Colln.* v. 352. For Bridgeman see Seacome, *Ho. of Stanley*, 180.

⁸⁴ *Cal. Cttee. for Compounding*, ii. 1102.

⁸⁵ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/1, nos. 4-9.

⁸⁶ O.R.O., Palm. I/1-5; Eynsham ct. bks., recording lords' names from the mid 17th to the 20th cent. For wills of Thomas and John Jordan see P.R.O., PROB 11/319 (P.C.C. 79, 80 Mico); PROB 11/408 (P.C.C. 69 Fane).

⁸⁷ B.L. Add. MSS. 38476, ff. 168-225; 38579, f. 46v.

⁸⁸ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/1, nos. 10-23.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 22/5/15, nos. 1-2; 22/5/27, no. 1.

Drury Lane theatre, died in 1774.⁹⁰ His son Willoughby fell into financial difficulties⁹¹ and in 1778 sold the estate, including the newly built Eynsham Hall,⁹² to Robert Langford, a London auctioneer and newspaper proprietor.⁹³ On Langford's death in 1785 the estate was put up for sale but seems to have been retained by his brother-in-law and chief legatee James Duberley, to whom Langford had mortgaged Eynsham in 1782.⁹⁴ On Duberley's death *c.* 1790 his estates passed to trustees for his five daughters, who in 1799 sold Eynsham to the Revd. John Robinson, formerly archdeacon of Armagh.⁹⁵ In 1805 Robinson sold the estate to Thomas Parker, younger brother of George, earl of Macclesfield.⁹⁶

The Parkers retained Eynsham until 1862.⁹⁷ Thomas succeeded to the earldom in 1842 and his son Thomas Parker seems to have lived at Eynsham⁹⁸ until succeeding to the earldom in 1850. On the death in 1862 of his mother Eliza, dowager countess of Macclesfield, Eynsham was sold⁹⁹ to Sir Thomas Bazeley, M.P., a prominent Lancashire cotton manufacturer.¹ Bazeley sold the estate in 1866 to James Mason,² a mining engineer who had made his fortune in Portugal.³ The Mason family retained the estate in 1983; James (d. 1903) was succeeded by his son James Francis (d. 1929) and grandson Michael (d. 1982).⁴ Residual manorial rights were finally extinguished by agreement in the 1930s.⁵

The Stanleys and their successors held Eynsham and Shifford manors for a fee farm rent of £70 15s. 8d. payable to the Crown, but when they sold Shifford in 1600 they transferred the charge entirely to Eynsham.⁶ In the 17th century the Crown sold the fee farm, which by the early 18th century was payable to Peter Joy.⁷ Later, when it was sometimes known as Joy's charity, the rent was paid to Sion College, London, as trustees of Joy's school.⁸

After the Dissolution the Stanleys were some-

times resident in part of the abbey buildings.⁹ After the death in 1632 of Sir Edward Stanley lords were usually non-resident, although Thomas Jordan (d. 1716), built a house, perhaps intended as a manor house, on Eynsham heath. In 1696 the new building seems to have inspired a riot when 200 local men forced Jordan's wife Ursula to seek refuge there, threw rabbits at her taken from a nearby warren, and threatened to destroy both house and warren.¹⁰ Presumably the house or its associated enclosure was seen as a threat to the villagers' common rights; the warren, and therefore the house, seem to have been in Woodleys coppice, which soon acquired the alternative title Freeberry coppice.¹¹ The house seems to have been demolished, for there is no later record of the Jordans living in Eynsham, and in 1769 there was no building near Woodleys nor anywhere else on the heath proper.¹²

The first Eynsham Hall was built by James Lacy (d. 1774)¹³ or his son Willoughby;¹⁴ when the estate was sold to Robert Langford in 1778 it included a newly built mansion, to which, before 1782, Langford made several additions.¹⁵ The house, 'yet building' after his death in 1785, stood in a large park created by the inclosure of the heath in 1781. It was described as tolerably planned and built and profusely furnished with the spoils of the auction room,¹⁶ an allusion to Langford's principal occupation. Before 19th-century alterations the house comprised a two-storeyed block with east and west cross wings, the south façade dominated by a large classical portico.¹⁷ Its style, and that of several fireplaces preserved in the later Eynsham Hall, was that of Robert Adam; Adam is not known to have worked at Eynsham but was an acquaintance of the Lacys, rebuilding Drury Lane theatre for James Lacy and also working for Garrick.¹⁸

Thomas Parker lived at Eynsham Hall in the early 19th century, but by 1814 he was leasing it as a hunting box to Sir John Jervis,¹⁹ and in the

⁹⁰ *Gent. Mag.* xxxi. 298; xlix. 171-2; *European Mag.* lv. 273-8; *Letters of David Garrick*, ed. D. M. Little and G. M. Kahl, i, p. 47; P.R.O., PROB 11/995, ff. 79-80.

⁹¹ B.L. Add. MSS. 38607, ff. 143-5, 150; *Letters of David Garrick*, ii, p. 922; iii, pp. 1113-14, 1216-17, 1224-5; *Thespian Dict.* (1805 edn.). Willoughby was 'the unfortunate Mr. Lacy' of *Torrington Diaries*, i. 214-15.

⁹² Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/19.

⁹³ P.R.O., PROB 11/1134, ff. 38-40v.; *N. & Q.* 11th ser. xii. 489.

⁹⁴ *Oxf. Jnl.* 7 July 1785; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/19.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., Blake I/v/14; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/27, no. 1; *ibid.* 22/5/4.

⁹⁶ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/27, no. 2.

⁹⁷ For them see Burke, *Peerage* (1878), 774-5.

⁹⁸ e.g. P.R.O., HO 107/889.

⁹⁹ Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b 85a, no. 30 (*sale cat.*); O.R.O., Palm. I/3; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1864).

¹ *D.N.B.*, *Suppl.*

² Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/13/1; O.R.O., Palm. I/3.

³ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/15/31 (TS. hist. of Mason fam.); *ibid.* TS. cat. of Mason fam. pps. (OXF 22); *obit. in Oxf. Times*, 4 Apr. 1903.

⁴ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/15/31; O.R.O., Palm. I(4-5); M. Mason, *Golden Evening* (1957), which includes reflections on his life at Eynsham.

⁵ O.R.O., Palm. I/5.

⁶ P.R.O., C 66/2619, no. 27; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c

190/2.

⁷ P.R.O., CP 25(2)/957/Trin. 12 Anne.

⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 76 (valuation, 1796); Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/2,4; Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b 85a, no. 30.

⁹ e.g. Camden, *Britannia*, ed. R. Gough (1789), i. 285; *Wood's Life*, i (O.H.S. xix), 24-5; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 41; *Acts of P.C.* 1581-2, 430.

¹⁰ O.R.O., QS/1696 Trin./35; *ibid.* QSM I/1/ii, ff. 60v., 62v.-63; *Eynsham Rec.* iii. 24-6.

¹¹ e.g. *ibid.* CJ V/71; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/15, no. 2.

¹² O.R.O., Misc. Mas. I/1: photo. of map of 1769 owned by Mason fam.

¹³ His will of 1768 makes no mention of a house on the estate: P.R.O., PROB 11/995, ff. 79-80.

¹⁴ Both Lacys built houses, James at Isleworth (D. Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* (1795), iii. 100), Willoughby in Great Queen Street (*Letters of David Garrick*, ii, p. 922), but the latter also had a country seat: H. Angelo, *Angelo's Reminiscences* (1828), i. 51-3.

¹⁵ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/19.

¹⁶ *Torrington Diaries*, i. 214-15.

¹⁷ Views of ho. 1862 are after a third storey had been added: Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b 85a, no. 30; outline plan on map of 1802: O.R.O. incl. map. Plans of *c.* 1871 are in Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/1.

¹⁸ H. M. Colvin, *Biog. Dict. Brit. Archit.*

¹⁹ Bodl. MS. Don. e 139, *passim*; O.R.O., Misc. Me. II/1; *ibid.*, Cal. Q. Sess. ix. 193.

1820s John Ruxton had the hall.²⁰ By the 1830s the Parkers were again sometimes resident,²¹ and the remarriage of Thomas Parker in 1842 may have been the motive for an enlargement of the hall in 1843 to the designs of Sir Charles Barry. The principal change was the addition of an upper storey over the whole house, and Barry also built a north porch and may have been responsible for the stone balustrading of the garden terrace and the arms of the Parkers carved in the head of the portico.²²

The hall was much altered in the early 1870s by James Mason, to the designs of Owen Jones (d. 1874), whose earliest plans date from 1871; the builder was a local man, Walter Wilkins.²³ Jones added a fourth floor to the existing structure, a west wing which included a conservatory, and an east wing containing a billiard room, fernery, and kitchens. The north porch and the hall to which it gave access were rebuilt, but plans to add a single storey ballroom projecting from the south portico were not fulfilled, perhaps because of Jones's death. Jones redesigned the interiors of the principal rooms, and some of his designs are preserved in the present house.²⁴ In 1878 the house was described as magnificently furnished.²⁵

Eynsham Hall was demolished by J. F. Mason shortly after his father's death in 1903, and a new and larger house on the same site was completed in 1908 to the designs of Ernest (later Sir Ernest) George.²⁶ The house is late Elizabethan in style and built in local grey stone with yellow Taynton stone dressings. It was built on the grand scale, and its equipment included its own waterworks, gas plant, electricity generating station, and private telephone links with all parts of the estate. Few features of the earlier hall were retained, but there are several 18th-century fireplaces, and two rooms were designed to house Jones's interiors. The outbuildings include a rustic hexagonal game larder designed by C. H. Howell in 1883.²⁷

The owner from 1929, Michael Mason, disliked the new hall, describing it as a 'vulgar barracks',²⁸ and from the late 1930s the family occupied Scott's House (formerly Home Farm) in the grounds. During the Second World War the hall was leased first to Barclays Bank, then to the Air Ministry, and from 1946 until 1981 it was used by the Home Office as a police training

college.²⁹ Thereafter it was used as an accountancy training college and conference centre.

The park,³⁰ comprising c. 780 a. within a belt of trees, was laid out immediately after the inclosure of the heath. The Act of 1781 empowered Robert Langford to inclose only 472 a. but from the outset the park was much larger,³¹ presumably because part of the heath was already free of common rights. The Act also empowered Langford to lay out a road from Lodge Bottom to the Witney turnpike and to line it with ornamental trees, suggesting that, as later, the formal approach to the hall was by the south drive. Peripheral entrance lodges were built. Blindwell coppice, the site of the hall, was grubbed up almost entirely and great lawns laid out to the north and south.³² The west side of the park was preserved as woodland, Woodleys coppice (c. 210 a.), and the original garden also included ornamental clumps, a fishpond, and a small lake south-west of the hall; near the lake was a building called the Hermitage, and west of that a monument which was the focus of several paths.³³ Much of the land within the ring fence continued to be farmed, chiefly from buildings (later Home Farm) in a circle of trees south-east of the hall. Home Farm was rebuilt in the mid 19th century.³⁴ The north lodge was rebuilt in 1845 to the design of Richard Tress and the south lodge, also of the mid 19th century, was by Charles Moreing.³⁵

In 1862 the park proper comprised 232 a., and the remaining land within the ring fence was farm land. Woodleys coppice had been reduced to 168 a., while near the house were pleasure gardens, a pheasantry, a conservatory, and a grotto.³⁶ Changes during the brief occupancy of Sir Thomas Bazeley (1862–6) included the rebuilding of the conservatory, and the grubbing up of c. 150 a. of woodland, mostly in Woodleys coppice.³⁷ Bazeley was long remembered locally for his hatred of holly.³⁸

Soon after 1866 James Mason created a large lake in Black Pit vale, south-east of the hall;³⁹ the lake was used to supply water to the estate and surrounding villages. Mason planted extensively with American redwoods and other imported trees, and created new areas of woodland at Lodge hill and around the lake;⁴⁰ the landscape designer was probably Robert Marnock.⁴¹ Mason may also have added a parterre with or-

²⁰ Bodl. MS. Don. e 139, s.a. 1820, 1826.

²¹ Ibid. MS. Top. Oxon. d 671 (baptisms, s.v. Parker); Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/36; P.R.O., HO 107/889.

²² O.R.O., DL I/xii/8, p. 286; Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b 85a, no. 30. Mr. D. Blissett kindly supplied information on Barry's work at Eynsham.

²³ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/2/1 (plans and sketches, some signed by Jones).

²⁴ Some of Jones's furniture from Eynsham Hall is in the Victoria and Albert Mus., London.

²⁵ *Rain and Ruin*, ed. Celia Miller, 47.

²⁶ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/7 (plans); *ibid.* OXF 22/10/15 (notebk. of contracts); C. Aslet, *Last Country Houses*, 131, 317; County Mus., P.R.N. 7734.

²⁷ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/2/1.

²⁸ *Witney Gaz.* 14 May 1981.

²⁹ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/41; *ibid.* OXF 22/16: agreement with Air Ministry, 1965; *Witney Gaz.* 14 May 1981.

³⁰ It was not possible to view the park for the purpose of writing this account.

³¹ Eynsham Incl. Act, 21 Geo. III, c. 38 (Priv. Act): copy in O.R.O.; cf. O.R.O., incl. award and map.

³² *Torrington Diaries*, i. 214–15; O.R.O., incl. map.

³³ O.R.O., incl. map; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/4/10 (early 19th-cent. map).

³⁴ Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b 85a, no. 30.

³⁵ Inf. from Mr. H. M. Colvin.

³⁶ Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b 85 a, no. 30.

³⁷ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/13/1; *ibid.* OXF 22/16 (unnumbered map).

³⁸ *Witney Gaz.* 14 Mar. 1981.

³⁹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 2 (1881 edn.); late 19th-cent. estate maps in Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16.

⁴⁰ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 2 (1913 edn.); Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/15/31; M. Mason, *Golden Evening*, 17.

⁴¹ *D.N.B.*; *Gardener's Chron.* (1889), 588–9, where Eynsham Hall was said to be one of his principal works. In 1886, in retirement, he was advising on a design for the kitchen garden wall: Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/2/1.

namental ponds on the south side of the house and a walled courtyard on the north; both were altered before 1876,⁴² possibly by Owen Jones after he had altered the proportions of the hall. When the new hall was built the terraces, courtyard, and pleasure gardens were redesigned, apparently by Thomas Garner.⁴³ After much tree felling during the World Wars Michael Mason replanted heavily, mostly with oaks.⁴⁴

OTHER ESTATES. Although some freehold estates were created before 1279⁴⁵ most were small and the manorial estate was not much reduced until the 17th century. In 1609 Corpus Christi College, Oxford, bought an estate in Eynsham attached to houses in Thames Street, later the Elms on the Oxford road. The estate had been formed from several distinct holdings. The Thames Street houses, called in 1595 the old and the new building,⁴⁶ were on the site of tenements acquired by the Glover family in the 15th century. In 1414 Hugh Glover bought parts of a tenement on the north side of Thames Street, next to the site at the corner of High Street and Queen Street, later Lord's Farm.⁴⁷ In 1433 William Glover bought the rest of the tenement and in 1440 that on the east, which may have been the house on the ferry road granted to Robert Belgrave by Eynsham abbey in 1284.⁴⁸ The name Modyswell attached to a spring rising on the eastern tenement⁴⁹ suggests that an earlier occupant was John, son of William Mody, who granted his houses to the abbey after 1268.⁵⁰ By 1433 the Belgrave house had been pulled down, and the holding was described as a toft, close, and dovecot only.⁵¹

From 1440 the Glover tenements descended as a single holding, passing from William Glover's son Richard to Henry Busby in 1503, and, apparently through trustees, to Richard Barry of Eynsham, glover, in 1505.⁵² The Barry family may long have been tenants; Barrys were in Eynsham in 1406 and in 1467 Edmund Barry was paying a quit rent on a garden next to Modyswell.⁵³ Richard's son John (d. 1546), also a glover, became an Oxford alderman but retained his Eynsham property.⁵⁴ At an unknown date before 1560 the estate was acquired by Richard Ruffin (d. 1563),⁵⁵ passing to his son-in-law Thomas Cheyney, from whom it was

bought before 1595 by William Seacole.⁵⁶

In 1517 the Seacoles of South Leigh had acquired Perch closes in Tilgarsley, which in the 15th century, as closes called Hobwilles, were owned by the Piete family from which they acquired their later name.⁵⁷ In 1591 William Seacole sold Perch closes, then leased to Henry Jackson of Oxford, mercer, to Edmund Reynolds of Oxford university, and in 1595 Reynolds bought from Seacole the old and new buildings in Thames Street.⁵⁸ Reynolds and Jackson were evidently closely associated in the Eynsham estate, which they enlarged by several purchases before selling to Corpus Christi College in 1609.⁵⁹ Thereafter the college leased the estate, usually for 20 years, at a fixed rent of £33 6s. 8d. and a quantity of grain. The early lessees were Henry Jackson (1612), Edmund Reynolds (1621), Richard Reynolds (1633), and Thomas Hayward of Wytham, gentleman,⁶⁰ who may all have sublet to Eynsham farmers. Later lessees were themselves local men, the Wises (1657 until the 1760s or later), then the Wilsdens for over a century.⁶¹

In 1615 the estate comprised the Thames Street site, Perch closes (9 a.), Spare Acre close (1 a.), 15 a. of meadow, and c. 60 a. of open-field arable.⁶² At inclosure in 1802 the college was awarded 66 a. for its open-field land, making its total estate 77 a.⁶³ The Elms remained a working farmhouse until the early 1960s. In 1968 Perch closes were sold and in 1971 the Elms itself; its barn was converted into a house, and other land nearby sold for building.⁶⁴

The Elms is probably the new building of 1595, shown with a prominent porch and two chimneys on a map of 1615 in the position of the present house.⁶⁵ It is built of re-used stone, some of it moulded, and incorporates a variety of re-used windows with four-centred heads. It was probably built in the later 16th century, but seems to have been reroofed and extensively remodelled about a century later. The porch was added in the 19th century. The 'old building' of 1595, which lay along the western boundary of the plot, seems to have been demolished before 1762.⁶⁶

Oxford city corporation bought an estate at Eynsham in 1611 with the proceeds of the sale of the later Wadham College site in Oxford.⁶⁷ The estate, comprising a house in Acre End Street,

⁴² Cf. undated plan in Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/2/1; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 2 (1881 edn.).

⁴³ County Mus., P.R.N. 7733.

⁴⁴ Mason, *Golden Evening*, 16, 20-1.

⁴⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 859-60.

⁴⁶ C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcripts, ii, p. 542.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 402-6. For these tenements see Chambers, *Eynsham*, 79-84.

⁴⁸ C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcripts, ii, pp. 408, 418, 420, 422; *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 316.

⁴⁹ C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcripts, ii, p. 422; *ibid.* Langdon Map I. 9 (inset plan of college farmhouse).

⁵⁰ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 281-2.

⁵¹ C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcripts, ii, p. 408.

⁵² *Ibid.* 456, 470, 472.

⁵³ B.L. Harl. Rolls F 6, F 33.

⁵⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 104, 111; S. L. Barry, *Pedigree of the Barrys of Eynsham* (1928), 7 sqq.; below, *Econ. (Agric.)*.

⁵⁵ P.R.O., C 142/274, no. 41; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 83. Ruffin was 'of Eynsham' in 1560: C.C.C. Mun., Twyne

transcripts, ii, p. 498.

⁵⁶ *Cat. Anct. D.* vi, C 7874; C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcripts, ii, p. 542; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 83.

⁵⁷ C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcripts, ii, pp. 424-54, 482-6, 488; *Cal. Close*, 1476-85, p. 389.

⁵⁸ C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcripts, ii, pp. 502, 542.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 540, 562 sqq.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* lease ledgers. For a pedigree of the Reynolds fam. see Bodl. MS. Wood F 31, f. 51.

⁶¹ C.C.C. Mun., lease ledgers; *ibid.* F/1/50/3, nos. 127-8; *ibid.* MS. index to regs. 1798-1966.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Langdon Map I. 14.

⁶³ O.R.O., incl. award. For the estate in 1650 and 1788, *ibid.* Palm IV/1; C.C.C. Mun., An 1/6-8.

⁶⁴ C.C.C. Mun., An 4/1; An 5/1-10; *ibid.* MS. index to regs. 1798-1966; *ibid.* bursarial files.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Langdon Maps I. 9.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; Blenheim Mun., E/P/9b.

⁶⁷ *Oxf. Council Acts, 1583-1626* (O.H.S. lxxxvii), pp. liv-lv, 97.

26 a. of inclosed pasture, 6 a. of inclosed meadow, and 80 a. of open-field arable, had belonged to Thomas Blackman until 1610.⁶⁸ It was reckoned as only 95 a. in 1650.⁶⁹ It was enlarged in 1674 by the purchase from William Brent and others of a house in Mill Street, pasture closes called Hobjoans (9 a.), and c. 18 a. of other land, all part of a copyhold estate of Elizabeth Turrold in 1650⁷⁰ and for long tenanted by the Hart family, chief lessees of the city's Eynsham estate.⁷¹ The corporation sold its house in Acre End Street to the tenant in return for a surrender of common rights at inclosure.⁷² In 1802 it was awarded 120 a. for its open-field land, which, together with its closes, made up a farm of 160 a.; an outlying farmhouse, City Farm, was built at that time.⁷³ The estate was enlarged in 1856 by the purchase of the adjacent fields, Oundhills and Vincents (c. 26 a.),⁷⁴ and later by acquisitions of c. 36 a. in Hanborough parish and c. 32 a. from the charity feoffees of St. Giles's parish, Oxford. In 1953 City farm, by then 258 a., was sold to the tenants, the Watts family.⁷⁵

Part of Freeland east and south-east of Elm Farm seems to have formed an ancient freehold. About 1150 the abbot of Eynsham granted 'the land of Frith' to Nicholas of Leigh for 13s. 4d., and in 1279 John of Leigh had 1 hide freehold for that rent. In 1389 Thomas Paynel, knight, was holding the estate, said to have been William of Leigh's, presumably William of Leigh (fl. 1349).⁷⁶ The reversion of Paynel's estate seems to have passed before 1410 to the Wilcotes family, and in 1445 was held by Elizabeth Blacket, formerly Wilcotes.⁷⁷ By 1467 the rent of 13s. 4d. was paid to Eynsham abbey for Paynel's leys and Paynel's meadow by Sir Richard Harcourt, at whose death in 1487 the estate passed to Miles Harcourt.⁷⁸ Before the Dissolution it came into the possession of Abingdon abbey.⁷⁹

The Frith was a wood, estimated at 10 a. in 1306,⁸⁰ and identifiable as the Thrift in later records.⁸¹ Closes called the Frith and Frithland were referred to in the 1540s,⁸² and in 1605 the fields immediately south of the wood were called Freelands.⁸³ At the Dissolution the former Abingdon abbey estate there was reunited with

Eynsham manor,⁸⁴ and the Frith and Frithland were let. In 1540 John Barry, the prominent Eynsham glover, was lessee of both,⁸⁵ and in 1610 Sir Thomas Spencer of Yarnton bequeathed to his son Thomas his lease of 'certain grounds' called Freeland.⁸⁶ In 1595 the occupant of the 'Frith house' in Eynsham was John Willis, and in 1650 Freeland comprised a house and inclosed ground called the Thrift (46½ a.), let to Simon Busby, and pasture grounds (109 a.) let to Michael Craggs.⁸⁷ The Busby property was sold in 1682 to the trustees of a Witney charity, who bought adjacent land during the 18th century.⁸⁸ After inclosure in 1802 the trustees held the farmhouse (now Elm Farm) and 71 a.⁸⁹ The 109 a. of pasture, sold from the manor in the 1650s to John Dalton, came to John Salter (d. 1742) and was divided into moieties, bought by the vicars of Stanton Harcourt and Kirtlington with grants from Queen Anne's Bounty.⁹⁰ In 1762 the Stanton Harcourt share comprised c. 54 a. and the Kirtlington share c. 51 a., all divided into closes; inclosure in 1802 confirmed that arrangement.⁹¹ Elm Farm is a large stone and slate house of c. 1800, extensively restored and remodelled.

Freeland west of the main village street formed part of Eynsham heath until absorbed at inclosure in 1802 into the Freeland Lodge estate. On the eve of inclosure William Elias Taunton (d. 1825), town clerk of Oxford, built up an estate in Eynsham. In 1801 he bought from the trustees of James Duberley, lord of the manor, a freehold farm of 164 a. (Blagrove's) worked from the later Redthorn House in Mill Street. He also bought freehold and copyhold land, including Home Farm in Mill Street, from several smaller proprietors.⁹² At inclosure Taunton was awarded 63 a. near Mill Street and a much larger estate (256 a.) on the heath, where he built Freeland Lodge and laid out the park. He sold the Mill Street farms shortly afterwards.⁹³ Taunton's son William Elias (d. 1835)⁹⁴ enlarged the estate on the south and south-west in 1826-7.⁹⁵ His son William Elias (III) died in 1873, and in 1874 the estate was sold to James Malcolm, formerly a sheep breeder in Australia.⁹⁶ It then comprised Freeland Lodge and its

⁶⁸ Oxf. City Arch., F.5.8, pp. 266-73, 280-4. Part of the estate is shown on maps of 1615 as the holding of a tenant, George Watkins: C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Maps I. 7-14. For licence of alienation 1613, Oxf. City Arch., L.22.6; *Oxf. Council Acts, 1583-1626*, 231.

⁶⁹ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1.

⁷⁰ Ibid., s.v. widow Turell or Tirrell.

⁷¹ Oxf. City Arch., F.5.8, pp. 344-52; *ibid.* L.2.3-4; *Oxf. Council Acts, 1666-1701* (O.H.S. 2nd ser. ii), 82, 154, 316; *ibid.* 1701-52 (O.H.S. 2nd ser. x), *passim*.

⁷² *Oxf. Council Acts, 1752-1801* (O.H.S. 2nd ser. xv), 284-5. It was a butcher's shop, no. 119 on O.R.O., incl. map.

⁷³ O.R.O., incl. award; *Oxf. Council Acts, 1752-1801*, 285.

⁷⁴ Oxf. City Arch., L.2.5.

⁷⁵ Inf. from Oxf. City Council, Director of Housing and Estates.

⁷⁶ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 103; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 10; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 860; B.L. Harl. Roll E 32; Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 718.

⁷⁷ P.R.O., C 137/84, no. 5; C 139/122, no. 33; C 143/450, no. 3. For the Wilcotes, below, North Leigh, Manor.

⁷⁸ B.L. Harl. Roll F 33; *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, i, p. 78.

⁷⁹ P.R.O., CP 25(2)/52/372, no. 36; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiv

(1), p. 417.

⁸⁰ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 212; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 50, 55.

⁸¹ e.g. O.R.O., Palm. IV/1; Blenheim Mun., Eynsham map (1762); O.R.O., incl. map.

⁸² O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 180, ff. 37v.-39; Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 29-31.

⁸³ C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Map I. 7; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 51.

⁸⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), p. 417.

⁸⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 180, ff. 37v.-39.

⁸⁶ P.R.O., PROB 11/115 (P.C.C. 13 Wingfield).

⁸⁷ Oxf. Univ. Arch., Hyp A 26, f. 7; O.R.O., Palm. IV/1.

⁸⁸ O.R.O., Witney T.C. I/i-ii.

⁸⁹ O.R.O., incl. award and map.

⁹⁰ Woodstock Boro. Mun. 47/1/16; *V.C.H. Oxon.* vi. 229; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 51.

⁹¹ Blenheim Mun., E/P/9; O.R.O., incl. award.

⁹² Reading Univ. Arch., OXF. 22/5/27; O.R.O., Blake I/v/15; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. 142; O.R.O., incl. award; Blenheim Mun., box 76 (letter from Taunton, 1801).

⁹³ O.R.O., incl. award and map; *ibid.* Palm. IV/4-5.

⁹⁴ *Tauntons of Oxf.* (1902).

⁹⁵ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/48.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* OXF 22/5/48-9; Bodl. MS. Don. b 34, f. 39v.



NORTH LEIGH: Perrottshill Farm in 1844



SOUTH LEIGH: Church Farm in 1974



STANTON HARCOURT: the manor house from the west in 1760, showing Pope's Tower, the kitchen, and the south-west range



STANTON HARCOURT: the Devil's Quoit c. 1882, with the photographer Henry Taunt

park (c. 50 a.), a farm of 267 a. worked from a farmhouse north of Freeland church, and several other houses in the village.⁹⁷ In 1885 the estate was bought by James Mason of Eynsham Hall,⁹⁸ who thus created a coherent estate covering most of the north half of Eynsham parish. Freeland Lodge (later called Freeland House) was occupied by members of the Mason family⁹⁹ until let as a maternity home c. 1940.¹ It was a private home for the elderly in 1984.

The first Freeland Lodge, a stone, three-storeyed house, was under construction until 1807 or later, and was enlarged by W. E. Taunton (II).² In 1885–7 it was rebuilt to designs by C. H. Howell of London.³ In 1903 it was extended on the north-east to the design of A. J. Wood, and in the 1920s the principal rooms were much altered by Michael Mason.⁴ The park, laid out in the early 19th century, included a lake and large plantations. After the 1880s rebuilding James Mason redesigned the pleasure gardens, greatly extended the wooded area, and inserted a carriage drive linking Freeland House and Eynsham Hall.⁵

An estate called the Farm, in fact the demesne farm of Eynsham manor,⁶ was in 1650 leased by Thomas Edgerley of Bletchington from James Stanley, earl of Derby; it comprised a farmhouse and buildings (1½ a.) on part of the site of the present Abbey Farm, and c. 332 a. of mostly open-field land.⁷ In 1655 Edgerley's son, Thomas, acquired the freehold and appears to have let the estate in parcels to local farmers.⁸ In 1682 he sold the whole to Sir Richard Wenman, later Viscount Wenman of Tuam (d. 1690). After a prolonged Chancery suit in the 1690s the Eynsham estate was sold to pay Wenman's legacies, and in 1715 it was bought by John Churchill, duke of Marlborough.⁹

In the same year the duke acquired Eynsham's rectory estate. The rectory had been held by successive lords of the manor until 1658,¹⁰ when Thomas Jordan sold to John Knapp of Cumnor the parsonage (formerly the abbey) barn, the adjacent Farm Court (a 4-acre plot now partly covered by Abbey Farm), and all the tithes except vicarial tithes and those of the demesne.¹¹ Knapp was already lessee of the rectory under a grant of 1654.¹² In 1662 he settled it on his son Francis, who in 1691 settled

it on his son John. In 1692 the property was mortgaged to Stephen Fry of Oxford university, who bought the freehold in 1704. On Fry's death in 1710 it passed to his nephew Thomas Penny, who in 1715 sold it to the duke.¹³

In 1762 the duke's Eynsham estate was c. 332 a., divided between several tenants, of whom Martha Chamberlain held the farmhouse and 99 a., and James Wastie the tithe barn, 49 a., and presumably the tithes.¹⁴ From 1763 the lessee of much of the farm and the tithes was George Brown (d. 1782), an 'opulent farmer',¹⁵ who was succeeded in the lease by James Preston, his former servant.¹⁶ The estate was enlarged by small purchases near Freeland at Blowens and Little Blenheim in 1789.¹⁷ At inclosure in 1802 the duke held the Abbey Farm site (5½ a.) and two small closes on the Witney–Woodstock road acquired from Robert Langford in 1785;¹⁸ for his open-field land and tithes he was awarded c. 660 a., of which 21 a. was for the Blowens property and 215 a. for the tithes. The rest was awarded for glebe, which the Farm was thought to have been.¹⁹ The Marlborough estate was slightly enlarged in the 19th century, notably by more land in the Blowens area in 1845.²⁰ In the early 1920s, when Abbey farm was sold to William Hoskins, it comprised 462 a. of the estate.²¹

For much of the 19th century the farm was leased to the Druces, but the farmhouse was not apparently occupied by them until the 1850s, when Samuel (d. 1874) moved there; his widow Mary continued there until the 1890s.²² Early 19th-century maps show an L-shaped house, and the eastern and part of the southern ranges, both probably late 18th-century, survive at the eastern end of an enlarged and remodelled house of the mid 19th century, perhaps rebuilt after a fire in 1854.²³ Some 16th- and 17th-century timbers are re-used in the eastern service range. Outbuildings, including the former abbey barn, were rebuilt in the 19th century.²⁴

An estate called Twelve Acre farm was sold in 1654 by Henry Pierrepont, earl of Kingston, and Charlotte, countess of Derby, to Stephen Brice of Witney Park.²⁵ The land was former manorial demesne, emerging as a separate unit in the later Middle Ages.²⁶ In the 16th century it was let by the lords of the manor, the lessees including the

Street) is evidently the abbey precinct to the east: cf. above, Site and Rem. of Abbey.

¹² Blenheim Mun., box 72 (recital in deed of 1662).

¹³ Ibid. box 72, *passim*; *Par. Colln.* 141.

¹⁴ Blenheim Mun., E/P/9.

¹⁵ Ibid. E/P/11; M.I. in Eynsham church.

¹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 9/4/26; Blenheim Mun., box 76, valuation of 1795.

¹⁷ Blenheim Mun., box 74.

¹⁸ O.R.O., incl. award; Blenheim Mun., box 74.

¹⁹ O.R.O., incl. award.

²⁰ Blenheim Mun., box 75; *ibid.* undated estate map, late 19th-cent.

²¹ O.R.O., S.C. 45; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1928).

²² C. Gott, 'Druces of Eynsham' (Oxf. Univ. External Studies Dept., Local Hist. thesis, 1983); P.R.O., HO 107/809, 1731; *ibid.* RG 9/904; RG 11/1513; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.). ²³ *Oxf. Jnl.* 7 Oct. 1854.

²⁴ Above, Site and Rem. of Abbey.

²⁵ O.R.O., Blake I/i/1–2; S. J. Barnes, 'Twelve Acre Fm.' *Top. Oxon.* xxi. 1–3.

²⁶ Below, Econ. (Agric.).

⁹⁷ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/48: *sale cat.*

⁹⁸ Ibid. OXF 22/16: plans for new ho. 1885; *ibid.* 22/2/96, showing large expenditure by Mason in 1886.

⁹⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1887 and later edns.).

¹ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/15/7.

² Blenheim Mun., B/M/287 (letter of W. E. Taunton, 1803); Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/27(2), 48; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1864).

³ Ibid. OXF 22/16/6 (plans of 1885–7).

⁴ Ibid. item 8; *ibid.* OXF 22/1/100.

⁵ Ibid. OXF 22/5/48 (*sale cat.*, 1874); OXF 22/16 (Freeland maps 1888 and later); OXF 22/2/196 (accts. of 1886–9).

⁶ Below, Econ. (Agric.).

⁷ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1.

⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 73 (deeds of 1655 and 1682).

⁹ Ibid. box 73, *passim*.

¹⁰ For early 17th-cent. tithe farmers see O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 20, ff. 69 sqq.

¹¹ Blenheim Mun. box 72. The Farm Court mentioned in 1650 (O.R.O., Palm. IV/1, summary of demesnes) is the Abbey Court of 1762 (Blenheim Mun., E/P/9b), while the Abbey Court of 1650 (O.R.O., Palm. IV/1, plot 27 in Mill

Seacoles of South Leigh and the Gunne family. There had been farm buildings there from the later Middle Ages, and by the later 16th century there were houses.²⁷ Before 1615 Twelve Acre was taken in hand by the lord, Sir Edward Stanley,²⁸ but in 1650, while still counted as part of the 'demesnes', was let to several tenants. When sold to Brice in 1654 it comprised 5 'grounds' (c. 170 a.), and two detached former demesne meadows, Bitterall and Wersey.²⁹ In 1655 Martha Brice and Lancelot Grainger of Witney bought from Isaac Swift a further 65 a. of former demesne called the Tiffens, adjoining Twelve Acre farm on the north.³⁰ Although no reference was made to buildings at Twelve Acre in deeds and surveys of the 1650s the Brices evidently had a substantial house near the centre of the farm in 1677.³¹

The estate passed to Stephen Brice, whose son Henry sold it in 1692 to William Gibbons. By will proved 1728 Gibbons left the farm to his wife Elizabeth, who in 1737 granted it to her grand-nephew Samuel Jones of Ramsbury (Wilts.). By will proved 1750 Jones left it in trust for various relations, and in 1781 the trustees sold it to James Duberley,³² who shortly afterwards acquired Eynsham manor. Duberley's trustees sold Twelve Acre farm in 1800 to James Burr of Ditchley and Dr. Robert Bourne: the estate then comprised the farmhouse and c. 280 a. of closes.³³ From the earlier 18th century the farm was in the hands of tenants, the Arnatts, the Wilsdens (by the early 1780s), followed in the 19th century by the Colletts (by 1818 until at least 1831), and the Druces.³⁴

In 1838 the Revd. Robert Burr Bourne bought from James Preston the adjacent Newfield farm, which at inclosure had comprised a farmhouse in Acre End Street and 126 a. south and east of Twelve Acre farm.³⁵ When settled in 1857 on Bourne's son Robert the estate, further enlarged, comprised Twelve Acre, Newfield, and Mill Moors farms (the last near Eynsham mill). In 1879 Twelve Acre farm (by then 462 a. including Newfield) was sold to John Deane of Newington, passing in the 1920s to the present owners, the Blakes, through marriage.³⁶

Little remains of the late 16th- or early 17th-century house at Twelve Acre, described as a pretty place in 1604,³⁷ apart from a small range

at the centre of the south front incorporating some re-used early stonework. The house was extended westwards in the later 18th century, and in the 19th was doubled in depth and enlarged on the east. The 19th-century work probably dates from shortly after 1871, when reference was made to a proposed new house at Twelve Acre.³⁸

In 1671 charity funds from St. Giles's parish, Oxford, were invested in two closes in the north of the parish called Culworth or Chaworth (later Collets) and French croft or Shepherd's close, bought from Robert Butler and his son Robert.³⁹ Both had been acquired from the manor before 1662, when they were sold to the Butlers by Oliver, son of John and Elizabeth Green.⁴⁰ At inclosure the St. Giles's estate comprised c. 32 a.⁴¹ In 1931 it was absorbed into City farm.⁴²

In 1672 Merton College, Oxford, bought land in Eynsham from Thomas Keyleway,⁴³ who had acquired part of the estates held by the Greens in 1650.⁴⁴ The Merton estate comprised 95 field acres, much of it meadow in Oathurst, Trumpet mead, and the inclosed Turner's, the rest scattered closes. Local farmers were lessees, notably the Saywells in the later 17th century and the Lords in the late 18th century and early 19th.⁴⁵ At inclosure the college was awarded its existing holdings, except for reduced meadow in Oathurst to compensate for exonerated tithes, a total of 95 a.⁴⁶ In 1857 the college bought a farmhouse on the south side of Acre End Street, formerly John Blagrove's, and c. 1898 replaced it with the surviving large stone house, Merton Farm.⁴⁷ Most of the estate, including the farmhouse, was sold off in 1978-9.⁴⁸

From the 1740s Edward Ryves, town clerk of Woodstock and steward of Newland manor,⁴⁹ built up a large estate at Eynsham, mostly by foreclosing on mortgages. His first major acquisition was from the Knapps, who were in financial difficulties from at least 1722 when John Knapp died.⁵⁰ In 1745 and 1747⁵¹ Ryves bought from Knapp's widow Mary and son John a house, later the Shrubbery,⁵² 120 a. of arable, and numerous pasture closes. Much may be identified as an estate held of the manor in 1650 by Thomas King, and earlier by the Martin family,⁵³ but some Knapp possessions such as Lower Park, suggest that the Jordans had sold

²⁷ P.R.O., C 142/274, no. 41. O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 23, ff. 227v.-228, 230-4, 242-3v.; *ibid.* d 15, f. 21 and v.

²⁸ P.R.O., STAC 8/92/9; STAC 8/257/14.

²⁹ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1; *ibid.* Blake I/i/1-2.

³⁰ *Ibid.* Blake I/ii/1-2.

³¹ Map in Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxon.* (1677).

³² O.R.O., Blake I/i-v.

³³ *Ibid.* i/v/15, 17; *ibid.* incl. award.

³⁴ *Ibid.* Blake I/v/11; XIII/i/5; *Oxf. Jnl.* 1 June 1782; P.R.O., HO 107/889.

³⁵ O.R.O., Blake III/iv/2-27; *ibid.* incl. award.

³⁶ *Ibid.* Blake XIII/i/1-12; *ibid.* Reg. of Electors, 1929-31; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1881 and later edns.); Harris, *From Acre End*, 33.

³⁷ P.R.O., STAC 8/92/9.

³⁸ O.R.O., Blake XIII/i/5.

³⁹ 6th Rep. Com. Char. 455-6; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Oxf., St. Giles, c 33, nos. 3-5.

⁴⁰ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1, showing the Greens as lessees in 1650; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Oxf., St. Giles, c 33, *passim*.

⁴¹ Cf. *ibid.* CH. XIX/1; *ibid.* incl. award and map.

⁴² Char. Com. files.

⁴³ Merton Coll. Mun., Reg. 1567-1731, pp. 481-2; 'Cal. Oxon. Rec. at Merton Coll.' (TS. in Bodl.), iii, p. 183.

⁴⁴ e.g. O.R.O., Palm. I/1, pp. 33, 62. The later Merton Coll. lands were leased by the Greens in 1650: O.R.O., Palm. IV/1.

⁴⁵ Merton Coll. Mun., Reg. 1567-1731, pp. 481-2, 522, 532, 570, 694; *ibid.* 1731-1822, pp. 360, 367, 453, 507; *ibid.* estate map (1798) by Thos. Pride.

⁴⁶ O.R.O., incl. award and map.

⁴⁷ Inf. from Merton Coll. Estates Bursar. For the Blagrove ownership, O.R.O., incl. award and map; *ibid.* Palm. IV/4-5. The site was cleared but the house unbuilt in 1898: O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII.7 (1899 edn.).

⁴⁸ Inf. from Estates Bursar.

⁴⁹ Below, Woodstock, *passim*; O.R.O., Palm. I/1.

⁵⁰ Blenheim Mun., box 73, deed of 1751; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 94, f. 220v.

⁵¹ Blenheim Mun., box 73.

⁵² Ho. identified from e.g. O.R.O., photo. 13: map of Holloway estate 1769.

⁵³ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1; above, Intro.

off demesne which had been in hand in 1650, notably the former abbey site.⁵⁴ In 1748⁵⁵ Ryves acquired an estate from Jacob Bobart of New Woodstock who had bought it a year earlier from the Jordans; it was based on a newly built house, the later Wintles Farm on Mill Street,⁵⁶ and comprised 100 a. of arable and much meadow and pasture, including Ambury close (88 a.). The estate was partly that held on lease in 1650 by Mr. Hampshire and Mrs. Grainger; earlier it seems to have comprised two separate tenements, once called Ambury Hold and Gilbert's Hold.⁵⁷ Of later acquisitions by Ryves the largest was a purchase in 1751 from John Knapp of an estate probably based on the later Newland Lodge.⁵⁸

By 1762 Ryves held c. 600 a. in Eynsham, including 114 a. of former demesne.⁵⁹ At his death in 1767 the estate passed to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of the Revd. Benjamin Holloway of Woodstock, with reversion to his grandson Benjamin.⁶⁰ Elizabeth died in 1769 and Benjamin in 1796.⁶¹ At inclosure in 1802 the Holloway trustees were awarded 511 a. for their open-field land, making their total holding in Eynsham 635 a.⁶² In 1803 the trustees sold 143 a. near Eynsham Hall to the Revd. John Robinson, to form the core of Little Green farm,⁶³ and in 1812 partitioned the rest between Benjamin Holloway's three children, Benjamin, Edward Vere, and Elizabeth, wife of the Revd. John Stanton.⁶⁴ Benjamin's share, the Mill Street house and 168 a., was let to the Day family from at least the 1830s;⁶⁵ in 1845 the house and 85 a. were sold by his executors to the Revd. Robert Wintle and became the core of Wintles farm, sold by the Misses Wintle to Oxfordshire County Council in 1920. The council sold the farmhouse in Mill Street in 1955.⁶⁶ In 1812 Edward Vere Holloway received the house now the Shrubbery and 212 a., including much of the Parks and adjacent meadows, and the large Holloway inclosure allotment later Ambury Close farm; he lived in the house but sold off much of the land.⁶⁷ The Stanton family received the Newland Street house and 196 a., but most was sold soon afterwards;⁶⁸ by 1836 Newland Lodge was owned by Samuel Druce (d. 1860).⁶⁹

ECONOMIC HISTORY. AGRICULTURE. The depopulation of Tilgarsley in the mid 14th cen-

tury caused changes in the parish's open fields and tenorial structure which largely obscured earlier arrangements. Until then Eynsham and Tilgarsley had separate sets of fields, probably divided by the ancient boundary known as Tilgar's mere or ditch.⁷⁰ All early references to holdings in or at Tilgarsley seem to relate to places north and west of that ditch,⁷¹ with the exception of some detached meadow land at Bitterall and elsewhere.⁷² Later references to Tilgarsley, the evidence of field names and boundaries on pre-inclosure maps, and survivals such as common rights in many long inclosed fields north and west of Tilgar's mere⁷³ confirm that Tilgarsley's open fields occupied a broad swathe running south-westwards from near Elm Farm (Freeland) towards, and probably including, Twelve Acre farm; east and south lay the fields of Eynsham, west and north a large tract of heath and woodland which remained uncultivated until the 18th century.

Eynsham's medieval open fields were probably very similar to those mapped in 1615 and later,⁷⁴ except for a few arable furlongs north and west of Tilgar's mere which may have been added to Eynsham's fields after Tilgarsley was deserted. In the 17th century the arable furlongs lay north, west, and south-west of the town in three large divisions, South, Conduit, and North fields. In the 15th century the three fields mentioned were South, North, and Walton fields, the latter perhaps renamed Conduit field after a conduit house was built in the 16th or early 17th century.⁷⁵ There is slight evidence of an earlier, two-field, arrangement, for in the early 13th century 2 a. held by the Underwall family lay in two fields (*campis*).⁷⁶ Three fields were probably in use by the 14th century, for shortly after the abandonment of Tilgarsley the men of Hanborough, claiming their right to common on the Tilgarsley fallow, said that every third year was a fallow year: the abbot's assertion that the usual rotation was three crops and a fallow seems less plausible at a time when depopulation would hardly have encouraged the bringing of more land into cultivation.⁷⁷ A four-year rotation of crops within the structure of the three named fields was probably established long before the 18th century as the introduction of pulses into the fallow became widespread; in 1766 the sequence was wheat, pulse, barley, fallow.⁷⁸

⁵⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 73, deed of 1744; cf. O.R.O., Misc. Hac. X/v/1.

⁵⁵ Blenheim Mun., box 73.

⁵⁶ Ho. identified from O.R.O., photo 13; above, Intro.

⁵⁷ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1; Blenheim Mun., box 73, deed of 1248; cf. O.R.O., Mor. IX/b/iv.

⁵⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 73. Identified from O.R.O., photo. 13.

⁵⁹ Blenheim Mun., E/P/9.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., N.W.B. V/7. For her estate, *ibid.* photo. 13.

⁶¹ Westgate Libr., Woodstock par. reg. transcripts.

⁶² O.R.O., incl. award.

⁶³ *Ibid.* Misc. Su. LXV/i/4.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*; cf. *ibid.* Mor. IX/b/iv.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* Mor. IX/b/iv.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; *ibid.* S.C. 50; *ibid.* CCE. 44.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* Mor. IX/b/iv; *ibid.* Palm. IV/4-5; *ibid.* Welch XVI/1-16; *ibid.* Blake XI; *ibid.* Acc. 2361: Holloway's mortgage, 1812.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* Mor. IX/b/iv; *ibid.* Misc. Su. LXV/ii/3; *ibid.*

Misc. Fleming IV/1.

⁶⁹ O.R.O., Palm. IV/4-5.

⁷⁰ Above, Intro.

⁷¹ *Eynsham Cart. passim*, compared with lists of 15th-century Tilgarsley field names in B.L. Harl. Rolls F 14(3), F 22; cf. discussion in Chambers, *Eynsham*, 104-5.

⁷² e.g. B.L. Harl. Rolls F 14(3, 4); Chambers, *Eynsham*, 105.

⁷³ e.g. O.R.O., incl. award and map; below.

⁷⁴ The principal pre-inclosure field maps and surveys are C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Maps I. 9-14 (1615 map); O.R.O., Palm. IV/1 (1650 survey); Blenheim Mun., E/P/9 (1762 map and survey); O.R.O., photo. 13 (1769 map); *ibid.* CH. XIX/1 (1782 map).

⁷⁵ B.L. Harl. Rolls F 24 and *passim*. The conduit ho. is shown on C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Map I. 10.

⁷⁶ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 163-4.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* ii, pp. 105-7.

⁷⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 76, abstract of Geo. Castell's arable.

The Domesday description of Eynsham⁷⁹ makes no reference to Tilgarsley or its fields, but the figures evidently relate to the whole parish. In 1086 Columban the monk held of the bishop of Lincoln an estate assessed at 15½ hides and containing also demesne land for 2 ploughs which, as 'inland', was exempt from geld. The uneven hidation suggests that Columban's holding was part of an earlier, larger, estate. There was said to be land for 18 ploughteams and 18 were in use, 3 on the demesne and 15 held by tenants. Presumably by 1086 more demesne had been added to the inland, since 3 ploughs were needed to cultivate it. There was extensive meadow and permanent pasture, measured in 1086 as 255 a. and 100 a. respectively. A large area of woodland (1½ leagues by 1 league 2 furlongs) was valued, when stocked, at 25s. A mill yielded 12s. and 450 eels. The whole estate was valued at £20, unchanged since the Conquest, unlike most of the bishop of Lincoln's lands which had greatly increased in value. The disturbed history of Eynsham after the Conquest may have hampered its development.

Unusually large quantities of woodland and meadow survived in Eynsham into the 18th century. In 1360 there were two woods, the Heyewode or High wood and the Frith, and between them a 'great heath', the whole said to be worth, in housebote and haybote, £5.⁸⁰ The Frith (later Thrift coppice) was small, said to be only 10 a. in 1306,⁸¹ but the whole area of wood and heath was measured at 1,468 a. in 1650.⁸² The Heath field was mentioned in 1005, and the bounds of the heath, evidently marked by crosses, were described in 1650 and mapped in 1769.⁸³ The bounds given for High wood in 1449 seem to have included the heath.⁸⁴ The extent of heath and woodland in 1769 was c. 1,780 a.,⁸⁵ probably little changed since Domesday except for a few assarts in the Freeland area. By c. 1700 there were only two major wooded areas, Woodleys coppice (said to be 212 a.) and Blindwell coppice (78 a.), while the rest was referred to as the heath and Old Coppice, the latter an area of cleared woodland south of Woodleys.⁸⁶

There was much dispute over whether Eynsham's woods and heath belonged to the royal forest of Wychwood. Henry I exempted the men of Eynsham from a hunting service known as *stabilitas* in the forest⁸⁷ but in 1300 a local jury asserted that Eynsham's woods had been afforrested after 1154.⁸⁸ Fines paid by the abbot to the Crown in 1185 and 1190 for assarting, waste of

timber, and overstocking with pigs⁸⁹ may have been incurred at Eynsham. In 1230 the abbot's right to allow estovers by view of his own foresters was limited by making estovers subject to the royal view, and in 1270 the abbot failed to regain the earlier privilege.⁹⁰ Before 1275 the abbot had made a small encroachment at Sand hill and an assart of 15 a., both apparently in forest land, and in the 1260s the abbot sold to Robert le Eyr an acre of arable on the heath near the modern Freeland.⁹¹ The assart of 1275 was probably the cow pasture in Eynsham wood held c. 1284 by William of St. Owen and earlier by Walter of the New Forest. St. Owen's land lay next to Robert le Eyr's acre, and later St. Owen granted his interest to Oseney abbey which held a sheep croft near Blowens corner in 1298.⁹² High wood, but not the Frith, was assumed to be in the forest in 1279 but both were excluded from it in a perambulation of 1298, confirmed by inquisition in 1300.⁹³ The bounds of 1298 touched Eynsham at the mill, and then ran northwards along the former boundary with Hanborough, along the tributary of the Evenlode known as the Caverswell brook, skirting Thrift coppice on the north, and passing east of the grange of Robert le Eyr to reach Blowens corner and so into North Leigh. In 1306 the abbot had to apply once more for custody of his woods but demonstrated that they were some way from the covert of the forest.⁹⁴ Again c. 1350 Thomas Langley, the royal forester, claimed that Tilgarsley's fields lay within the forest and there was a serious riot when he went to Eynsham to hold a court.⁹⁵ There are later references to High wood being in the forest, and Eynsham was not entirely free from such claims until Wychwood was severely reduced in area in the early 17th century.⁹⁶

The claims of the men of Woodstock royal manor, particularly of Hanborough, to common in Eynsham's heath and wood perhaps originated as rights in the forest. About 1230 a jury asserted that an abbot of Eynsham in Henry II's reign had agreed that Hanborough men might run pigs in High wood in return for autumn boon works and gifts of a hen and ten eggs each, but denied their claim to cut furze on the heath.⁹⁷ When in 1356 Hanborough men damaged the abbot's crops by exercising common grazing in Tilgarsley they may have been taking advantage of Langley's attempted revision of Wychwood's precincts; the abbot found witnesses to show that Hanborough's rights were limited to the heath and High wood. Even so the

⁷⁹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 402-3; the figures given by Chambers, *Eynsham*, 4 sqq. contain errors.

⁸⁰ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 38. On the relationship of Eynsham to Wychwood see B. Schumer, *Evolution of Wychwood to 1400* (Leic. Univ. Occas. Pps. 3rd ser. 6); idem, 'Woodland of Wychwood Region before 1400' (Leic. Univ. M. Phil. 1980).

⁸¹ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 210-12.

⁸² O.R.O., Palm. IV/1.

⁸³ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 25; O.R.O., Palm. IV/1; *ibid.* Misc. Mas. I/1.

⁸⁴ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 42-3.

⁸⁵ O.R.O., Misc. Mas. I/1; acreage calculated from O.S. *Area Bk.* (1881).

⁸⁶ O.R.O., C.J. V/71-2.

⁸⁷ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 155.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p. 94 n.; J. Akerman, 'Ancient Limits of Wychwood Forest', *Archaeologia*, xxxvii, 424 sqq.

⁸⁹ *Pipe R.* 1185 (P.R.S. xxxiv), 108; 1190 (P.R.S. n.s. i), 12-13.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 1230 (P.R.S. n.s. iv), 257; *Fines Oxon.* 86; *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 209-10.

⁹¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 34-5; *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 302. For Robert's ho., *ibid.* ii, p. 93.

⁹² Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 349; *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 111; *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 92 sqq. The assarts are wrongly identified in Schumer, *Wychwood*, 27-8.

⁹³ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 92 sqq.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* i, pp. 322-3; ii, pp. 210-12.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* ii, p. 107; *Cal. Pat.* 1348-50, 594.

⁹⁶ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 42-3; V. J. Watney, *Cornbury*, 220.

⁹⁷ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 104-5.

Hanborough tenants, perhaps because of their relationship to Woodstock manor, continued to claim rights in Eynsham's fields in the early 18th century.⁹⁸

The abbot's woods were supervised by a woodward who accounted annually.⁹⁹ The rights of Eynsham tenants in the heath and wood included estovers, grazing rights for swine, and the right to cut furze and fern on the heath. Pannage was paid and grazing was administered by a special court.¹ Furze and wood on the heath were exploited by later manorial lords: in 1608 Sir Edward Stanley's bailiff was exporting timber to Oxford from Eynsham wharf, and later Stanleys seem to have leased rights in the heath. In 1645 William Bailey and Roger Griffin, both prominent Oxford men, were selling large quantities of furze from Eynsham, and had evidently held leases there for many years. Some Eynsham men were also exporting furze from the wharf in quantities that suggest that they held similar leases.² The Jordans, lords in the later 17th century and early 18th, raised the rent of the furze and fern from c. £60 to £100 a year in 1713, but reckoned it was worth perhaps £300 more: they let it cheaply because they intended to dig coal and establish a warren on the heath, but both schemes failed, as did later attempts to exploit coal.³

The Domesday pasture of 100 a. was perhaps represented in later times by a permanent cow pasture on the Limb brook called Cow leys common, which was c. 120 a. in 1650 and 1802.⁴ The 250 a. of meadow lay on the rivers Thames and Evenlode and their tributaries in the south-east and east.⁵ An incomplete valuation of the abbey's demesne c. 1270 included 80 a. of meadow worth 20d. an acre, and by c. 1360 the demesne meadows were worth as much as £35.⁶ The increase probably reflects an enlargement of the demesne after the Black Death. Nearly 350 a. of demesne meadow were surveyed,⁷ while others (Partrichesmede, Lodemere, Mill moor, and one near Twelve Acre) seem to have been omitted.⁸ The principal demesne meadows, for which boon works were usually exacted, were Wroughthey (later Wrothy) on the Thames, and Wyreshey (later Wersey) east of the Evenlode, but the abbot also held small pieces in the common or lot meadows.

Most demesne meadows were mown twice: some were reserved for the lord's use throughout the year, others were commonable from either Lammas or Michaelmas until Candlemas (2 Feb.). Overeyt was commonable from 24 June but no sheep were allowed and the lord's servants were ordered to keep out cattle until the adjacent Long mead was mown and lifted. Simi-

larly Mill moor was to be protected until corn from adjacent demesne arable called Catsbrain was removed.⁹ In 1328 a dispute over the immemorial intercommoning of Eynsham and Cassington parishes between Somerford in the east and Hythe croft in the west, and between the Thames and Eynsham mill, was resolved by agreeing that Cassington men might enter only after the hay was cut, sending in their beasts 'horn by horn' (in equal numbers) with those of Eynsham; they should keep out of Mill moor until corn was cut in Mill croft and Catsbrain.¹⁰ Cassington men could also enter Wersey as soon as the abbot let his own cattle in.¹¹ Tilgarsley men had rights in certain meadow parcels which by c. 1360 had reverted to the demesne, notably in Beterdeye and Costloneit, north of the Cassington road,¹² and in the 15th century it was recalled that Bitterall, west of Mead Lane, had belonged to Tilgarsley.¹³

By 1360 some meadows were divided according to complex and probably ancient customs. In Stutfurlong and Longlete there were six parcels, of which the two largest were always demesne and the other four in alternate years the lord's and the tenants' lot meadow. Only certain tenants had lots, presumably as holders of traditional yardlands.¹⁴ In Clayhythe (later Claywire) there were pieces assigned to the lord and to his beadle, and two pieces which, in alternate years, were the lord's and allotted among seven tenants; when they were allotted, an extra or 'chopper' acre was set aside and divided between the tenants. There were other 'chopper' acres in meadows not surveyed c. 1360, for in 1615 Corpus Christi College shared in no less than ten such pieces.¹⁵ Meadows with 'chopper' acres were still known as the 'changeable furlongs' in 1782, and complex rights survived until inclosure.¹⁶ The alternation of rights by odd and even years may have been related to an original two-year rotation of crops in the open fields. The 'chopper' acre was presumably an extreme example of the striving after equity which is evident in other local lot-meadow customs.

Until the Black Death Eynsham had a demesne very large in proportion to the customary and freehold land. In 1279 the abbot's demesne was said to be 8½ hides (34 yardlands), while the villeins held only 23 yardlands, the freeholders c. 12 yardlands, and cottagers only a few acres; the total of c. 70 yardlands suggests that the cultivated area was much the same as the 18 ploughlands of 1086.¹⁷ An extent of part of the abbot's estate c. 1270, dealing with 6 ploughlands of demesne and 4 ploughlands of villein land, probably omitted either Eynsham or Tilgarsley,¹⁸ while the survey of 1279 seems to have

⁹⁸ Ibid. 105–8; E. Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 253.

⁹⁹ e.g. B.L. Harl. Rolls F 12 (3, 7), F 14 (5, 8), F 16 (5), F 25 (2), G 2 (8), G 7, G 11; *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. xlv.

¹ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. xlv.

² Oxf. Univ. Arch., Hyp. B 4, f. 84; *ibid.* Chanc. Ct. pps. 1644/2: 1, 6, 15; 1645/5: 1 sqq.

³ B.L. Add. MS. 38476, ff. 168–225; O.R.O., C.J. V/71–2. For warren see above, Manor, and for coal-mining, above, Intro.

⁴ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1; *ibid.* incl. award and map.

⁵ For full description, Chambers, *Eynsham*, 88–94.

⁶ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 11; ii, p. 38.

⁷ Ibid. ii, pp. 32–7.

⁸ Ibid. 38.

⁹ Ibid. 38–9.

¹⁰ Ibid. 101–2; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 66–7.

¹¹ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 38–9.

¹² Ibid. p. 35.

¹³ e.g. B.L. Harl. Roll F 14 (4).

¹⁴ e.g. *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 53.

¹⁵ C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Maps I. 9 (schedule in margin).

¹⁶ O.R.O., CH. XIX/1; C.C.C. Mun., An 1/6.

¹⁷ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 859–60.

¹⁸ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 11–12.

omitted the burgesses of Eynsham and Newland; its format suggests that only Tilgarsley was surveyed but the acreage is clearly that of the whole agricultural part of the manor. Apparently the demesne arable had increased greatly since Domesday, partly perhaps because the abbey had taken over land held in 1086 by three knights; the knights' fees, probably established there by the bishop of Lincoln, were not mentioned later, unless a hide granted to the abbey before 1109 by Niel d'Oilly represents one of them.¹⁹ The 34 *villani* and 33 *bordarii* of 1086 had been replaced by 1279 by 26 villeins, 20 freeholders, and 4 cottars. The villeins, of whom 20 were yardlanders and 6 half-yardlanders, paid no rent, but were tallaged, redeemed their children at the lord's will, and performed unspecified services. About 1270 the villeins worked for the abbot four days a week, and owed in addition 3 bedrips.²⁰ In 1279 the four cottars worked in summer only, at the lord's will.

Manumission of villeins in the early 14th century cost 6s. 8d. (or 5s. for females)²¹ but many of the tenants who died at Tilgarsley *c.* 1350 were *nativi*, and in 1360 the abbot was still asserting his full rights.²² At least until the Black Death customary services continued to be performed: in the 1330s customary tenants of Eynsham and Tilgarsley were fined for leaving work too early,²³ and in 1345 twelve abbey tenants, claiming to be tenants of ancient demesne, complained of illegal burdens such as ploughing the lord's land thrice weekly and carrying out the whole range of agricultural services from sowing to threshing; they were expected to serve as reeves and to pay arbitrary fines and tallages. The abbot counter-claimed that three plaintiffs were his villeins, bearing the ordinary burdens of villeinage. Almost certainly the others failed to prove tenancy of ancient demesne, since Domesday Book stated otherwise. The quarrel perhaps arose because the abbey was reasserting services after commutation had been allowed, or because tenants were taking advantage of dissension over the abbacy.²⁴

The diversity of size and conditions of tenure among the freeholds of 1279 resulted from frequent sales in the 12th and 13th centuries. The largest freehold was 1 hide at the Frith held by John of Leigh for 13s. 4d. a year, which may be traced to a grant by the abbey *c.* 1150.²⁵ Henry de la Hulle held $\frac{1}{2}$ hide for 13s. 6d. rent, with mowing and carrying hay in the demesne meadows, three ploughings a year, and three bedrips with two men: he had also to supervise the harvesting. William Bacon owed 10s. and the same services for a yardland acquired by his family in the mid 13th century,²⁶ and Richard Bonvalet owed the same rent and probably the same services for a yardland sold to him *c.*

1260.²⁷ Augustine Clerk held 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland for only 5s. a year and fewer services. The other freeholds were much smaller, though two holdings of 18 a. each, held of Henry de la Wade of Stanton Harcourt, and presumably by him of the abbey, probably represent a former yardland. Eight freeholders held houses only.

Grants by the abbey were mostly in perpetuity but a few were for life only,²⁸ and grants for three or more lives and for terms of years were recorded in the 14th century.²⁹ Freeholds carried the obligation of suit at the manorial court, sometimes at the three-weekly court but more commonly at one or two of the 'great courts'. Some grants expressly forbade alienation to other religious houses or pledging to the Jews.³⁰ Urban tenements, omitted from the survey of 1279, evidently could be burdened with agricultural services on the demesne, particularly the three bedrips.³¹ In 1366 the burdens upon Robert Jordan's free tenement and croft in Hythe End were expressed so fully in the cartulary that perhaps they provided an exemplar of the standard obligations of Eynsham tenants. Jordan owed suit at the Michaelmas and Hockday courts, hay making in Wrothy and Wersey, and three bedrips. His working day began before the bell for St. Mary's mass and was not to be interrupted without leave before the repast. His diet at the lord's table (bread, ale, and herrings) was carefully defined.³²

Before the Black Death assize rents from Eynsham (over £15) and Tilgarsley (less than £2), together with a few from Cassington, Hanborough, and Swinford ferry, amounted to *c.* £19. Fines and perquisites included income from the view of frankpledge and from courts, and aids of £4 from Tilgarsley and only 34s. from Eynsham. Sale of tithe hay yielded *c.* 22s. but pannage only 8d. The reeve's total receipts were *c.* £37 10s., of which most was handed over to the cellarer. On the abbot's home farm sheep-farming was important, with a flock of 380 sheep and lambs after the death of nearly 400 from murrain.³³ Although labour services continued to be exacted, there was a large permanent labour force on the demesne. Liveries of malt from the abbey granary were distributed throughout the year to a beadle, 18 ploughmen, 2 shepherds, a swineherd, a dairyman, a woodward, a gardener, and a miller: recipients for shorter periods included 2 shepherds and a shepherd boy, a woodhewer, and an overseer (*messor*) of the Grange croft, part of the Tilgarsley demesne.³⁴

In 1316 only 23 Eynsham men were taxed on a total of £3 5s. 10d., while 20 Tilgarsley taxpayers were assessed on £3 os. 6d. In Eynsham the four wealthiest men were assessed between 5s. and 4s., 7 others between 4s. and 3s., and the

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 36.

²⁰ Ibid. pp. 11–12.

²¹ e.g. *ibid.* ii, p. xlv.

²² Ibid. pp. 35, 77.

²³ B.L. Harl. Roll E 24.

²⁴ *Yr. Bk. 19 Edw. III* (Rolls Ser.), 1–10; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 21–3.

²⁵ Above, Other Estates.

²⁶ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 406–7; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 11–12.

²⁷ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 403–4, where the services, not mentioned in *Rot. Hund.*, are listed.

²⁸ *Eynsham Cart.* i. pp. 220–1; ii, p. 161.

²⁹ Ibid. i, pp. 374, 388–9.

³⁰ Ibid. pp. 267–8.

³¹ Ibid. pp. 192–3, 220–1, 280–1.

³² Ibid. ii, pp. 39–40; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 26–7.

³³ B.L. Harl. Roll E 27 (2). For date, (1325 or 1338) see *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. xi.

³⁴ B.L. Harl. Roll E 27 (1).

poorest at 1s. 3d. In Tilgarsley the freeholder John of Leigh was assessed on 6s. 8d., and the relict of Ralph the palmer on 6s. 1d.; otherwise assessments were spread evenly down to 1s. 1d.³⁵ In 1327 the 27 Eynsham taxpayers were assessed on £3 7s. 11d., with individual payments ranging fairly evenly between 1s. and 5s. 9d.; fewer than half the surnames of 1316 appeared in 1327. Tilgarsley appears to have been slightly more prosperous and stable, its 27 taxpayers being assessed on £4 5s. 11d., and a higher proportion than at Eynsham owing 4s. or more; three quarters of the surnames of 1316 survived in 1327.³⁶ Comparison with other Oxfordshire assessments suggests that Eynsham, with its single lord and largely villein community, was unusually poor rather than underpopulated. In 1377 there were 211 contributors to the poll tax³⁷ and it is unlikely that there were fewer adults in the parish in the early 14th century. In 1334 Eynsham's assessment of £44 10s. was the lowest of all Oxfordshire market towns except Woodstock, and much lower than Tilgarsley's £71 2s. 6d.³⁸

After the depopulation of Tilgarsley its fields were mostly divided into closes, usually called crofts.³⁹ Field names, recorded only from the mid 15th century, are from families long associated with the village, perhaps those which survived to hold the newly divided land. In 1358 the abbey's income from Tilgarsley was £9 16s., but by 1414 and until the 1440s the 'crofts and pastures' of Tilgarsley yielded over £20. Probably in the early stages of reorganization much of the land lay vacant for lack of tenants. By 1467 the income had fallen below £15, but in that year much Tilgarsley pasture was held in demesne.

There seems to have been uncertainty in the later Middle Ages over which closes in Tilgarsley were demesne, partly because the area kept in hand for the lord's cattle varied over the years, but in general the medieval evidence for the location of the Tilgarsley demesne agrees with later evidence defining a tithe-free area.⁴⁰ The area included fields south and west of Bowles Farm, usually called Bold croft, le Bolde, and later the Bowles, where in 1390 the abbey retained a grange.⁴¹ The only demesne in that area c. 1360 was the Grange crofts,⁴² probably partly the later Grange closes, south-west of the Bowles, but perhaps covering the whole of what seems to have been the centre of the Tilgarsley demesne before the Black Death. Mean and Broad closes, on the west side of Cuckoo Lane, were also apparently Tilgarsley demesne in the 15th century, although not tithe-free later.

Twelve Acre and the adjacent Tiffens, over 200 a. of land which became the core of the later Twelve Acre farm, were also tithe-free and on

the Tilgarsley side of Tilgar's mere, although sometimes reckoned as demesne distinct from Tilgarsley. Presumably Twelve Acre was once a piece of arable but by the late 14th century the name was applied to a wider area, and Green Twelve Acre and Little Twelve Acre, recorded in the 15th century, were linked with Tiffens in a tract of pasture usually kept in hand for stock-raising.

The location of the demesne in the Eynsham fields is more certain. By 1360 several consolidated arable pieces were worked from a farmstead on the site of Abbey Farm. There were said to be 14 ploughlands in Eynsham and Tilgarsley, but whether the increase since 1279 reflected the falling in of tenant land or merely a fuller survey is not certain: 10 ploughlands were on good soil, in South field, Ludmore, Lutteshulle, Catsbrain, Hythe croft, Mill croft, and Twelve Acre, while four were on poor soil in the Grange crofts.⁴³ Mill croft, Twelve Acre, and the Grange crofts were in Tilgarsley, while the Eynsham demesne was evidently that known later as the Farm pieces, principally two large blocks in the South field called in 1762 Long and Short Farm, and other blocks known as Farm Ludmore, Litchfield, Catsbrain, and Hythe croft.⁴⁴ The rich demesne meadows yielded £35 a year, and the demesne was valued in all at c. £88 a year.⁴⁵

In the later Middle Ages the abbey retained a home farm of varying size, and disposed of surplus demesne or tenant land by creating copyholds, letting to tenants-at-will, and mostly by granting leases for terms of years. Assessed rents from free and customary tenants in Eynsham, together with small sums from tenants in Tilgarsley, Hamstall, Cassington, and Hanborough, rose only slowly from c. £18 10s. in 1358 to £28 in 1461; Newland, separately accounted for, yielded c. £4 in 1406 and £4 10s. in 1461. In 1389 the Eynsham rental included some 160 separate payments, ranging from a few pence for a market stall to 10s. for larger tenements with land. Some tenements recorded in late medieval rentals, such as the 'fee of Bonvalet' or the Frith estate in Tilgarsley, retained rents unchanged from their creation in the 13th century; the frequent new rentals were probably to remove anomalies caused by decayed, vacant, or amalgamated holdings. Arrears were sometimes over £40, notably in 1406 and 1441; in 1442 the fishery and a mill were unoccupied, and several central shops and cottages were derelict or unlet. The overall trend of assessed rents, however, suggests modest growth.

By 1406 income from demesne leases was £13 14s., but then hardly changed for half a century. In 1442 over £11 of that income came from over 50 tenants of small arable pieces, while £1 10s. was paid for a larger piece, 56 a. of arable in

³⁵ P.R.O., E 179/161/8.

³⁶ Ibid. E 179/161/9.

³⁷ Ibid. E 179/202/59.

³⁸ *Historic Towns in Oxon.* ed. K. Rodwell, 201-2; *Lay Subsidy of 1334*, ed. R. E. Glasscock, 242.

³⁹ The following paras. on late medieval Eynsham are based on the abbey's account rolls in B.L. Harl. Rolls E 25 sqq. For descriptive list. *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. xi-xviii, and

for excerpts by H. E. Salter, Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 448, ff. 46 sqq.

⁴⁰ e.g. in 1650 and 1762: O.R.O., Palm. IV/1; Blenheim Mun., E/P/9.

⁴¹ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. lxxiv.

⁴² Ibid. p. 37.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Blenheim Mun., E/P/9b.

⁴⁵ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 37.

Hythe croft. Much demesne pasture in hand in the 1440s had evidently been let earlier in the century, and the amount of demesne meadow also fluctuated: meadow leases yielded £6 16s. 8d. in 1443 but only £1 4s. in 1461.

The home farm was run by a bailiff. Husbandry was mixed, with perhaps greater emphasis on stock-raising, dairying, and sheep farming. The Eynsham tenants had commuted their customary works by the early 15th century for an annual payment of c. £3 17s., and although they still contributed an aid (28s. in 1414) the abbot sometimes waived his claim. In 1385 the permanent staff on the home farm comprised a beadle and his boy, 12 ploughmen, 2 carters, 2 cowmen, 2 shepherds, 2 swineherds, a bullockherd, a dairyman, a woodhewer, and a gardener. At Michaelmas in that year the farm stock comprised 12 horses (probably draught animals), 157 cattle of all kinds, and a flock of c. 480 sheep, despite the loss of over 80 animals through disease. In 1377 and 1415 the farm maintained 6 ploughteams. Most purchases for the farm were made at local markets and fairs such as Oxford, Burford, and Woodstock. Each year the bailiff claimed allowance for a cock and hen presented to the sub-prior for blessing the oxen on St. Luke's day.

In 1393 the granger accounted for 532 qr. of malt, 383 qr. of wheat, 391 qr. of dredge, 109 qr. of pulse, and 53 qr. of oats: he was storing grain from Shifford and the tithe corn of Cassington, but the figures probably indicate roughly the proportion of the different crops grown at Eynsham; in 1415 the quantities of malt, wheat, and oats were very similar, but there were 669 qr. of dredge and only 30 qr. of pulse. By 1415 the permanent staff was smaller, including, for example, only 7 ploughmen, but was augmented by part-time labour. Then and later it was usual for some mowing to be contracted out, and at harvest extra labour was taken on: in 1453 the harvesters were paid 3½ d. a day, and gloves were distributed among them.

By the 1440s much grazing land had been taken into hand. At Twelve Acre there was a sheephouse and a dairy and in 1443 as much as £15 was spent on quickset fencing and ditching in the west part of the parish; over 40 cartloads of hay from Wrothy mead were delivered to Twelve Acre and the adjacent Tiffens. The lord's flock was then only c. 400, but by 1453, despite heavy mortality, numbered over 1,000 at Michaelmas; there were also 21 horses, 152 cattle, and over 50 pigs. The following year murrain destroyed the entire flock of over 950 sheep, except for a ewe and her lamb. The demesne arable was still cultivated directly: in 1453 barley and oats were grown on 132 a. and 445 man-days were required to harvest the wheat and peas.

By 1467 the demesne grassland was almost all let. Twelve Acre, Tiffens, and Wrothy mead were held on a single three-year lease, as were the Bowles area and half of Grange close; Broad and Mean closes and the other half of Grange

close were each leased separately. Other demesne meadows were 'sold' for the year: Werssey, for example, was held in 1467 (at c. 3s. an acre) by 24 tenants, some from as far away as Oxford and Woodstock. Much demesne hay was sold off by the cartload. Outsiders held some demesne arable, including Stephen Haville, a prominent Oxford brewer,⁴⁶ who held a six-year lease of Ludmore. The total income from demesne leases and 'sales' was £44 10s., while other rents from the manor (excluding Newland) yielded c. £45.

In 1467 there were 21 free tenants in Eynsham, paying c. £4 12s., and 2 in Tilgarsley paying 30s.; 59 customary tenants in Eynsham paid c. £20 for holdings ranging from a butcher's stall (6d.) to larger houses and land (c. 33s. 4d.). The non-demesne crofts and pastures in Tilgarsley were held by 26 customary tenants paying £14 13s., but some were held at will, as were many properties in Eynsham itself. Leases were commonly for three years. Many arable holdings were described as 'fallow and waste', particularly in and near the South field, though a lease of 44 headlands of 'meadow' in North field suggests that there, too, some arable had reverted to grass. The rise in rent income to nearly £100 was probably attributable to the creation of leaseholds from former customary land as well as to the suspension of direct exploitation of the demesne.

By 1470-1 the abbey had returned to demesne farming, including stock-raising: cattle worth over £85 were sold, including 36 bullocks to the mayor of Oxford (probably John Dobbs, grocer) and 20 to an Oxford butcher, William Lane;⁴⁷ over 160 cattle were bought, some from Herefordshire. An undated roll of Edward IV's reign shows that the abbey's rent from Eynsham, Newland, and neighbouring hamlets was c. £59, while other sources such as the farm of the mill and fishery (c. £11), sales of wood, wool, animals, and leather (c. £50), and food to the abbey table (worth c. £35) brought the total income to c. £158. Wages to permanent staff cost c. £20 and extra labour was taken on for ploughing, haymaking, and harvesting. Expenditure on stock included c. £16 for 170 sheep. Crops in the field included 94 a. of barley and stored grain comprised chiefly barley (152 qr.) and wheat (64 qr.), but oats, and grey and green peas had also been grown.⁴⁸

By 1518 assessed rents had risen to £67, and rents from small pieces of demesne, from the mills and fishery, and the former almoner's estate (which, as in 1442, yielded c. £6) brought total receipts to £84. Some larger leases were accounted for elsewhere, for the rent-collector was acquitted of Hamstall's rent because it was included in a lease of demesne.

Eynsham's assessment for the subsidy of 1523-4 reflected a relatively populous but not rich community. For the first payment 102 persons were taxed at a total of £9 19s. 4d. The chief taxpayers were Richard and John Barry (paying 52s. and 30s.) and Robert Lane (30s.),

⁴⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 392, f. 80.

⁴⁷ For Dobbs, *Wood's City of Oxf.* iii (O.H.S. xxxviii),

23-5; for Lane, *Reg. Canc.* ii (O.H.S. xciv), 28.

⁴⁸ Bodl. MS. d.d. Ch. Ch., MM. Roll 15.

but only 6 others paid 5s. or more. Most paid 1s. on their goods or 4d. on their wages.⁴⁹ For the second payment 93 persons were taxed on a total of £7 4s. 2d.⁵⁰ Comparison with other Oxfordshire towns suggests that Eynsham, though more populous than Bampton or Charlbury, was similar in structure to other decayed towns such as Bicester, but lacked the wealthy individual taxpayers recorded in such places as Deddington and Burford;⁵¹ by then it was a community mainly of farmers and monastic servants. The Barrys, however, were glovers who in 1505 had acquired the freehold of an estate (later Elm farm) long held by a family named Glover.⁵² When John Barry died in 1546 his Eynsham holdings also included leases of the Freeland estate, Eynsham mills, and numerous closes, while his property elsewhere included a house in Oxford, where he was an alderman. Though nominally a glover he was farming on a large scale, disposing in his will (made in 1540) of some 1,900 sheep and lambs.⁵³

Until the manorial estate was broken up in the later 17th century there was relatively little freehold in the parish, but substantial farms were formed under various tenures, including at least two major leaseholds created from the demesne: one was the Farm estate, comprising the 'Farm pieces' of arable and meadow worked from the site of Abbey Farm, the other based on Twelve Acre and the Tiffens, and sometimes held with Elm farm.⁵⁴ By the 16th century Twelve Acre formed an integrated farm with a house and farm buildings set in the centre of its fields. Whereas in the Middle Ages it had been largely pasture by 1605 it was extensively ploughed.⁵⁵ Before 1615, the lord, Sir Edward Stanley, resumed direct farming, reverting to grazing, and attempting to extinguish ancient common rights. Eynsham and South Leigh men rioted and broke fences, claiming grazing there from Michaelmas to St. Martin's day.⁵⁶ Their fate is unrecorded but in 1619 Sir Edward Stanley was still pursuing actions over common rights.⁵⁷ Even so the right of common for six weeks after Michaelmas seems to have been preserved,⁵⁸ and the owners of Twelve Acre continued until inclosure to pay a modus of £2 12s. 6d. to extinguish common rights there.⁵⁹ Other similar 'Michaelmas grounds' within the parish are mentioned below.

The demesne lessees were involved in tithe disputes in the late 16th century, apparently because they used common pasture such as Eynsham heath but withdrew their sheep for lambing to tithe-free areas such as the Tiffens or the Parks; it seems to have been agreed that only the lord's flock was exempt from tithe when

pastured outside the demesne, and that animals belonging to the lessee of Twelve Acres were only exempt when on his own lands. It was asserted that the lord's flock, presumably that belonging to the lessee of the Farm, was limited to 400.⁶⁰

In 1581, when Eynsham paid £5 17s. 4d. to the subsidy, the chief taxpayers were farmers, notably Edward Gunne, lessee of Twelve Acre, and Henry Clarke, lessee of the Farm.⁶¹ Other prominent farming families were the Blackmans, the Martens, and the Harts, all frequently serving as manorial officials in the 16th century. The Harts were lessees of the rectorial tithes and the Parks area, where Thomas was grazing a dairy herd of 36 cows in 1581;⁶² the armigerous Blackman family possibly farmed from the house later called the Gables, and the Martens probably from the later Shrubbery.⁶³ The Hampshires also established themselves in the late 16th century, and Joan Hampshire, widow (d. 1618), owned more cattle than any other testator of the early 17th century in the vale of Oxford:⁶⁴ in midwinter she had a mixed herd of 55. She kept a bull, fattened bullocks, maintained a dairy herd, and kept 18 horses, 17 pigs, and 288 sheep and lambs. In the field were 25 a. of wheat, rye, and maslin, and in store large quantities of grain and pulses; she also kept bees and poultry. She lived in style in a large new house, maintaining her old house as a working farm and store; her cheese chamber contained 100 lb. of butter and 60 cheeses, and the total value of her personalty was £512, excluding large bequests already made to her daughters.⁶⁵ In 1650 the family still held two farmhouses, one the later Wintles Farm on Mill Street.⁶⁶

In 1650 the parish was measured at 5,244 a., of which the heath and woodland occupied 1,469 a., the common pasture Cow Leys 120 a., and roads and waste 115 a.⁶⁷ Of the remaining 3,540 a. only 396 a. (11 per cent) was freehold, and 507 a. (14 per cent) copyhold; some three-quarters of the farmland was either expressly leasehold or was classed as 'demesnes'. The 'demesnes', c. 460 a. made up of pasture closes near the abbey site, some meadows, the grounds at Twelve Acre (169 a.), and the mill and its hams, were clearly not the whole former demesne but the land then in hand. The large amount of leasehold land reflected the unusual development of the manorial estate after depopulation in the 14th century. Land use was also unusual, for only 1,139 a. were arable, while the rest (excluding the vast area of common and waste) comprised 482 a. of meadow and 1,920 a. of pasture. Of the pasture 85 per cent was either 'demesnes' or leasehold, and many closes were

⁴⁹ P.R.O., E 179/161/194, 198. There are some slight discrepancies between the two copies.

⁵⁰ Ibid. E 179/161/175. ⁵¹ *Historic Towns in Oxon.* 201-2.

⁵² Above, Other Estates.

⁵³ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 180, ff. 37v.-39v.

⁵⁴ Above, Other Estates.

⁵⁵ P.R.O., STAC 8.92.9.

⁵⁶ Ibid. STAC 8.257.14.

⁵⁷ *Oxf. Council Acts 1583-1626* (O.H.S. lxxxvii), 287.

⁵⁸ e.g. O.R.O., Palm. IV/1, where the period was wrongly recorded as 6 months. ⁵⁹ e.g. ibid. Blake I/v/15.

⁶⁰ Ibid. MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 23, ff. 227 sqq.; d 15,

ff. 16-34v., 50-52v.

⁶¹ P.R.O., E 179/162/345.

⁶² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 15, f. 23.

⁶³ Above, Intro.

⁶⁴ M. A. Havinden, 'Rural Econ. of Oxon. 1580-1730' (Bodl. MS. B.Litt. d 869).

⁶⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 30/3/33.

⁶⁶ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1. For Wintles Farm, above, Intro.

⁶⁷ The following description of Eynsham in 1650 is based on O.R.O., Palm. IV/1. A copy of the survey (Bodl. MS. Gough Oxon. 53) is analysed in Havinden, 'Rural Econ.' 84 sqq.

the late medieval 'crofts and pastures' of Tilgarsley. The former demesne meadows may be identified partly among the 'demesnes', partly among the leasehold estates; copyholders held only 98 a. of meadow, and freeholders 56 a. The arable, in North, South, and Conduit fields, comprised 240 a. of freehold, 296 a. of copyhold, and 602 a. of leasehold, almost half the last lying in the 'Farm pieces', the consolidated medieval demesne.

Of 107 landholders 58 held less than 5 a. Twelve men held 80 a. or more, and together their holdings comprised 70 per cent of the farmland. Such concentration was unusual in the area: in the neighbouring parish of Hanborough farms over 80 a. accounted for only 7 per cent of the land.⁶⁸ The late medieval redistribution of Tilgarsley seems to have encouraged the formation of larger holdings. In 1650 the largest was still the Farm (c. 332 a.), leased by Thomas Edgerley of Bletchington but probably, as later, sublet to several local men;⁶⁹ after its sale to the duke of Marlborough in 1715 it changed little until inclosure.⁷⁰ Twelve Acre, apparently in hand but probably also let to several tenants, was soon afterwards sold to the Brices of Witney with the detached meadows, Bitterall and Wersey, to which the Brices added the Tiffens; thereafter the farm seems to have been worked as a single unit of between 250 a. and 300 a.⁷¹ The leasehold farm held by Mr. Hampshire and Mrs. Grainger in 1650 comprised c. 240 a. and was held with 53 a. of copyhold; the core of the holding became Wintles farm.⁷² A large group of leasehold pasture closes (176 a.) belonged in 1650 to John Green, who also held 104 a. of copyhold worked from a farmhouse at the south-west end of Acre End Street; Green also held 37 a. of freehold. Much of Green's land seems to have been held earlier by the Blackmans.⁷³ The estate was broken up in the later 17th century, some of it passing to Merton College.⁷⁴ Another farm remaining intact from 1650 until inclosure was Thomas King's, worked from the Shrubbery.⁷⁵ Since the survey of 1650 usually named owners not occupiers, farms built up by undertenants are not discernible: the Wises, for example, who certainly combined their lease of Corpus Christi estate with other holdings in the later 17th century,⁷⁶ were probably doing so in 1650.

From the 1650s the manorial leasehold was sold off, beginning with the Farm, the rectory, and Twelve Acre farm, and continuing in the later 17th century with sales by the Jordans to the Knapps, the Wasties, and others.⁷⁷ By the mid 18th century the only leasehold rents payable to the manorial lords were for a few cottages

on the edge of the heath; quit rents from copyhold yielded only £3 12s. but chief rents from freehold over £100. No farmland was by then attached to the manor, only the heath and woodland.⁷⁸ A survey of 1762⁷⁹ omitted that area, but covered 3,560 a. of farmland, its measurements conforming fairly closely with the survey of 1650. The duke of Marlborough's Farm estate and rectorial barnyard still comprised 332 a., and the other chief landowners were Edward Ryves (c. 600 a.) and the trustees of the Twelve Acre estate (c. 280 a.), while a dozen others held over 50 a. each. Twelve Acre was probably the largest single farm, while there were at least nine others of over 100 a. James Wastie, for example, held over 200 a., partly freehold, partly leased from Oxford City and the duke of Marlborough. In 1769 the former Ryves estate, belonging to Elizabeth Holloway,⁸⁰ comprised at least three separate farms. The duke's estate was divided between six tenants, of whom the two principal were Martha Chamberlain and James Wastie, whose joint tenancy agreement collapsed in 1763, when Wastie was distrained for £370 rent and George Brown became lessee of much of the estate.⁸¹ Martha Chamberlain had occupied the farmhouse (Abbey Farm) while Wastie held the tithe barn and yard to the south, then called Abbey Court.

Although the duke's arable was consolidated (as it had been when medieval demesne) in the various 'Farm pieces' in the open fields, his six tenants still held scattered strips in all the pieces, rarely holding more than two or three lands together. The pieces shared in the normal crop rotation of Eynsham's fields: George Castell, who held 62 a. of the duke's arable, sowed his strips with wheat, pulse, and barley in successive years, followed by a fallow year, and they were so grouped that in some years as much as 56 a. were under corn, in others only 40 a. Evidently the great South field was divided for cropping into north and south portions, for Long and Short farm were both so divided; of the other Farm pieces Litchfield, Farm Ludmoor, Hythe croft, and Ache hill seem to have been cropped with Conduit field, and Catsbrain with North field.⁸² Most farms were worked from Eynsham village, except for the long established farm at Freeland⁸³ and a few small farms worked from Barnard Gate and Bowles. There seems to have been little specialization in the later 18th century even where, as at Twelve Acre, the limitations of open-field husbandry were absent: Twelve Acre and the much smaller Barnard Gate farm were both mixed farms with almost equal proportions of arable and grass.⁸⁴ At Twelve Acre the tenant was encouraged to

⁶⁸ Havinden, 'Rural Econ.' table 9.

⁶⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 73.

⁷⁰ Cf. survey of 1762: Blenheim Mun., E/P/9; O.R.O., incl. award.

⁷¹ Above, Other Estates.

⁷² Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/1; O.R.O., Palm I/1, pp. 202, 204; Blenheim Mun., box 73.

⁷³ Cf. C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Maps I. 9-14; O.R.O., Palm. IV/1.

⁷⁴ Merton Coll. Mun., Reg. ii, pp. 481-2, compared with O.R.O., Palm. IV/1.

⁷⁵ Above, Other Estates.

⁷⁶ Above, Other Estates; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 72/5/4, 156/3/28; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/4.

⁷⁷ Above, Other Estates. For a large Wastie purchase (of the later Crown brewery site) before 1665 see O.R.O., Palm. IV/1 (plot 4 in Acre End); Woodstock Boro. Mun., 53/2/4.

⁷⁸ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF. 22/5/15.

⁷⁹ Blenheim Mun., E/P/9.

⁸⁰ Cf. O.R.O., photo 13.

⁸¹ Blenheim Mun., box 76; *ibid.* E/P/11.

⁸² *Ibid.* box 76, abstract of Geo. Castell's arable c. 1766.

⁸³ Above, Other Estates. ⁸⁴ O.R.O., Blake I/v/15.

use clovers and sainfoin, and forbidden to sow hemp, flax, or woad; the ploughing of old pasture carried the usual penalties.⁸⁵

During the 18th century the lords of the manor re-emerged as major, resident landlords. Whereas the Perrotts in 1760 paid only £18 12s. land tax Robert Langford in 1785 paid £59.⁸⁶ The increase reflected the purchase of land which included Twelve Acre farm (taxed at £21), and at least one other major farm worked from the later Redthorn House in Mill Street; when sold in 1801 the farm was called Blagrove's and comprised 164 a.⁸⁷ The other major contributors to the total land tax of £287 in 1785 were the tenants of the Holloway estate (£40) and James Preston for the Marlborough estate (£47); Preston also paid £6 for owner-occupied land. In all there were between 90 and 100 proprietors in Eynsham in the late 18th century.⁸⁸

Soon after buying Eynsham Hall and the manor in 1778 Robert Langford pressed for a general inclosure of the parish, claiming that land values in the parish would rise by at least £1,000 a year;⁸⁹ merely to extinguish tithes would raise the value of open-field arable from 8s. to 15s. an acre, and of meadow from 21s. to 35s. Inconvenient common rights extended even to long-established closes in the north; Langford reckoned that 324 a. could not be planted without general agreement, since they were commonable from Lammas to Candlemas, and that another 443 a., though commonable for only six weeks after Michaelmas, would still appreciate by at least 2s. an acre if grazing rights were extinguished. Most of the Lammas and Michaelmas grounds, which were referred to in the mid 16th century,⁹⁰ seem to have been in the former open fields of Tilgarsley: the principal Michaelmas grounds, for example, were Twelve Acre and Freeland grounds, while the Lammas lands included Broad close, near Bowles, belonging to Christ Church, Oxford.⁹¹

Langford's proposals for the heath⁹² were only partially fulfilled. When he began in 1780 to inclose it near the newly-built Eynsham Hall there were riots and fence-breaking.⁹³ Under a private Act of 1781 relating to the heath and Old Coppice, said to comprise 1,482 a., he was empowered to inclose 472 a. near the hall, while the rest was to remain as a common controlled by grass stewards appointed from among the principal farmers. The stint for a cottage was 1 horse, 1 cow, and 4 sheep, while each 20 a. of arable and meadow counted for one cottage common.⁹⁴ In the event Langford inclosed more than the Act implied, for the 775 a. within his ring-fence were Woodleys Coppice (traditionally 212 a., but nearer 205 a.) and Blindwell

Coppice (traditionally 78 a., by then largely covered by the site of Eynsham Hall); both were on the heath but were not expressly included in the Act.⁹⁵ A particular local grievance was Langford's inclosure of an area known as Rumour north of the Witney-Woodstock road. Langford allegedly promised to compensate the parishioners with a ring of bells. The area was omitted from the inclosure award of 1802 and remained in dispute until 1807, when, under the name of Bell Closes, it was awarded chiefly to trustees for charitable uses, including the upkeep of the church bells. The land was sold at once to meet the costs of earlier legal action, and the charity seems to have been lost.⁹⁶ Much of the land within the ring-fence of Eynsham Hall continued to be worked as farm land from Home Farm (on the site of the present Scott's House); in the late 18th century William Bolton was lessee of c. 250 a. there.⁹⁷

Eynsham's fields were administered in the late 18th century by officers appointed at the court leet. The herdsman was paid for each animal grazing Cow leys or the Lammas grounds; the cattle were marked on 1 August. The grass stewards were charged with providing three bulls for the commonable places until September. Owners of Lammas and Michaelmas grounds who wished to grow crops paid fines to keep cattle out until the harvest.⁹⁸

On the eve of inclosure cottage commons outside the heath and every 30 a. of open-field land were stinted at 1 horse, 1 cow, and 10 sheep.⁹⁹ The stint, unchanged from the mid 18th century, probably implies a yardland of c. 30 a. In 1802 for summer commons (May to Lammas) it was found that there were 112 cottage commons and 47½ commons derived from acres. For Lammas commons the cottage commons numbered the same, but there were c. 60 commons derived from acres, since the duke of Marlborough's Farm estate qualified for Lammas but not summer commons. The stint after Lammas was three times the summer stint. For heath commons the stint was unchanged from 1781, and all property outside the heath qualified, including old inclosures: thus one common was attached to each of 112 cottages and 176 houses, and there was an additional common for each 20 a. of the 3,545 a. outside the heath, a total of 465 heath commons. Besides grazing rights, it was recorded that cottagers had the right to take furze on their backs for their own use as estovers, and on an agreed day to take fern for their own use in waggons.

The main inclosure of the parish was begun in 1800 and completed in 1802.¹ Langford's partial inclosure left c. 3,344 a. of open-field land and heath, 1,930 a. being already inclosed. The re-

⁸⁵ Ibid. I/v/11, 18.

⁸⁶ Ibid. land tax assess.

⁸⁷ Ibid. Blake I/v/15; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/27(1); Blenheim Mun., E/P/9. Cf. above, Other Estates (Taunton estate).

⁸⁸ O.R.O., land tax assess.

⁸⁹ Ibid. MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 38a.

⁹⁰ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. c 60, ff. 135-6; d 275, p. 121.

⁹¹ Cf. O.R.O., incl. award and map; ibid. Stilgoe 18.

⁹² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 38a.

⁹³ *Oxf. Jnl.* 1 Mar. 1780; 29 Jan., 6 Oct. 1781.

⁹⁴ Eynsham Incl. Act. 21 Geo. III, c. 38 (Priv. Act): annotated copy in O.R.O. For heath commons attached to

Twelve Acre farm, O.R.O., Blake XIII/ii/1.

⁹⁵ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/27(1); O.R.O., incl. award and map.

⁹⁶ O.R.O., incl. award and supplement; ibid. Stockton and Fortescue 12 E; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. 187; Blenheim Mun., box 76, letter from W. E. Taunton, 1801.

⁹⁷ Blenheim Mun., box 76, valuation of 1796.

⁹⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 70.

⁹⁹ Para. based on O.R.O., Stilgoe 18: calculations for incl. award.

¹ O.R.O., incl. award and map; ibid. Stilgoe 18.

maining heath comprised 927 a., and there were 1,246 a. of open-field arable, 214 a. of meadow, 125 a. of common pasture in Cow leys, and a further 730 a. of land (a third of it arable) described variously as Midsummer, Michaelmas, or Lammas grounds, or 'common field closes' (88 a.), all subject to grazing rights; the rest was roads, paths, and waste.

Cottagers' rights were compensated in 1802 by an allotment of 84 a. The duke of Marlborough was awarded 662 a., of which 215 a. was for his great tithes, and the rest for his open-field land, mistakenly thought to be glebe. The vicar was awarded 101 a. and some rent-charges for his small tithes. Otherwise the chief allottees were the trustees of the Holloway family (511 a.), W. E. Taunton (325 a.), James Wastie (138 a.), the City of Oxford (122 a.), and Jonathan Arnatt (100 a.). When combined with the old inclosures the large estates thereafter were the Eynsham Hall estate (775 a.), the duke of Marlborough's (668 a.), the Holloway estate (635 a.), W. E. Taunton's (332 a.), Twelve Acre farm (278 a.), and James Wastie's (241 a.). There were only four other holdings over 100 a. The major change since the mid 18th century was the emergence of the Taunton estate, mainly at Freeland, acquired by purchase on the eve of inclosure.²

Although inclosure did not immediately reduce the number of proprietors within the parish, which remained between 90 and 100 in 1809–10,³ it brought much former waste into cultivation and established a pattern of farms which survived into the 20th century. At Freeland W. E. Taunton not only laid out a park, but also developed a large farm by clearing the furze. In the early stages he used lime in great quantities, building several kilns to burn lime and make bricks. He rotated turnips, oats, rye grass, and clovers, but failed with wheat and barley. By 1807 he was cultivating c. 230 a., of which oats, the most successful crop, occupied 86 a. He also grazed 200 Berkshire sheep, which, in Arthur Young's view, was too few.⁴ Other outlying farmhouses established soon after inclosure included Foxley and Newfield in the south, City Farm north of the village,⁵ Little Green Farm on c. 143 a. sold by the Holloway trustees in 1805,⁶ and Ambury Close Farm on another part of the Holloway estate; small farms in the Barnard Gate area, besides the long established Barnard Gate farm, were Salutation, White House, and Grange Close farms, all established before 1841.⁷

In 1831 agricultural occupations supported 244 of the 366 families in Eynsham.⁸ In 1834

there were said to be over 350 agricultural labourers working in the parish, of whom c. 20 lived outside; there was a surplus of labour, with an average of c. 40 unemployed. Wages were slightly higher than in most other Oxfordshire parishes. Some agricultural employment was available to women and children, and many women were involved in gloving or worked at the paper mill. In 1832 labourers' wages in Eynsham ranged, presumably for a married man, from 10s. to 12s. a week, with bonuses at harvest. Cottage rents were between 1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d. a week and most cottages had gardens; there were c. 50 a. of small allotments for labourers, pigs were kept, and benefit clubs were well supported. Relief by way of loans under the Sturges Bourne Act was given when requested. The vicar and one of the leading farmers, Samuel Druce, concluded that labourers might manage on their incomes and eat meat twice or thrice a week but certainly needed the established children's allowances, even though allowances were blamed for diminishing agricultural capital and labourers' industry.⁹

A feature of farming in Eynsham in the earlier 19th century was the rise of the Druce family.¹⁰ At inclosure Joseph Druce (d. 1821), described in 1787 as a butcher, owned only c. 77 a. of freehold, including his farmhouse (now Abbey Stones) in Abbey Street,¹¹ but was probably a substantial tenant farmer. Later he acquired much Eynsham land,¹² and by 1851 his son Samuel (d. 1860) and other Druces farmed c. 1,000 a.¹³ Samuel was employing 22 labourers in 1834 and 32 by 1851: he was the duke of Marlborough's tenant at Abbey Farm.¹⁴ By the 1830s he was prominent in national agricultural circles, and became an authority on stockbreeding and the steward of several large estates. He had begun experimenting with a cross of the South Down and Cotswold breeds, and was said in 1860 to have brought Oxford Downs sheep into their 'present notoriety'.¹⁵ Joseph Druce (d. 1890) was tenant of Twelve Acre farm by 1851, employing 17 labourers; in the 1860s he and his brother Samuel (d. 1874) co-operated in advanced farming methods, including steam ploughing and extensive land drainage.¹⁶

Other major farmers in 1851 included Thomas Blake, who employed 18 labourers on 400 a. and seems to have been tenant of both City and Elm farms. John Arnatt farmed over 200 a. from his house in High Street, and employed 13 men, while there were several other substantial farms such as Wintles (175 a. tenanted by William Day) worked from houses in the village. Some farms on and near the Eyn-

² Above, Other Estates.

³ O.R.O., land tax assess.

⁴ Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 131, 232–5, 262–3.

⁵ O.S. Map 1", sheet 45 (1833 edn.).

⁶ O.R.O., Misc. Su. LXV/i/4; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/4/11 (estate map, 1818).

⁷ P.R.O., HO 107/889.

⁸ *Census*, 1831.

⁹ *Rep. Com. Poor Laws*, H.C. 44, p. 372 (1834), xxx–xxxiv.

¹⁰ O.R.O., Misc. Druce XIV/i/1; C. Gott, 'Druces of Eynsham' (Oxf. Univ. External Studies Dept., Local Hist. thesis, 1983).

¹¹ O.R.O., Acc. 1369 (deed of 1787); *ibid.* incl. award and

map.

¹² Copy of will in O.R.O., Welch. LIII/1.

¹³ P.R.O., HO 107/1731.

¹⁴ *Rep. Com. Poor Laws* (1834), p. 372; P.R.O., HO 107/1731. He was at Abbey Farm by the 1840s: O.R.O., Misc. Druce VIII/i/1.

¹⁵ O.R.O., Acc. 2361 (will proved 1860); *ibid.* Misc. Druce XII/i/1; *Jnl. R. Agric. Soc.* xiv. 211; *obit.* in *Oxf. Jnl.* 21 July 1860; cf. J. R. Walton, 'Diffusion of Improved Sheep Breeds in Oxon.' *Jnl. Hist. Geog.* ix. 187.

¹⁶ P.R.O., HO 107/1731; *Jnl. R. Agric. Soc.* xiv. 432; 2nd ser. iii. 335; vi. 367–74. For Joseph's death see O.R.O., Palm. 1/4, p. 188.

sham Hall estate may have been run as a unit, since several of the farmhouses were occupied by labourers. The estate labourers were paid partly in wheat, barley, and coal.¹⁷ By 1862 the estate comprised Home farm (410 a.), Salutation farm (126 a.), Little Green farm (108 a.), Blindwell farm (70 a.), and Barnard Gate farm (59 a.), all let.¹⁸ Later Brick Kiln and Ambury Close farms and the Freeland farms once owned by the Tauntons were added to the estate, but James Mason declined Twelve Acre farm, regarding it was a poor investment.¹⁹

In 1834 it was estimated that there were 2,800 a. of arable, 2,200 a. of pasture, and 500 a. of woodland.²⁰ Crops grown were described as 'the usual cereals and roots',²¹ and the extensive grassland encouraged dairying and sheep farming, although much of the clay land was said to be too wet to winter sheep. Specialist enterprises included a nursery and market garden on the abbey site, established by the Day family in the early 19th century and sold in 1867 to Milo Burgin, an Eynsham potato merchant.²² In the 1830s one Eynsham man was supplying bacon on a large scale to Oxford and elsewhere: he was said to kill 'an amazing number' of pigs, apparently over 500 a year, mostly imported from Ireland.²³ Flax was grown in Eynsham in the mid 19th century, and was processed at Combé mill on the Evenlode, but the industry seems to have been short-lived.²⁴

In the later 19th century James Mason's agricultural experiments on the Eynsham Hall estate attracted attention.²⁵ Until 1882 Mason let much of the estate and even considered giving up the home farm (260 a.), because it was so costly and unproductive as to 'make landlord farming contemptible'.²⁶ When the agricultural depression threw much of his estate back into hand he developed a personal interest in farming.²⁷ By the 1890s he farmed over 1,360 a. and eventually over 1,800 a., of which 800 a. were arable; much of the land was poor. Mason's methods were based on scientific experiment and exact book-keeping: he had his own laboratory, set up tank experiments, and kept a separate ledger account for each field. Experiments with chemically based top-dressings such as basic slag and 'black nitrate' were combined with deep ploughing to weather the subsoil and release potash, and the cultivation of leguminous crops to fix nitrogen. Having tried red clover he introduced lucerne, hardly used until then on the Oxford Clay, and established a rotation of lucerne (sometimes maintained for

several years), followed by root crops, then corn. The result was much improved arable land, and rich permanent pasture. In 1896 the stock on the estate included a mixed herd of 225 cattle, a flock of over 600 lambs, and a pig herd of over 600, the last apparently by far the most profitable; all the stock, including the pigs, was run on the pastures for most of the year.²⁸

In 1916 a contrast was still drawn between the river gravel on which much of Eynsham lay, regarded as good for barley and sheep, and the plateau gravel and pebbly loam around Freeland, which, though sometimes productive, was difficult to work and too wet for sheep. At that date less than two fifths of the cultivated area was arable and the main crops were barley, oats, and wheat.²⁹ Sugar beet was grown, particularly after the establishment of a small commercial factory at the wharf in 1927, which followed research at Eynsham into sugar production by Oxford university.³⁰ Most farming remained mixed: in the earlier 20th century Twelve Acre farm carried large dairy herds as well as growing much corn, and turkey rearing was carried on there.³¹ Some small specialist undertakings, such as poultry farming, calf rearing, and fruit growing were established.³² In recent times the arable area was greatly extended, the creation of larger fields obliterating many ancient hedges, particularly those of old inclosures in the north where Tilgarsley lay.

MARKETS AND FAIRS. Between 1135 and 1140 Eynsham abbey was granted a market on Sunday.³³ Henry II confirmed the grant, adding the right to hold two annual fairs in the weeks following Pentecost and the Assumption (15 Aug.).³⁴ Pentecost was an obvious date for a fair because of the processions converging upon the town in the week following Whit Sunday,³⁵ and the Assumption, as the abbey's dedication day, was probably a traditional day of festivity in the parish. In 1440 the abbot obtained the grant of a Monday market, since the Sunday market was by then 'useless'.³⁶ In the later Middle Ages the Monday portmoot administered the assize of bread and ale³⁷ but the abbey's accounts include no reference to income from market tolls. Markets and fairs had probably ceased by the 17th century, although the right to hold them continued to be included in royal grants of the manor.³⁸ In 1724 it was recorded only that Eynsham had held a Sunday market in former times.³⁹

By grants of Henry I and Henry II Eynsham

¹⁷ P.R.O., HO 107/1731; *Jnl. R. Agric. Soc.* [1st ser.] xv. 264.

¹⁸ Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b 85a, no. 30.

¹⁹ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/3/9; *ibid.* 22/1/3, letter of Oct. 1877; above, Other Estates.

²⁰ *Rep. Com. Poor Laws* (1834), p. 372.

²¹ e.g. *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1877).

²² O.R.O., Welch XVI/1-16.

²³ *Sel. Cttee. on G.W. Union Rly. Bill*, H.L. 227, p. 84 (1837-8), xx. The man was probably Jonathan Ford: Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 671, p. 88.

²⁴ *Jnl. R. Agric. Soc.* xv. 217.

²⁵ Para. based on J. Mason, 'Field experiments on the fixation of free nitrogen', *Jnl. R. Agric. Soc.* liii (1892), 651-7; A. D. Hall, 'Agric. experiments of late Jas. Mason', *ibid.* lxx (1904), 106-25; Orr, *Oxon. Agric.* 53.

²⁶ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/1/3 (letter of Jan. 1877).

²⁷ For the experiments see especially *ibid.* OXF 22/4/1 (crop bk.); OXF 22/2/290 (annual agric. statements).

²⁸ *Ibid.* OXF 22/2/290.

²⁹ Orr, *Oxon. Agric.* 179, 181, and statistical plates.

³⁰ 'Rep. on Oxf. Process for Sugar Production', *Bull. Oxf. Univ. Inst. for Research in Agric. Engineering*, iv (1929): copy in Westgate Libr.

³¹ Harris, *From Acre End*, 38; *Oxf. Mail*, 15 Oct. 1954.

³² *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1920 and later edns.).

³³ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 51.

³⁴ *Ibid.* ii, p. 156.

³⁵ Above, Intro.

³⁶ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1427-1516, 8.

³⁷ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. xlv, xlvi.

³⁸ e.g. P.R.O., C 66/2619, no. 27.

³⁹ *Hearne's Diary*, viii (O.H.S. I), 290.

abbey's goods, wherever purchased, were freed from toll.⁴⁰ In Oxford that freedom seems to have been challenged, for in 1279 it was recorded that the vill of Eynsham paid the bailiffs of Oxford 6s. 8d. a year for quittance from toll.⁴¹ In the 15th century the fee was collected by two officers specially appointed by the portmoot.⁴² Although still paid in 1631,⁴³ it was later commuted by a grant to Oxford city of two small pieces of open-field land called 'toll acres'; at inclosure these were replaced by an allotment of c. 1 a. on the edge of the later City farm.⁴⁴ In 1835 the vicar, Thomas Symonds, was forced to remind the city corporation of Eynsham's privilege and in 1838 the 'men of Eynsham' were the only group free from Oxford tolls, except for freemen and soldiers.⁴⁵

From the late 19th century there were attempts to revive markets and fairs on a small scale. In 1897, for instance, the parish council agreed to allow a small 'show' in the Square at Whitsun, and again in September in the four days following St. Giles's fair in Oxford; the September fair was larger, stretching from the Square down Abbey Street and including the site of the later Roman Catholic church.⁴⁶ In 1913 there were official complaints about the potential disturbance in the streets,⁴⁷ but the fair continued until the Second World War and was succeeded in modern times by a carnival held in July. A monthly cattle market instituted before 1903 on a small site between Swan Street and Abbey Farm was last recorded in 1915.⁴⁸ Some attempts were made to re-establish a street market and in 1933 there were complaints that stalls in the Square were injurious to local trade.⁴⁹ In 1977 a small market was opened on Thursdays in the Square, under the direction of the parish council.⁵⁰

TRADE AND INDUSTRY. The foundation of Newland in 1215 implies local commercial prosperity but Newland failed as an urban experiment and by the early 14th century Eynsham was relatively poor and predominantly agricultural. It may be significant that in 1268 the abbey sold its wool in bulk to a Witney merchant rather than a local man.⁵¹ At least one early 13th-century Eynsham landholder was the son of a merchant⁵² but most later recorded occupations were in the usual range of village trades or were associated with service at the abbey. A group of fishermen, and names such as Robert the navigator (early 13th-century),⁵³ point to the role of the river. A wharf was established before the mid 13th cen-

tury.⁵⁴ Taynton stone was transported thence to Merton College, Oxford, in the earlier 14th century, but although the wharf remained in regular use throughout the Middle Ages there is no indication that river trade brought prosperity to the village.⁵⁵ The only medieval industries recorded were tanning and gloving. In 1344 Adam the tanner was mentioned, and another tanner, William Jakkes, in 1365;⁵⁶ he may have been tenant of the abbey's tannery, let in the later Middle Ages for between £2 and £3 a year.⁵⁷ Its location is unknown, but Jakkes held a tenement in Newland which included or abutted the site of the later tannery in Tanner's Lane.⁵⁸ Gloving was carried on by the later medieval owners of Elm Farm⁵⁹ and by the time of John Barry (d. 1546) had brought wealth to the family; Barry's interests, however, included sheep farming and milling⁶⁰ and his gloving may not have provided much employment in Eynsham.

Eynsham's medieval shops, mostly in the market place, included stalls in the middle of the street and a butchers' shambles. In the later 15th century there were at least three butchers in the market place, two of them Foleys of Pinkhill (in Stanton Harcourt). In 1442, perhaps because of a temporary crisis, several shops were vacant. A smithy was let by the abbey with its equipment and craftsmen's tools. There were also bakers' and shoemakers' shops in the village centre.⁶¹

Of 16th- and 17th-century shopkeepers William James (d. 1698), tallow chandler, was evidently also a general grocer, selling items such as sugar and tobacco.⁶² There were many representatives of village craftsmen such as bakers, shoemakers, tailors, and smiths.⁶³ A smithy in Newland Street, which survived in 1984, can be traced to the 18th century and may be older;⁶⁴ it was worked for over 150 years by the Burdens, who in 1851 also worked another on the site of the garage in High Street.⁶⁵

In the early 18th century it was said that the trade of the town 'consists in Witney clothing' and spinning wool.⁶⁶ Presumably Eynsham men and women continued to be employed as outworkers for Witney masters into the 19th century.⁶⁷ No major Eynsham textile employers have been traced; a few 17th-century weavers were recorded, mostly poor. Besides paper making,⁶⁸ the most frequently recorded industry was tanning. The Green family owed its rise to a tanner, John Green (d. 1615).⁶⁹ In 1703 Thomas Hancock, tanner, left personality worth over £275, including large numbers of hides and

⁴⁰ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 54-5.

⁴¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 860.

⁴² *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. xliii-xliv.

⁴³ *Oxf. Council Acts, 1626-65* (O.H.S. xcv), 353.

⁴⁴ O.R.O., incl. award.

⁴⁵ *Oxf. City Arch.*, P. 4.37 (14); *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 310.

⁴⁶ O.R.O., Misc. Eynsh. I/1, p. 20; local inf.

⁴⁷ O.R.O., Misc. Eynsh. I/1, pp. 143-4.

⁴⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1903 and later edns.); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 7 (1913 edn.).

⁴⁹ O.R.O., Misc. Eynsh. I/1, p. 305.

⁵⁰ *Oxf. Mail*, 18, 25 Nov. 1977.

⁵¹ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 251.

⁵² *Ibid.* 165.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 220.

⁵⁴ e.g. *ibid.* 218-19; refs. to Huthende (i.e. hythe end).

⁵⁵ K. Belsten and H. Compton, 'Eynsham Wharf', *Jnl. Rly. and Canal Hist. Soc.* xiv (3), 45-52.

⁵⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1343-7, 408; 1364-6, 144.

⁵⁷ e.g. B.L. Harl. Rolls F 14 (6), F 16, F 17 (1), G 12.

⁵⁸ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 54.

⁵⁹ Above, Other Estates.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 180, ff. 37v-39v.

⁶¹ B.L. Harl. Rolls, especially E 32, F 14 (6), F 33, G 12.

⁶² O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 38/2/20.

⁶³ Para. based on Eynsham wills and probate inventories in O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon.

⁶⁴ Harris, *From Acre End*, 22.

⁶⁵ P.R.O., HO 107/1731.

⁶⁶ Bodl. MS. Rawl. D 1054, f. 9.

⁶⁷ Below, Local Govt.

⁶⁸ Below, Econ. (mills).

⁶⁹ P.R.O., PROB 11/127 (P.C.C. 48 Cope).

skins.⁷⁰ In 1713 Thomas Day, tanner, bought grounds near Hythe croft which already contained lime pits,⁷¹ and his family worked the tanyard in Tanner's Lane until the death of Robert Day in 1831, when Samuel Druce bought a yard with some 200 pits, a mill house, bark mill, and drying sheds, besides a new house, some farm buildings, and land;⁷² tanning then ceased and the house and tanyard later became the Hythe Croft.⁷³

Several innkeepers brewed on a commercial scale in the 16th century,⁷⁴ and malting and brewing remained important in Eynsham. A malthouse at the corner of Newland Street and Queen Street, attached to the later Gables, was established before the mid 17th century and was rebuilt by the Swann family c. 1820;⁷⁵ William Swann was malting there in 1842, and the building was still a malthouse at the end of the century.⁷⁶ There was another malthouse in Newland Street near the later Chapel Yard;⁷⁷ in the early 18th century a tenant, John Ayres, built a kiln house and screen house there.⁷⁸ The Humphreys family held the malthouse and associated brewery from 1743 until 1836.⁷⁹ A later tenant, Thomas Horne, maltster, sublet the brewery to Charles Goodwin, who in 1851 was employing four men there.⁸⁰ By 1852 Goodwin had established the Crown Brewery in Acre End Street, on a site partly occupied earlier by a malthouse belonging to the Wasties.⁸¹ The Newland brewery was turned into the cottages of Chapel Yard c. 1857,⁸² and the malthouse, which stood on the east side of the yard, was demolished later.⁸³ The Crown Brewery was operated by Goodwin until the 1880s, and by the Oxford brewers G. H. Hanley and Co. until the 1890s.⁸⁴ Later the building remained in use as a warehouse, and was used for cigarette manufacture during the Second World War. In 1984 a derelict stone and brick building survived.⁸⁵

There were at least two other malthouses in Eynsham in the early 19th century. One at the Grange, owned by Jonathan Sheldon, probably dated from the earlier 18th century when an Oxford brewer bought the property;⁸⁶ another was owned by Samuel Druce, attached to his

farmhouse in Abbey Street (later Abbey Stones).⁸⁷ A brewery owned by Philip Hawkes in 1842 has not been identified, but before 1864 James Gibbons, farmer and grocer, had one which by 1876 occupied a large building north of High Street.⁸⁸ It was first called Eynsham Brewery and later Gibbons & Co.; it was sold to Halls in 1912, but seems to have been closed soon afterwards and was later demolished.⁸⁹ Blake & Co. opened a small mineral-water factory before 1877 and in 1881 employed four labourers. In the late 19th century the business was moved from the west end of Acre End Street to a factory off Mill Street. It was closed in the early 1930s, but Maurice Blake, who had opened a separate mineral-water factory in the Witney road, continued in the business until the 1960s. The Mill Street factory was demolished in 1976.⁹⁰

The importance of the river trade to Eynsham presumably increased with the improvement of Thames navigation between Burcot and Oxford in 1635: several Eynsham bargemasters were involved in river transport between Oxford and London in the 17th century.⁹¹ Fuel, particularly furze from the heath, was delivered in large quantities from Eynsham wharf to Oxford brewers and bakers in the mid 17th century,⁹² and agricultural produce was transported from the wharf to Oxford and London.⁹³ In the 1690s the Eynsham wharfinger evidently ran several boats, and by the later 18th century the wharf contained several warehouses and a public house.⁹⁴ It was owned by the Jemmett family, but from c. 1801 was leased to the Oxford Canal Company, which in 1849 bought the freehold. The company sublet to several traders, most of them importing coal and exporting agricultural produce. In the early 19th century Richard Parker of Witney and Eynsham was probably the largest coal merchant on the upper Thames, as well as trading in corn and salt, running a brickyard at Eynsham, and operating a fleet of Thames barges; before 1827 he built an office and salt house on Eynsham wharf.⁹⁵ Others established at the wharf included the Bowermans, farmers and brickmakers until bankruptcy in 1835,⁹⁶ Jonathan Sheldon, maltster and

⁷⁰ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 81/3/29.

⁷¹ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 694; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 87.

⁷² O.R.O., Palm. I/2, p. 27; *ibid.* IV/4-5; *Oxf. Jnl.* 17 Sept. 1831; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 200, ff. 87-91v.

⁷³ Above, Intro. For tannery bldg. see County Mus., P.R.N. 9787.

⁷⁴ P.R.O., SP 12/198, ff. 108-109v.

⁷⁵ Above, Intro.

⁷⁶ Pigot, *Dir. Oxon.* (1842); O.R.O., Palm. I/4, pp. 213-16.

⁷⁷ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 693. Chambers, *Eynsham*, 86 wrongly identifies this malthouse as that at the Gables.

⁷⁸ O.R.O., Palm. I/1, pp. 264-6; *ibid.* (1743-57), p. 7.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* (1743-57), 8-9; (1757-1818); *ibid.* I/2, p. 68.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 85-6, 340-1; P.R.O., HO 107/1731.

⁸¹ Gardner, *Dir. Oxon.* (1852); O.R.O., Palm. IV, 4-5 (plot 258). Ric. Wastie, maltster, was probably working there in the later 17th cent.: cf. O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 120, f. 119; Woodstock Boro. Mun., 53/2/4.

⁸² O.R.O., Palm. I/3, pp. 1, 9 sqq.

⁸³ Cf. O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 7 (1881 and later edns.). For the ownership of the malthouse in the later 19th cent. see O.R.O., Palm. I/3, pp. 164-9; I/4, pp. 40-2.

⁸⁴ Kelly's *Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.).

⁸⁵ County Mus., P.R.N. 806.

⁸⁶ Above, Intro. For Sheldon, below, Econ. (Mills).

⁸⁷ Above, Intro.

⁸⁸ Pigot, *Dir. Oxon.* (1842); *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1864); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 8 (1881 edn.). The brewery was not mentioned in the 1871 census, when all the Gibbonses were living in Abbey Street: P.R.O., RG 10/1450.

⁸⁹ O.R.O., Misc. Pim. VI/2; Kelly's *Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.); County Mus., P.R.N. 4614.

⁹⁰ *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1877); P.R.O., RG 11/1513; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 7 (1900 edn.); Harris, *From Acre End*, 80-1; *Witney Gaz.* 1 Feb. 1976.

⁹¹ *Jnl. Rly and Canal Hist. Soc.* xiv (3), 45.

⁹² Oxf. Univ. Arch., Chanc. Ct. pps. 1644/2: 1 sqq.; 1645/5: 1 sqq.

⁹³ e.g. *ibid.* Hyp. A 25, f. 134v.; O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. iii, p. 523.

⁹⁴ O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. i, p. 77; *ibid.* CH. XIX/1; *ibid.* incl. award and map.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* Bird, IV/vi/9-16; *ibid.* incl. award and map; *ibid.* Palm. IV/5 (plot 64); *Jnl. Rly. and Canal Hist. Soc.* xiv (3), 46 sqq.

⁹⁶ Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/20 (poster).

corn dealer, Samuel Druce, maltster and farmer, and William Day, farmer and timber merchant.⁹⁷ Though Sheldon remained in business at the wharf until 1895, river trade declined sharply after the building of Eynsham station in 1861; boats last delivered to the wharf in the 1920s. In the 19th century several Eynsham men were involved in trade at the canal wharf established outside the parish on the Cassington road by the duke of Marlborough c. 1800.⁹⁸

In the 1830s only a third of Eynsham's families were supported by non-agricultural occupations, although many women supplemented the family income by gloving, probably for Woodstock masters. The 19th-century village was well supplied with building craftsmen and shoemakers, and there was a growing number of shopkeepers, particularly grocers and bakers. In 1841 there was a watchmaker, a chemist, and a china dealer.⁹⁹ There were a few professional men, including, usually, two doctors. The paper mill remained much the most important single enterprise but in 1881 another large employer was a builder, Walter Wilkins, operating from Mill Street with c. 70 labourers.¹ A Bicester woolstapler, William Shillingford, in Eynsham by the 1830s, operated first from the former tanyard in Queen Street, moving in the 1850s to Newland House; in 1854 his wool stock in Eynsham was estimated to be worth £10,000.² After his death in 1863 his son George continued as a woolstapler into the 20th century, moving from Newland House to Acre End House in the 1890s.³ Before 1883 George formed the Eynsham Sack Co. in conjunction with Lewis Wall, ropemaker, and remained manager until its closure c. 1900;⁴ it employed only five labourers in 1881,⁵ and the work was presumably carried out in the outbuildings of Newland House and Acre End House.⁶ Rope-making was established in Eynsham by the early 19th century,⁷ and the Wall family, which also provided ropemakers in Burford and Banbury, settled in Eynsham by the 1830s, probably at the Rope Walk in Acre End Street which the family occupied until the 1890s. The Walls also manufactured rick-cloths, sacking, and horse-cloths; Lewis Wall, though involved in the Eynsham Sack Co., seems later to have manufactured

sacks on his own behalf.⁸ There was still a ropemaker of the Wall family in Eynsham in the early 20th century, and a new rope walk at no. 80 Acre End Street was worked briefly by the Quanton family.⁹

Bricks were made in Eynsham in the later 18th century, when Tilgarsley kiln was built at the north-east corner of the Eynsham Park estate; by 1796 it was in bad repair.¹⁰ In the mid 19th century the kiln, drying sheds, and a house and c. 25 a. of adjacent land were leased to the Bushnell family; before 1876 the brickworks had been moved to the east side of the road,¹¹ and may have remained in use into the early 20th century as the estate brickworks.¹² Some brick-making in Eynsham was associated with the clearance of land after inclosure in 1802: at Freeland W. E. Taunton built several kilns to make lime for treating his newly cultivated land, and at least one was also used for bricks.¹³ It may have been the brick kiln south-west of Freeland green which fell out of use in the early 20th century.¹⁴ A larger brickworks on the Witney-Woodstock road, known variously as Freeland, Breakspeare's, and, in the early 20th century, Wastie's kiln, lay in Hanborough, though the Breakspeares were also recorded as brickmakers in Freeland.¹⁵ At least two kilns were built in the Barnard Gate area in the early 19th century, one by Richard Parker, the other, associated with Kiln Farm, by Richard Bowerman.¹⁶ Another kiln in the fields west of Eynsham, called Ludmore Kiln, may have been worked in 1861 by Jeremiah Clarke, brickmaker, who lived nearby and employed six labourers.¹⁷ For some years in the mid 19th century the Bushnells ran both the Kiln Farm and Tilgarsley works.¹⁸ By 1900 brickmaking at Eynsham had largely ceased.¹⁹

The paper mill, though turned to other uses, remained the largest single employer until its closure in the 1920s.²⁰ In 1927 a short-lived sugar beet factory was built at the wharf, and railway sidings were built for it. During the Second World War the building was used for military purposes, and thereafter as a warehouse, from 1955 as the premises of J. Harding (Eynsham) Ltd.²¹ and later as a depot for British Leyland; in 1984 the Oxford Instruments Group opened a large new factory on the site. By

⁹⁷ Day was not, as stated in *Jnl. Rly. and Canal Hist. Soc.* xiv (3), 48 a brickmaker, but sold medieval tiles from the abbey site: above, Site and Rem. of Abbey.

⁹⁸ *Jnl. Rly. and Canal Hist. Soc.* xiv (3), *passim*; above, Cassington, Intro.

⁹⁹ *Rep. Com. Poor Laws*, H.C. 44, p. 372 (1834), xxx; P.R.O., HO 107/889.

¹ P.R.O., RG 11/1513; below, Econ. (Mills).

² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 671, p. 103; P.R.O., HO 107/889, 1731; O.R.O., Palm. I/3, pp. 55-6, 149, 171-4; *Oxf. Jnl.* 7 Oct. 1854.

³ O.R.O., Palm. I/3, p. 149; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.).

⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.).

⁵ P.R.O., RG 11/1513.

⁶ Acre End House was said to have been a wool factory until c. 1900: County Mus., P.R.N. 5407.

⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 671, pp. 84, 87; *Eynsham Rec.* iii. 46.

⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 671, p. 101; P.R.O., HO 107/889, 1731; *ibid.* RG 11/1513; Pigot, *Dir. Oxon.* (1842); P.O. (*later Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1847 and later edns.)). For the rope walk in 1836, O.R.O., Palm. IV/4-5 (plot 262).

⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1911 and later edns.); Harris, *From Acre End*, 107-8; County Mus., P.R.N. 1203.

¹⁰ Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797); O.R.O., incl. award and map; Blenheim Mun., box 76, particulars of Eynsham Hall, 1796.

¹¹ Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b 85a (30); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 14 (1881 edn.).

¹² County Mus., P.R.N. 698.

¹³ Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 232-5.

¹⁴ O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII. NE. (1900, 1922 edns.).

¹⁵ County Mus., P.R.N. 699; P.R.O., HO 107/889, 1731; below, Hanborough, Econ.

¹⁶ O.R.O., Palm. IV/5 (plots 278, 361); Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/20 (poster); County Mus., P.R.N. 811.

¹⁷ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 7 (1881 edn.); County Mus., P.R.N. 811. Brick cottages of 1850 north of the Star inn bear initials probably of Clarke.

¹⁸ P.R.O., HO 107/1731.

¹⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.).

²⁰ Harris, *From Acre End*, 13.

²¹ 'Oxf. Process for Sugar Production', *Bull. Oxf. Univ. Inst. for Research in Agric. Engineering*, iv (1929): copy in Westgate Libr., Oxford; *Jnl. Rly. and Canal Hist. Soc.* xiv (3), 50.

the 1930s the only other industrial concerns were the lemonade factory and the gas works. By then the Pimms, involved in building and related trades in Eynsham for over 150 years, ran an extensive business from Abbey Street.²² Eynsham had several garages and a large range of shops, including as many as five grocers, notably Pimm's in the Square (established in 1884) and Sawyer's in Newland Street (established in 1856).²³ Gibbons's grocers and wine merchants in Lombard Street offered banking services from the late 19th century, and a bank was opened by Gillett & Co. in the building now the Co-operative stores in the early 20th century; it was taken over by Barclays in the 1930s and was later moved to Acre End Street and then Mill Street.²⁴ After the Second World War Eynsham attracted several light industries, mostly established on an industrial estate on the Stanton Harcourt road.

MILLS AND FISHERIES. In 1086 the abbot's mill yielded 12s. and 450 eels a year;²⁵ almost certainly it was on the site of the surviving Eynsham mill on the river Evenlode. By the early 13th century there were three mills, probably under one roof since they were in single ownership.²⁶ Most 13th-century references to mills²⁷ probably relate to the abbot's mills on the Evenlode, but there may have been another mill on the upper Chil brook, where Miller's closes were recorded in 1650.²⁸

About 1230 and in 1275 it was claimed that the abbot had caused flooding in the Hanborough meadows by raising the level of his mill pool.²⁹ In or before 1295 Cassington men broke the banks of the pool and diverted the stream.³⁰ About 1270 the three mills were valued at 60s. and c. 1360 at £4 7s.³¹ By 1442 there were two mills, one let for £2, the other vacant and ruinous; soon both, which were under one roof, were working, and the rent rose to £6 in the 1450s. The miller was fined for excessive tolls in 1454.³² The lessee in 1518 was the glover, John Barry, who was succeeded in 1546 by his sons Lawrence and Richard.³³ In 1589 two water mills and a fishery in Eynsham belonged to Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Ruffin,³⁴ but the mills belonged to the manor in 1650 when the site and attached land comprised c. 9 a.³⁵ The property was probably sold by the Jordans,

since it was freehold in the early 18th century.³⁶ In the mid 18th century the owner was Francis Eliot of Surrey.³⁷

Paper making was begun at the mills by a tenant, George Hagar, a London dyer who in 1682 obtained a patent and set up paper mills at Eynsham and elsewhere to make white paper for printed books. Soon, however, a former creditor was assigned Hagar's property at Eynsham, valued at over £1,500.³⁸ By 1686 the lessee was Thomas Meales (d. 1706), who with his son Thomas (d. 1723) continued the manufacture of white paper, supplying that used for printing Bibles in Oxford.³⁹ In 1723 the mill site included a corn mill and two others, one called the new mill, both well stocked with rags; there were separate moulding and drying houses. Meales was also a farmer with a flock of c. 140 sheep.⁴⁰ In 1756, when the paper maker was Jervis Key, the mill was burnt down and rebuilt as a corn and paper mill.⁴¹ It passed before 1785 to Stephen Faichen, probably son of William Faichen, paper maker of Wolvercote; at his death in 1804 Stephen was described as an eminent paper maker.⁴²

In 1804 John Swann of Wolvercote mill bought Eynsham mill for his brother James, who succeeded him in the business in 1807;⁴³ James became a pioneer of mechanized paper making by installing a Fourdrinier machine at Eynsham mill,⁴⁴ to which he moved from Wolvercote in 1807. Both John and James Swann were friends of William Cobbett, supplying him with paper for the *Political Register*. Cobbett visited James at Eynsham mill, and perhaps later when he moved to the Gables.⁴⁵ The Swanns were supplying paper to the Clarendon Press by 1805,⁴⁶ and also produced the tarred paper which had a brief vogue as a roofing material popularized by J. C. Loudon. The material was used by the Swanns to roof Eynsham mill before 1811, and, probably later, on the malthouse at the Gables.⁴⁷ Although James did not die until 1846⁴⁸ the business by 1837 seems to have been run by Henry Swann; there were then three mills, at Sandford, Eynsham, and Wolvercote, and about a third of the total production was sent to the Clarendon Press.⁴⁹ In 1848 Henry Swann was bankrupt, but Swanns continued in business with partners into the 1860s.⁵⁰ In 1856 Thomas Routledge, partner of

²² *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1928 and later edns.); O.R.O., Misc. Pim. I/1-4.

²³ J. Sawyer, *Our Shop* (Eynsham, 1978): copy in Westgate Libr.; local inf.

²⁴ Local inf.; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1903 and later edns.).

²⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 403.

²⁶ *Oxon. Fines*, pp. 86-7.

²⁷ e.g. *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 255-6.

²⁸ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1.

²⁹ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 104-5; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, pp. 34-5.

³⁰ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 337-40.

³¹ *Ibid.* pp. 11-12; ii, p. 38.

³² B.L. Harl. Rolls F 14 (6), F 17 (1), F 21.

³³ *Ibid.* G 12; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 180, ff. 37v.-39v.

³⁴ P.R.O., C 142/223, no. 76.

³⁵ O.R.O., Palm. IV/1.

³⁶ O.R.O., C.J. V/71.

³⁷ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/15 (2).

³⁸ Hist. MSS. Com. 17, 13th Rep. V, H. L., pp. 496-8.

³⁹ H. Carter, 'Paper making in neighbourhood of Oxf.' 7th International Congress of Paper Historians, 7-8; A. H.

Shorter, *Paper Making in Brit. Isles*, 53. For the Meales see O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 46/2/7, 141/3/12.

⁴⁰ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 46/2/7.

⁴¹ *Oxf. Jnl.* 14 Mar. 1756; 3 Dec. 1757; 7 Jan. 1758; Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 202, p. 4.

⁴² A. H. Shorter, *Paper Mills in Eng. 1495-1800* (Hilversum, 1957), 226-7; O.R.O., land tax assess.

⁴³ Shorter, *Eng. Paper Mills*, 226; Bodl. MS. Eng. Hist. c 33, ff. 14-15.

⁴⁴ Shorter, *Paper Making*, 101.

⁴⁵ For Cobbett/Swann corresp., Bodl. MS. Eng. Hist. c 33. For the Gables, above, Intro.

⁴⁶ Shorter, *Eng. Paper Mills*, 226.

⁴⁷ J. C. Loudon, *Paper Roofs used at Tew Lodge, Oxon.* (1811), 5, 9; above, Intro.

⁴⁸ O.R.O., Palm. I/2, 198-9.

⁴⁹ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Oxf. and G.W. Union Rly. Bill*, H.L. 70, p. 49 (1837), xix; *ibid.* H.L. 227, p. 696 (1837-8), xx.

⁵⁰ Shorter, *Eng. Paper Mills*, 226; 7th Int. Cong. Paper Historians, 8; O.R.O., Misc. Minn. II a/1, 8-13.

John Swann of Eynsham, was pioneering the manufacture of paper from esparto grass; he left Eynsham c. 1862⁵¹ but Routledge and Co. continued producing paper there from raw fibres until 1871.⁵²

From 1872 the mill was held by the Wakefield family until the Eynsham Paper Mills Co. was formed in 1889, with Stephen Wakefield as managing director.⁵³ In 1881 the mill employed over 100 people.⁵⁴ Its closure by 1893 was attributed to the importation of foreign paper and the mill's remoteness from good rail links, though the scandalous flight of the managing director may have been a contributory factor.⁵⁵ In the early 20th century artificial leather board was manufactured at the mill by F. J. Bugg,⁵⁶ and for some years after the First World War G. A. Shankland Ltd. ground bones there for glue manufacture; by then it was known as Isis Mills.⁵⁷ The mill buildings, which from the early 19th century included a large flat-roofed paper factory designed by Daniel Harris of Oxford, and machinery worked by two large turbines on the Evenlode,⁵⁸ were later demolished. The mill house, which bears the date 1691, was built or rebuilt by Thomas Meales (d. 1706), and was greatly enlarged before 1814, perhaps by the Swanns.

A corn mill, presumably worked by steam, stood behind the Grange in Acre End Street.⁵⁹ It was associated with a malthouse, and by 1836 and until the 1880s was owned by Jonathan Sheldon, maltster, miller, and corn dealer. In 1881 he was employing eight labourers.⁶⁰ Jonathan's son Thomas also acquired Osney mill in Oxford.⁶¹ In 1920 G. A. Shankland Ltd. of Isis Mills were manufacturing bedding at Grange mill.⁶² The mill building was later converted to domestic use.

Fishing rights may have been attached to the abbot's mill in 1086, since part of the rent was in eels,⁶³ and in the early 13th century the miller had fishing rights on the Evenlode.⁶⁴ About 1270 the abbot's free fishery was valued at 20s., presumably the Thames fishery for which the abbey had no warrant in 1279.⁶⁵ In the 13th century and early 14th the Belgrave family leased the Thames fishery.⁶⁶ About 1360 the Thames fishery was worth 73s., that on the Evenlode only 4s., but in 1389 the abbot's fishery, perhaps on both rivers, was yielding £4

6s. 8d.⁶⁷ The fishery was vacant in 1442 but was let thereafter, in 1518 for £2 13s. 4d.⁶⁸ The abbey at times had a salaried fisherman, perhaps merely supervisor of the abbey fishponds.⁶⁹ In the 1560s the bounds of the lord's waters were perambulated by the jury of Eynsham's manor court, and fishing rights were mentioned as appurtenances of the manor and the mill until the early 18th century.⁷⁰

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. By grants of Henry I confirmed in 1130 and 1141–2 the abbot acquired extensive franchises in Eynsham, including sac, soc, toll, team, infangthief, and quittance for his lands and men from suit of shire and hundred, except in theft and *murdrum*.⁷¹ In 1274–5 the abbot claimed the right to gallows.⁷² Stephen's grant to the abbot of a market may have been assumed to include the assize of bread and ale, which, when challenged by the Crown in 1285, was said to have been held beyond memory.⁷³

In 1279 an annual view of frankpledge was held at Eynsham by the sheriff and the hundredal bailiff, who received 8s. cert money and the perquisites of the view.⁷⁴ Earlier there may have been two views, since the abbot's grants of land frequently stipulated suit of court twice yearly.⁷⁵ In 1290 the abbot was granted the perquisites in accordance with established practice, but the sheriff and bailiff were to hold the court and have 8s. and hospitality.⁷⁶ In 1313 the king permitted the abbot's own officers to hold the view and receive all profits, except the 8s. divided between the sheriff and hundredal bailiff.⁷⁷ Even so, in 1362 the hundredal bailiff alleged not only that he and the sheriff held two views at Eynsham each year, but that presentments not dealt with there, or concealed, might be heard at Wootton. The abbot denied all, claiming that causes arising within Eynsham might be presented only at the annual Eynsham view held by his own steward; if the sheriff and bailiff chose to attend they were entitled to hospitality as well as the 8s. cert money.⁷⁸ Probably the abbot prevailed, and in the later Middle Ages he continued to pay the 8s. together with an allowance of 2 qr. of oats, presumably for hospitality.⁷⁹ In the later 16th century cert money was 8s. 4d., and in the 17th century 2s.

and later edns.).

⁵¹ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1887, 1903).

⁵² *Ibid.* (1920).

⁵³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 403.

⁵⁴ *Oxon. Fines*, p. 87.

⁵⁵ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 12; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 859.

⁵⁶ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 316–17, 369–70.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* ii, pp. lxxiv, 38.

⁵⁸ B.L. Harl. Rolls F 14 (6), G 12.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* F 14 (1, 2).

⁶⁰ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 127/8, f. iv.; e.g. P.R.O., C 142/223, no. 76; O.R.O., C.J. V/71.

⁶¹ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 51–2; ii, p. 155.

⁶² *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 34.

⁶³ *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 663.

⁶⁴ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 859.

⁶⁵ *Eynsham Cart.* i, *passim*.

⁶⁶ *Cal. Inq. Misc.* i. 424.

⁶⁷ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 213–14.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 97–100; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 71–2.

⁶⁹ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. lxxvii, lxxxvi.

⁵¹ Shorter, *Paper Making*, 139; 7th Int. Cong. *Paper Historians*, 8; R. H. Clapperton, *Paper Making Machine*, 191.

⁵² *Paper Mills Dir.* (1865 and later edns.).

⁵³ *Ibid.*; P.O. (later *Kelly's*) *Dir. of Stationers etc.* (1872 and later edns.); *Eynsham Paper Mill Co. prospectus* (1888): copy in Westgate Libr.

⁵⁴ P.R.O., RG 11/1513.

⁵⁵ *Paper Mills Dir.* (1893); Harris, *From Acre End*, 13; Shorter, *Paper Making*, 153; *Rain and Ruin*, ed. Celia Miller, 177.

⁵⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1903); *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii. 240; Harris, *From Acre End*, 13.

⁵⁷ O.R.O., Misc. Eynsh. I/1; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1920 and later edns.).

⁵⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 66, no. 254; O.R.O., Misc. Minn. II a/9, 12–13; Loudon, *Paper Roofs*, 5, 9; *Eynsham Paper Mill Co. prospectus* (1888); County Mus., P.R.N. 795.

⁵⁹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 7 (1881 edn.).

⁶⁰ O.R.O., Palm. IV/5; P.R.O., HO 107/889; *ibid.* RG 11/1513; Pigot, *Dir. Oxon.* (1842); *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1884

8d., representing 2 qr. of oats, was still paid to the hundred from Eynsham.⁸⁰

The view of frankpledge was held with the court of Eynsham manor, for which rolls survive from the 13th century to the 18th.⁸¹ At first it met on Saturdays, but by the 14th century on Mondays, like the other Eynsham courts; by then, although nominally a three-weekly court,⁸² it met irregularly between four and seven times a year. Its business ranged from the enfranchisement of villeins and the transfer of holdings to the supervision of the abbot's fields and woods. Profits, sometimes £5 in a single court when there were entry fines, were collected by a beadle, appointed by the abbot without election.

By the 16th century the view of frankpledge was held near Michaelmas, and there was usually a manor court or court baron near Easter. At the combined view and manor court at Michaelmas the usual manorial officers were elected, including 2 constables and 2 tithingmen; head-silver (5s. in the 1680s) was collected by the tithingmen.⁸³ In the 16th century the jurors presented breaches of the peace, and the court dealt with impounded strays and the management of the open fields, making ordinances and fining offenders. By the 17th century, except for the transfer of property, very little business was recorded, though leet jurisdiction remained.⁸⁴ By then the Michaelmas court usually adjourned to a later date, presumably to regulate the fields: such regulations were recorded separately and only those for 1796 have survived.⁸⁵ The last enrolment of Eynsham's view was in 1716, though combined courts leet and baron for the manors of Eynsham and Newland were recorded in the 1740s. Apparently Eynsham manor courts continued to meet annually into the mid 19th century, presumably to appoint officers, but their business was not enrolled.⁸⁶ The medieval court may have met in a court house in the Square.⁸⁷ In the late 17th century courts were held at the Swan and in the early 18th century presumably moved to the new court house, now the Bartholomew Room; in the mid 19th century they met at either the Swan or the Red Lion.⁸⁸

In the Middle Ages there was a portmoot for tenants of the old borough,⁸⁹ who were not obliged to attend the manor court except, presumably, for the view.⁹⁰ The portmoot was important, meeting on Mondays sometimes 16 times a year in the 15th century.⁹¹ The assize of bread and ale was held there, and it was at the Michaelmas portmoot not the manor court that

the principal borough officers were appointed, including one called in 1453 the 'provost or governor of the town' and in 1476 the mayor. Other officers included a bailiff of the town, who collected rents and amercements, 2 constables, 2 tithingmen, 2 ale-tasters, 2 inspectors of victuals, and 2 'collectors of half a mark', probably the annual sum paid by Eynsham to the bailiffs of Oxford for freedom from toll.⁹² In some years not all those officers were appointed, the constables for instance sometimes collecting the half mark. The court dealt with a wide range of presentments, including inferior leather, beer, and food, weights and measures offences, pleas of debt, nuisances, and even vagrancy; it issued bylaws, in 1454 forbidding innkeepers to sell beer after 9 o'clock in the evening. The surviving rolls contain no property transfers, and so profits, made up of amercements only, were small (c. 50s. a year). By the later 16th century only a vestige of the portmoot survived; a roll of 1568 for Eynsham's Michaelmas court included breaches of the assize of bread and ale under the heading portmoot,⁹³ but portmoots were not mentioned in 17th-century rolls.

The borough of Newland, established in 1215, was regulated by a separate court baron held by successive lords of Eynsham. The new borough was made up of burgages, which could be disposed of by will and were quit of feudal incidents except for a small payment to the abbot when sold. The tenants were to elect their own reeve, and complaints against them were to be tried by their peers.⁹⁴ Court rolls survive from 1307 to the 20th century.⁹⁵ The court met on Mondays, always at Michaelmas and near Easter, usually Hocktide, and sometimes once or twice more each year. Officers elected in the early 14th century were two bailiffs, an ale-taster, and a tithingman. In the Middle Ages, besides property transactions, the court dealt with nuisances, hedge-breaking, and other agricultural offences, but the only trading offences related to beer-selling, presumably because the intended borough had become an agricultural settlement.

The original burgage tenures seem to have changed during the Middle Ages: in 1294 the abbot regranted a holding without any power of alienation by will or sale,⁹⁶ and the later medieval rolls show that copyhold tenure was becoming general. By the 17th century the whole of Newland seems to have become copyhold except for the site of Newland House.⁹⁷ By the later 16th century the court met twice yearly at the same time as the Eynsham courts; business

⁸⁰ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 127/8, ff. 3 sqq.; P.R.O., LR 2/197, f. 134v.

⁸¹ B.L. Harl. Rolls E 23 sqq.; cts. 13th–15th cent., listed in *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. xi–xvii, and extracted in Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 448, ff. 46 sqq.; P.R.O., SC 2/197, no. 38; cts. late 15th cent.; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 127/8–11; cts. 1564–72; O.R.O., Palm. I/1; cts. 17th–18th cent. Transcripts of rolls for 1560–72, referred to in Chambers, *Eynsham*, preface, have not been traced.

⁸² e.g. *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 39.

⁸³ e.g. O.R.O., Palm. I/1, pp. 67–8, 131.

⁸⁴ e.g. the steward's charge to the leet in 1672: *ibid.* p. 245.

⁸⁵ O.R.O., Palm. I/1, p. 78; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 70.

⁸⁶ O.R.O., Palm. I/2, undated prelim. note.

⁸⁷ Above, Intro.

⁸⁸ e.g. O.R.O., Palm. I/1, p. 197, 202; I/2, prelim. note.

⁸⁹ B.L. Harl. Rolls F 21, 31, 35, G 9; cts. 1453–1517, listed in *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. xii–xviii.

⁹⁰ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 39.

⁹¹ Amercements recorded in B.L. Harl. Rolls F 5, 7, 14 show the frequency of earlier 15th-cent. cts.

⁹² Above, Econ. (Mkts. and Fairs).

⁹³ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 127/10.

⁹⁴ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 60.

⁹⁵ B.L. Harl. Rolls E 17 sqq.; cts. 1307–1478, listed in *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. x–xviii; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 127/8; cts. 1564–72; O.R.O., Palm. I/1–5; cts. 17th–20th cent.; Blenheim Mun., B/M/289–90; copies of cts. 1785–1830.

⁹⁶ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 176–7.

⁹⁷ Above, Intro.

included agricultural matters such as the ringing of pigs, but the later Newland courts dealt exclusively with the transfer of customary tenements. They were held by the lord's steward, and in the 19th century met in the White Hart inn.⁹⁸ From the late 19th century copyholds began to be enfranchised, and those that remained were enfranchised under the Act of 1922. The last formal court was held in 1925, but until 1935 the court book was used to enrol agreements extinguishing manorial incidents.⁹⁹ In the 19th century a few copyholds not strictly belonging to Newland were dealt with in its court, presumably because it was the only suitable surviving institution: the lawyers' uncertainty over the practice is reflected in very late references to the manor of Tilgarsley, when copyhold properties in Freeland were before the court.¹

In the 15th century a court called the Powkebridge court was held annually on St. Martin's day to levy pannage of pigs. The court's name perhaps derived from a bridge on the medieval Puck Lane, now Queen Street.²

By the mid 17th century an Easter 'assembly' of the vicar and parishioners, later called a vestry, was appointing two churchwardens, two sidesmen, and two surveyors of the highways.³ Presumably it also appointed two annual overseers of the poor, mentioned in the 17th century⁴ but not recorded in any detail before the 1760s. In the 18th century the vestry met three or four times a year, and was usually attended by the vicar and a few substantial ratepayers, mostly farmers.⁵ Meetings became more frequent as the burden of poor-relief increased, and by 1809 there was a monthly 'committee' to manage parish affairs; in 1813 a committee nominated by the churchwardens began to meet weekly.⁶ After the Sturges Bourne Acts of 1818-19 the committee of fourteen members was called a select vestry, and in the 1820s and 1830s was meeting fortnightly.⁷ Open vestries continued to meet, especially at Easter, and were heavily attended whenever controversy forced a vote: when plural voting was introduced after 1819 several ratepayers, notably W. E. Taunton of Freeland, the successive owners of Eynsham Hall, and leading farmers such as the Druces, had the maximum six votes.⁸ In the late 18th century the vestry met in the Bartholomew Room, or at an inn, usually the Swan or Red Lion; moves to the church parvise in 1819, to a 'new vestry room' in the church in 1845-6, and to the new infant

school in 1848 seem to have been short-lived, and the Bartholomew Room remained the most usual meeting place in the 19th century.⁹

The two churchwardens, besides the normal duties of the office,¹⁰ relieved the travelling poor, looked after scales and weights which may have been used as market standards, and kept leather buckets and ladders for fire-fighting. Their usual expenditure was very low, frequently below £20 in the 17th century. Regular income in the mid 17th century came from the annual Whitsun ale, from a collection known as the 'Easter book' yielding between £1 and £1 10s., and a sale of 'Whitsun wood' according to Eynsham's ancient custom.¹¹ Church rates, when levied, were rarely more than a few pence in the pound. By the early 19th century the churchwardens' expenses were relatively so small that the overseers commonly paid all the bills.¹² Church rates continued to be levied,¹³ but long before the Church Rate Act of 1868 major expenditure, such as the enlargement of the churchyard in 1863, was met by subscription.¹⁴

Surveyors of the highways continued to be appointed by the vestry until the 1890s.¹⁵ In the mid 19th century there were sometimes as many as four, but later two only, called waywardens.¹⁶ Separate highway rates were levied, but sometimes the overseers paid the surveyors from the poor rate.¹⁷ In the early 19th century parish roads were sometimes farmed out to contractors who were expected to employ the poor as labourers;¹⁸ at other times the assistant overseer collected the highway rate and employed the road-workers.¹⁹

Constables probably continued to be appointed by the manor court long after 1716, when they were last formally recorded in court rolls.²⁰ In the 17th century two were elected, probably serving six months each. A separate constables' rate was levied until the 1780s, when the overseers took over the payment of the 'constable's bill'.²¹ From 1819 the assistant overseer was also constable.²² Minor parish officers included sidesmen, whose appointment ceased to be recorded in the later 17th century,²³ and a sexton and parish clerk appointed by the vicar: in 1728 parishioners tried to intervene in the choice of a sexton but the post remained the vicar's personal appointment.²⁴ The parish clerk from 1805 was paid £5 besides his traditional £2 7s. 10d. for ringing the bell every morning at 4 a.m.²⁵ A salaried beadle was appointed by the

⁹⁸ O.R.O., Palm. I/2, prelim. note.

⁹⁹ Ibid. I/4-5.

¹ e.g. *ibid.* I/5, p. 181.

² The only surviving roll is B.L. Harl. Roll F 8, but the ct. is mentioned regularly: *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. xii-xiii, xvi-xvii, xlv. For Puck bridge see above, Intro.

³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham b 12, ff. 9 sqq.

⁴ Ibid. MS. Wills Oxon. 52/4/7.

⁵ Ibid. MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 1 (vestry bk. 1782-1847); *ibid.* d 15 (overseers' accts. 1764-1806).

⁶ Ibid. e 1, ff. 90v., 95, 98v.-99.

⁷ Ibid. ff. 114, 120v., 128v., 144 and v.

⁸ e.g. *ibid.* f. 135v.; *ibid.* d 12 (vestry bk. 1848-64), ff. 111 sqq.

⁹ e.g. *ibid.* e 1, ff. 35v., 90v., 99, 114, 166v.; d 12, pp. 1, 69; e 2 (vestry bk. 1865-1923), *passim*.

¹⁰ The following para. is based on *ibid.* b 12 (chwdns'

accts. 1640-65, with many later entries); b 13 (chwdns' accts. 1775-1863).

¹¹ Above, Econ. (Agric.).

¹² e.g. O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham b 13, p. 81.

¹³ e.g. *ibid.* pp. 95-6, 123, 176-7; e 2, pp. 24-5, 33, 35.

¹⁴ Ibid. b 13, pp. 192-5; d 12, pp. 139-44.

¹⁵ Ibid. e 2, p. 104.

¹⁶ Ibid. e 1, d 12, *passim*.

¹⁷ e.g. *ibid.* e 1, f. 88v.

¹⁸ Ibid., ff. 91 and v., 124v., 126 and v.

¹⁹ Ibid., ff. 128v., 144 and v.

²⁰ Ibid. Palm. I/1, p. 261.

²¹ Cf. *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham b 15, ff. 42, 59. For a fragmentary constables' acct. for 1762 see *ibid.*, endpaper.

²² Ibid. e 1, ff. 114, 116v., 118v., 122v.

²³ Ibid. b 12, *passim*.

²⁴ Ibid. ff. 40, 53.

²⁵ Ibid. e 1, f. 77.

vestry from the 1820s, helping to collect rates and reporting to the magistrates on the observance of licensing hours.²⁶

In the 18th century each of the two overseers appointed annually accounted for six months of the year.²⁷ Occasionally (in 1798 and 1799, for instance) four were appointed, perhaps because the lack of a workhouse contract imposed extra burdens on the parish officers. The overseers were usually prominent farmers; in the 1820s they were rewarded with pieces of plate, and in 1827 it was decided in advance to allow the overseers £25 and expenses.²⁸ By then much of the routine work was carried out by an assistant overseer, whose salary ranged from £35 in 1813 to £60 in 1830 and who accounted fortnightly to the vestry.²⁹

Overseers' expenditure was only £74 in 1764, rising to £187 in 1767-8, when there were a few more recipients of regular relief and much heavier casual expenses because of high corn prices and 'the smallpox people at Spareacre house'. In the 1770s, average expenditure was not much more than £100 and in the 1780s probably not much more than £150. Thereafter, following national trends, population increase and high corn prices caused a sharp rise in rates, from £252 in 1791-2 to £718 in 1795-6, £1,066 in 1799-1800, and £1,841 in 1800-1. In 1803, when £1,280 was spent, the cost was c. £1 1s. per head of population,³⁰ a large burden for the relatively few ratepayers. In the 1760s a penny rate had produced £7 15s., and after minor adjustments only £8 in 1800: by then ratepayers were thus contributing over 19s. in the pound to meet the cost of poor-relief. At inclosure rateable values were revised, and the total for the parish increased from £1,920 to £5,000, so a penny rate thereafter yielded over £20. In the early 19th century expenditure varied widely from year to year, from as little as c. £860 in 1824 to £1,838 (c. £1 4s. per head) in 1818.³¹ Although in the last few years of the old Poor Law officially reported expenditure was between £1,500 and £1,600 (c. 16s. a head) the vestry asserted that in 1831-2 over £2,100 had been spent.³²

In 1764 the workhouse had only five inmates, for whose weekly maintenance the master received 1s. 3d. each, soon afterwards raised to 1s. 8d. In 1768, as workhouse inmates increased in number, all regular relief was farmed for £126 a year. In 1772 the farm was set at £84 and remained unchanged until raised in 1782 to allow for the high cost of provisions.³³ The usual contractor, John Rusher, was farming the

Woodstock poor also in 1779, and later farmed the Cogges poor; in 1772 he was intending to install a governess in the Eynsham workhouse.³⁴ The Eynsham farm varied between £100 and £125 until 1792, after which poor relief was administered directly for a few years by the overseers. A new contract in 1795 for as much as £123 a quarter included out-relief. In 1796 the parish advertised for a living-in master rather than a farmer³⁵ but contractors were used intermittently thereafter: in 1805, for example, the contract of £630 included out-relief.³⁶ The workhouse was extended in 1797 and in 1802-3 contained 33 paupers including children.³⁷

From 1807 the master was usually paid a capitation fee, ranging from 3s. to 5s. a head. The standard agreement required the master or his wife to sleep in the workhouse, which was to close at 7 p.m. in winter and 9 p.m. in summer; inmates were to attend church twice on Sundays. The master was to have all profits of their labour, and in 1818 was expected to provide three hot dinners a week. For much of the early 19th century the mastership passed between two local men, William Hathaway and William Buckingham.³⁸ The number of inmates declined in that period to only 15 in 1814 and only 10 old and infirm people in 1832.³⁹ There was a corresponding increase in numbers receiving out-relief: in 1764 only 6 families were regularly relieved, but by 1800 the monthly cost of out-relief was nearly £100 and in 1802-3 relief was given to 21 adults and 95 children.⁴⁰ In 1814 there were 52 recipients of regular, and 39 of occasional, relief, and in one week in May 1832 relief of some kind was given to 306 people.⁴¹

Casual expenditure by the overseers included the expense of settlement and removal, and, until 1817, the payment of rents for some poor families.⁴² In 1790-1 a pauper was equipped with a wooden leg and a doctor was paid £20 to inoculate 159 parishioners. Parishioners were sent regularly to the Radcliffe Infirmary in Oxford, to which an annual subscription was paid. Contracts were made with local doctors to attend the poor, usually with extra payments for midwifery, accidents, and epidemics such as an outbreak of typhus in 1825.⁴³ The house at Spareacre used as a pest house in the 1760s may have been the workhouse; later a pest house stood north of Bowles Farm.⁴⁴

Eynsham was unusual in finding profitable employment for the poor, mostly spinning, carding, and weaving for Witney masters: the overseers regularly paid for flax and woolpacks from Witney. Spinning wheels and carders were

²⁶ Ibid. ff. 135v., 147.; d 12, p. 37.

²⁷ Para. based on O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham b 15 (overseers' accts. 1764-1806).

²⁸ e.g. ibid. e 1, ff. 122v., 133.

²⁹ e.g. ibid. ff. 97, 101, 114, 122v., 128v., 131, 144 and v.

³⁰ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406-7; *Census*, 1801.

³¹ *Poor Abstract*, 1818, 360-1; *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 556, p. 138 (1822), v; ibid. H.C. 334, p. 173 (1825), iv; *Census*, 1811-21.

³² *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 83, p. 161 (1830-1), xi; ibid. H.C. 444, p. 157 (1835), xlvii; *Census*, 1831; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 1, f. 141.

³³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 1, ff. 5-6.

³⁴ E. Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 274; O.R.O., MS. d.d.

Par. Cogges b 2; Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 22 Feb. 1772.

³⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 11, item l.

³⁶ Ibid. e 1, f. 76.

³⁷ Ibid. f. 49; *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406-7.

³⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 1, *passim*.

³⁹ *Poor Abstract*, 1818, 360-1; *Rep. Com. Poor Laws*, H.C. 44, p. 372 (1834), xxx-xxxiv.

⁴⁰ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406-7.

⁴¹ Ibid. 1818, 360-1; *Rep. Com. Poor Laws* (1834), xxx-xxxiv, p. 372.

⁴² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 1, f. 113.

⁴³ e.g. ibid. ff. 102, 127.

⁴⁴ Above, Intro. For another supposed pest ho. behind Redthorn Ho., County Mus., P.R.N. 11198.

purchased, and in 1807 the master of the workhouse was allowed £10 to erect a loom.⁴⁵ In 1793–4 finished work was sold for c. £50, and in 1795 'Witney work' yielded £35. In 1802–3 materials for employment in the workhouse cost £5 11s. and over £48 was earned; in the same year those on out-relief earned £54 10s. Such earnings were double those of any other parish in the region except Witney.⁴⁶ No textile work was mentioned in 1832,⁴⁷ perhaps because its availability had declined as mechanization was introduced in Witney mills in the early 19th century.

The able-bodied unemployed were also set to work on the roads: in 1783 the vestry ordered the surveyors to pay 'distressed labourers' 1s. each for three days' work, and in 1784 and later the unemployed were picking pebbles for road-repair. In 1788 the vestry encouraged the surveyors to employ poor men with large families; in 1824, when the parish farmed the roads for £100, the farmer was told to pay £50 to poor workmen of the parish. Other employment for the poor included furze-cutting on the heath.⁴⁸

In 1795 the overseers received over £50 for 'labour', possibly indicating use of a roundsman system. Relief to the unemployed and supplementation of wages both began in the late 18th century. Unemployment continued to be a serious problem: in 1815 vestry members agreed to employ only parishioners if possible, and in 1832 it was estimated that 40 out of 221 adult labourers were usually unemployed, and more in the winter.⁴⁹ By then the allowance system was in full use, but apportionment of labourers among ratepayers was not: even so the vestry complained of the payments to the unemployed of c. £350, and recommended apportionment and funding emigration. In November 1832 a labour rate was ordered: it seems that for five weeks each ratepayer was to employ labour on agreed wages until he had contributed the equivalent of 1s. in the pound rate.⁵⁰ A labour rate was still in operation in 1833.⁵¹

After 1834 Eynsham belonged to the Witney union. The Eynsham workhouse was used for the paupers of several parishes until the Witney workhouse was opened.⁵² It was probably sold in 1839, but survived among the cottages of Alma Place until modern times.⁵³ The Eynsham vestry continued to recommend suitable overseers and to appoint surveyors who employed the poor on road-mending and ditch-cleaning: wages set by the vestry for such work in 1850 were as low as 6s. a week for a married man with two children.⁵⁴

Briefly, between 1848 and 1851, the vestry operated the police provisions of the Lighting and Watching Act of 1833,⁵⁵ but thereafter annually recommended to the magistrates suitable constables, of whom three or four served each year.⁵⁶ In the 1870s the county police station lay between Acre End Street and the Baptist chapel, moving several times before settling at Station Road by 1939.⁵⁷ The vestry retained responsibility for the parish fire-fighting equipment until a fire-brigade committee was formed in the 1880s. In the 1930s the town relied briefly on service from Witney, but by 1936 was collecting for its own volunteer brigade.⁵⁸ An engine may have been purchased in 1814, and engine maintenance was regularly noted from the 1830s.⁵⁹ It was kept under the Bartholomew Room until 1949; there was a fire station in Mill Street from c. 1956 and a new station was built near the former railway station in 1985. The horse-drawn fire engine, last used in 1939, was restored c. 1970.⁶⁰ Although street lighting was introduced by a private company in 1871, the vestry took over existing fittings in 1889 and took steps to light the town in winter.⁶¹

The vestry's effectiveness as the governing body of the parish in the 19th century was reduced by its division into two factions, one supporting the vicar, W. S. Bricknell, the other led by a farmer, Joseph Druce, who was frequently the parish churchwarden.⁶² Bricknell was supported by prominent villagers such as James Gibbons, farmer and brewer, the Shillingfords, woolstaplers, and grander but more remote figures such as W. E. Taunton of Freeland and the owners of Eynsham Hall; Druce's party included William Swann, papermaker, James Sheldon, maltster, and the brewer C. A. Goodwin. Quarrels began over church restoration in 1857 and ranged over many other issues, notably charity administration.⁶³ Crowded Easter vestries, when churchwardens were appointed, became trials of strength between the factions, and formal polls and canvassing became commonplace. In 1865, after fisticuffs in the Bartholomew Room involving Bricknell and a parishioner, a magistrate referred to Eynsham's 'endless squabbles'.⁶⁴ The deaths of Bricknell in 1886 and Druce in 1890 ended an era, and in 1895 an Eynsham vestry was noted for its 'extreme cordiality'. The vestry's residual governmental functions had been taken over by the parish council in 1894, when Eynsham was taken into Witney rural district.⁶⁵ In 1974 the parish became part of West Oxfordshire district.⁶⁶

⁴⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 1, ff. 85 and v.

⁴⁶ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406–7.

⁴⁷ *Rep. Com. Poor Laws* (1834), xxx–xxxiv, p. 372.

⁴⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 1, ff. 8, 13, 16v., 26, 63, 124v.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* f. 102v.; *Rep. Com. Poor Law* (1834), xxx–xxxiv, p. 372.

⁵⁰ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 1, ff. 141 sqq.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* f. 144v.

⁵² *Ibid.* f. 152v.

⁵³ *Oxf. Jnl.* 26 Jan. 1839; M.A. Philcox, *Par. Ch. of Eynsham*: copy in Westgate Libr.

⁵⁴ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 1, *passim*; *ibid.* d 12 (vestry bk. 1848–64), p. 16.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* d 12, pp. 1–2, 18–20.

⁵⁶ e.g. *ibid.* pp. 21, 27, 32, 35–6.

⁵⁷ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 7 (1881 edn.); *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.).

⁵⁸ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Eynsham d 12, p. 106; b 12, f. 65 and v.; c 2 (vestry bk. 1865–1923), pp. 94–5, 102; *ibid.* Misc. Robbins I/1.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* MSS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 1, f. 100; b 13, pp. 119, 121, 137.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Misc. Eynsham I/4, pp. 5, 282; *Eynsham Rec.* iii. 18.

⁶¹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 2, pp. 89–90, 96–7.

⁶² Para. based on *ibid.* d 12, e 2. For elections of churchwardens see *ibid.* b 12, ff. 52 sqq.

⁶³ Below, Char. ⁶⁴ *Oxf. Chron.* 24 June 1865.

⁶⁵ O.R.O., RO 3251, pp. 201–3. For par. council mins. from 1894, see *ibid.* Misc. Eynsham I/1–4.

⁶⁶ O.R.O., RO 3267.

CHURCHES. Eynsham was apparently the site of an early Saxon minster and the centre of a large *parochia*, steadily diminished as new churches were established, for example at Water Eaton and Cogges.⁶⁷ Cassington parish was created before 1123 out of Eynsham parish, and the abbey retained residual rights there until the Dissolution.⁶⁸ Yarnton, though recorded as a chapel of Eynsham in the early Middle Ages,⁶⁹ was less closely bound to the mother church. Eynsham parish remained large, however, and there is no indication that the lost village of Tilgarsley was ever ecclesiastically independent.⁷⁰ The parish was reduced in 1869 by the creation of Freeland Particular District, in 1953 by the transfer to North Leigh of Eynsham Park, and in 1966 by a further extension of Freeland. In 1985 the benefice was united with Cassington.⁷¹

The parish church was probably founded as a chapel for the villagers when Eynsham's Saxon minster became the abbey church of a closed order in 1005. It was first recorded in the late 12th century,⁷² and was dedicated to St. Leonard, a saint popular with the Benedictines.⁷³ Chaplains were mentioned in the early 13th century⁷⁴ but in 1235 Bartholomew Nash (*de Fraxino*) was presented to the perpetual vicarage of Eynsham, probably created at that time.⁷⁵ Thereafter the living remained a vicarage, the abbey retaining the rectory and advowson.⁷⁶

After the Dissolution the advowson descended with the manor until the late 17th century,⁷⁷ although Sir Edmund Pye, patron in a disputed presentation during the Civil War, is not known to have had an interest in the manor.⁷⁸ The Jordans, lords of the manor, seem to have sold the advowson in the 1690s, and by the early 18th century it belonged to John Martin, a London banker.⁷⁹ A presentation in 1715 was made by Samuel Weeley, who held one turn only.⁸⁰ John Martin later settled at Overbury (Worcs.), and the friendship between his family and that of Treadway Nash, the historian of Worcestershire, greatly influenced the future of the Eynsham living.⁸¹ John Martin the younger secured the presentation in 1751 of Treadway Nash, later his brother-in-law.⁸² In

1767 Martin presented Treadway Nash's relative Thomas Nash,⁸³ who bought the advowson from Maria Martin in the late 18th century or early 19th.⁸⁴

Nash (d. 1826) arranged for his son-in-law and curate Thomas Symonds to succeed him as vicar but devised the advowson to his son Richard Skillicorne Nash.⁸⁵ In 1833, on the marriage of R. S. Nash's daughter to William Simcox Bricknell, the advowson was settled on trustees with the intention, fulfilled in 1845, that Bricknell should become vicar.⁸⁶ On Bricknell's death in 1888 the trustees, R. N. Bricknell and W. N. Skillicorne, presented R. J. Rowton on condition that he resigned when R. N. Bricknell's son was ready to take the living. In 1893 William Nash Bricknell duly became vicar and later sole patron; his successor in 1928 was presented by Amy, his relict (d. 1951)⁸⁷ who devised the advowson to Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, the patron in 1984.⁸⁸

In 1235 the vicarage comprised a house and £5 a year from Eynsham abbey.⁸⁹ In 1254 the vicarage was assessed at only £3 but in 1291 the abbey seems to have paid the vicar £5 out of a church valued, with its chapels, at £21 6s. 8d.⁹⁰ By then, as later, the vicar was probably receiving the small tithes, while the abbey, as at Cassington, retained a share of the oblations. In 1535 the vicarage was valued at £16 9s., from which the vicar paid 15s. to the abbey for oblations and procurations.⁹¹ By the later 16th century the manorial lords were paying the vicar £6 for the small tithes of the demesne; from the rest of the parish (except certain fields which were former demesne) the vicar or his tithe farmers took tithes of wool, lambs, calves, milk, pigs, geese, onions, and hemp.⁹² No tithe wool was taken from the lord's flock, wherever it grazed, but in 1595 the vicar claimed, probably successfully, the tithe of a flock grazed on common land by the lessee of Twelve Acre farm, even though the farm itself was exempt.⁹³

Though the living was valued at £50 in the 1630s, it was claimed in 1664 that the vicar never made more than £30 a year.⁹⁴ In 1685 the vicarage comprised the house, the small tithes, and moduses of £6 from the lord, £3 from Freeland grounds, and 13s. 4d. from Eynsham

⁶⁷ Above, Intro.

⁶⁸ Above, Cassington, Church.

⁶⁹ e.g. *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 31.

⁷⁰ Above, Intro.

⁷¹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1911 (for transfer to North Leigh); *Oxf. Dioc. Yr. Bk.* (1986 and later edns.). For Freeland, below.

⁷² *Eynsham Cart. i*, pp. 44–5.

⁷³ *Ibid.* i, p. 234; Lilian Wright, *St. Leonard's, Eynsham* (Eynsham 1981).

⁷⁴ *Eynsham Cart. i*, pp. 143, 155. Robert the chaplain may be an earlier example: *ibid.* 47, 70, 103.

⁷⁵ *Rot. Grosse.* (L.R.S. xi), 446; cf. Chambers, *Eynsham*, 79, which misdates the presentation, and *Eynsham Cart. i*, p. 305, where a later copy is printed.

⁷⁶ For the rectory, above, Other Estates.

⁷⁷ e.g. *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), p. 417; xx (2), p. 540; O.R.O., Cal. Presentation Deeds, ff. 35–6.

⁷⁸ O.R.O., Cal. Presentation Deeds, ff. 35–6.

⁷⁹ P.R.O., CP 25(2)/863/Mich. 2 Wm. & Mary, no. 2; *Par. Colln.* 141.

⁸⁰ O.R.O., Cal. Presentation Deeds, 2nd ser., f. 36.

⁸¹ T. Nash, *Worcs.* ii. 235; *Index to Nash's Worcs.* ed. J.

Amphlett, pp. v–vii.

⁸² Cf. O.R.O., Cal. Presentation Deeds, 2nd ser., f. 36; Bodl. MS. Don. c 161, ff. 71–2; *Index to Nash's Worcs.* pp. v–vii.

⁸³ O.R.O., Cal. Presentation Deeds, 2nd ser., f. 37; cf. Nash, *Worcs.* i. 327; Bodl. MS. Don. c 161, f. 117; pedigree.

⁸⁴ Bodl. MS. Don. c 159, ff. 11–13, 22–3; Blenheim Mun., box 76, letters of 1796, 1798–9; P.R.O., CP 25(2)/1391/Mich. 46 Geo. III.

⁸⁵ Bodl. MSS. Don. c 158, ff. 109–10; c 159, ff. 100–1; *ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. 161.

⁸⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1810. For Nash and Bricknell pedigree, Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. xxvii.

⁸⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1810, *passim*.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* c 1812.

⁸⁹ *Rot. Grosse.* (L.R.S. xi), 446.

⁹⁰ Lunt, *Val. Norw.* 307; *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.) p. 31.

⁹¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 185.

⁹² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 15, ff. 16–17v., 18–18v., 20–23v., 33–34v., 50–52v.

⁹³ *Ibid.* c 23, ff. 227–8, 230–4, 242–242v.

⁹⁴ BL. Harl. MS. 643, f. 10; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 32, f. 51.

mill; there were also the usual fees, and a payment for an annual sermon at Bampton.⁹⁵ The living, valued at £40 in 1707,⁹⁶ was augmented from the Bounty in 1719 and the money invested in land at Caversfield.⁹⁷ In the mid 18th century tithes of wool, lambs, pigs, and apples were taken in kind, but money payments were agreed for many other products; at that time the tithes were farmed for c. £40.⁹⁸ When Robert Langford inclosed part of the heath in 1781 he offered to lease the vicarial tithes of the whole parish for £60 but Thomas Nash declined, later complaining that Langford had 'encroached' on the vicarage.⁹⁹ In 1798 the vicar's income of c. £90 included £25 from the Caversfield land, £40 from tithes, and £15 for the rent of the vicarage house.¹ At inclosure in 1802 the vicar was granted 101 a. for his tithes, and rent-charges of c. £23 a year from old inclosures.² By a confusion the moduses from the lord of the manor and from Eynsham mill continued to be paid.³ In 1808 the glebe comprised c. 124 a., including 19½ a. at Caversfield, and 1 a. at Bell closes obtained in a supplementary inclosure award of 1807.⁴ In 1832 the vicarage was worth £176 net, its value rising slowly as rents increased.⁵ Some glebe near Freeland was sold in 1877, and by 1970 most of the glebe had been sold off, much of it as building land.⁶

The house assigned to the vicar in 1235 may have stood on the present site in Mill Street, which it certainly occupied by the 17th century.⁷ The building, said to be ruinous in the incumbency of John Pierce (d. 1663), was assessed for tax in 1662 on five hearths,⁸ and in 1685 comprised a stone and slate house of five bays, with a gatehouse and outbuildings, standing in a large garden and close.⁹ The house was allegedly rebuilt by John Goole, vicar 1715–48,¹⁰ and the surviving front, a tall symmetrical structure of two storeys and semi-basement, probably belongs to that period. The house was greatly enlarged in 1809 by Thomas Symonds, who added the garden front and in 1827, after becoming vicar, built the surviving outbuildings, which replaced a range bordering the street.¹¹ The rear garden was greatly reduced in 1967 to provide a public car park and health centre;¹² the garden for long contained fragments of masonry from the abbey site, later removed to the church.

Of Eynsham's medieval vicars Simon of

Charlbury, vicar 1278–1315, was notably long-serving, but others moved quickly to other livings, especially to nearby Cassington, suggesting that Eynsham was regarded by the abbey as a suitable first cure.¹³ Most of the later medieval vicars may be identified as Oxford graduates and some were pluralists.¹⁴ In the Middle Ages the town and its church was a place of pilgrimage at Whitsun, when the faithful from the Oxfordshire deaneries processed to make their payments of 'smoke farthings'.¹⁵ During the Middle Ages some parishioners, perhaps only the rich, were buried in the abbey precincts: Eleanor Martin (d. 1508), who was buried there, left 20s. to the high altar of St. Leonard's.¹⁶

Although John Nutling, vicar 1559–68, conformed to the Elizabethan settlement,¹⁷ the Stanleys and several other leading families adhered to the 'old religion'; there seem to have been priests in the village in the 1560s, and one of them, Thomas Day (d. 1566), left a small bequest to Nutling in his will.¹⁸ William Emmot, vicar 1569–85, a Lancastrian and former fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, was described as 'one of the superior types of Elizabethan clergy';¹⁹ he was resident, taught children and bequeathed Bibles and other books to neighbouring clergy and pupils.²⁰ Robert Lloyd, vicar c. 1593–1608, also bequeathed books.²¹

From the 17th century Eynsham had an unusual number of long-serving incumbents. Thomas Long was vicar 1617–43. In the confusion of Civil War there seem to have been rival presentations before John Pierce's claims prevailed.²² Long may have been ejected, since he apparently died penniless and his widow was maintained by alms.²³ Pierce served throughout the Interregnum and survived the Restoration: at his death in 1663 he owned a study of books but was also a working farmer with 74 sheep and lambs, 85 fleeces, and wheat and maslin in the barn.²⁴ The churchwardens' accounts suggest that church life changed little during the Interregnum: the bells were renewed in 1655, and the traditional Whitsun ales were not entirely discontinued. In 1660, however, the maypole was re-erected and Whitsun festivities increased in scale.²⁵

There was little or no separatism in Eynsham, and Roman Catholicism died out during the

⁹⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 55, f. 209. For the Bampton sermon, above, Intro.

⁹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 155, f. 39.

⁹⁷ Hodgson, *Q.A.B.* p. cccxxiii; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 34, item a.

⁹⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 34, items c–d.

⁹⁹ Bodl. MS. Don. c 158, ff. 1 and v., 18v.–19.

¹ Ibid. c 159, ff. 11–12; cf. Blenheim Mun., box 76, particulars, 1798–9.

² O.R.O., incl. award.

³ e.g. *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 448, ff. 60 and v.

⁴ *Ibid.*; *ibid.* incl. award (suppl.).

⁵ *Rep. Com. Eccl. Revenues* [67], pp. 778–9, H.C. (1835), xxii; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1864 and later edns.).

⁶ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/48; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 35; *ibid.* Misc. Eynsham 1/2, pp. 215–16.

⁷ *Rot. Grosse.* (L.R.S. xi), 446; O.R.O., Palm. IV/1.

⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 32, f. 51; P.R.O., E 179/164/504.

⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 40, f. 128.

¹⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. 161.

¹¹ *Ibid.* For a view of 1824, Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 66, f. 253.

¹² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 35, item c.

¹³ For medieval incumbents, Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 460.

¹⁴ Emden, *O.U. Reg. to 1500*, 1572–3.

¹⁵ Above, Intro.

¹⁶ *Some Oxon. Wills* (O.R.S. xxx), pp. 82–3.

¹⁷ O.A.S. *Rep.* (1912), pp. 94–5.

¹⁸ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 184, f. 242; below, Rom. Cath.

¹⁹ *Alum. Oxon. 1500–1714*, 462; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 15, f. 50; *Archdeacon's Ct.* (O.R.S. xxiii), p. ix.

²⁰ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 20/1/9.

²¹ *Ibid.* 193, f. 321. For start of Lloyd's incumbency, *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 23, f. 227.

²² O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 85, ff. 50–1; d 98, ff. 35–6.

²³ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 32, f. 51.

²⁴ *Ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 52/1/2.

²⁵ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham b 12, *passim*.

17th century.²⁶ John Rogers, vicar 1665–1715 and rector of Wick Rissington (Glos.), was father of the divine, John Rogers (d. 1729).²⁷ John Goole, vicar 1715–48, was also master of the free school at Witney;²⁸ in 1738 he was spending most of his time in Witney but served Eynsham without a curate, providing two services with one sermon each Sunday and communion services at major festivals. He catechized regularly and conducted prayers on special festivals such as 5 November and Whitsun, 'except when there is a revel called Whitsun ale'.²⁹

Thomas Nash, vicar 1767–1826, was resident at first, but from 1774 lived in Gloucestershire or at Salford (Oxon.), one of his several livings.³⁰ In the 1790s he paid Eynsham's curate only £25 for 'double duty'.³¹ Continuity was provided by long-standing curates such as Robert Davis (c. 1775–84) and Thomas Symonds, who first served Eynsham as a locum for the curate in 1796 and became curate himself in 1797.³² He married Nash's daughter, Frances, succeeded to the vicarage in 1826, and lived until 1845; he also served Stanton Harcourt as curate and vicar for over thirty years, but seems never to have employed a full-time curate.³³ Nash raised his salary to £60 in 1804 but Symonds paid rent for the vicarage house and his fees; having spent large sums on the house because he was promised the advowson, he later complained of being misled into serving a large cure for half the normal salary. He made ends meet by running a private school for gentlemen's sons at the vicarage.³⁴ He was a diligent and popular pastor, remembered as founder of the Sunday school and a friend of the poor;³⁵ he was also an enthusiastic antiquarian, whose compendious collections on Oxfordshire were never published.³⁶ During his incumbency, despite his vigorous efforts,³⁷ nonconformity gained strength but at the same time the number of communicants increased from fewer than 40 to nearly 100 at Easter.³⁸

The incumbency of W. S. Bricknell, vicar 1845–88, created deep divisions among the parishioners. Bricknell, an Oxford city lecturer from 1840, was strongly Evangelical,³⁹ but probably caused most trouble because of his litigious spirit and fondness for publicizing

quarrels. He clashed with Bishop Wilberforce while curate of Grove (in Wantage, formerly Berks.)⁴⁰ and later over liturgical matters.⁴¹ At Eynsham Bricknell aroused hostility in 1847 by securing the arrest of a man selling sweets on Sunday⁴² and in 1853 by refusing to bury the son of a prominent parishioner, apparently because he was unbaptized; the duty was eventually performed by a neighbouring clergyman before a crowd of over 1,000.⁴³ In 1856–7 during a dispute over church restoration⁴⁴ an opposition group formed under Joseph Druce, churchwarden and leading farmer, who then harried Bricknell for over twenty years.⁴⁵ The quarrel merged quickly into liturgical disputes, Bricknell acquiring 'Protestant notoriety' by removing the communion table to the chancel arch and conducting services from the pulpit rather than the reading desk.⁴⁶ Bricknell was also accused of failure to hold services and maladministration of charities.⁴⁷ Even so he was a tireless evangelist⁴⁸ and retained solid support in the parish.⁴⁹ He claimed an average congregation of over 500 in 1857,⁵⁰ despite the extent of nonconformity and the distance from Freeland. Ironically the eventual foundation of Freeland church was probably Bricknell's worst reverse.⁵¹ At Eynsham, in keeping with his low church outlook, he never substantially increased the number of services, and the number of his communicants rarely exceeded 100.⁵² At his death in 1886 he was described as 'almost the last survivor of those unhappy theological controversies that embittered the lives of so many good men'.⁵³

His successor, R. J. Rowton, employed an assistant curate, quickly introduced weekly celebrations of communion, and in 1893 claimed that congregations at all services had quadrupled.⁵⁴ Under W. N. Bricknell, vicar 1893–1928, and his successors the low church tradition of services was maintained, culminating in the grant of the advowson to the Evangelical Wycliffe Hall. S. Y. Blanch, vicar 1951–5, resigned to join the staff of Wycliffe Hall, and was later archbishop of York (1975–83).

The church of *ST. LEONARD*, built of limestone rubble and ashlar, comprises a chancel with a north organ chamber and vestry, an aisled and clerestoried nave, a north porch and parvise, and a north-west tower.⁵⁵ The oldest

²⁶ Below, Rom. Cath., Nonconf.

²⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, pp. 164, 285–6; *D.N.B.*

²⁸ *Alum. Oxon. 1500–1714*, 587.

²⁹ *Secker's Visit.* 60–2.

³⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 561, d 564; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 671, ff. 48 sqq.; D. McClatchey, *Oxon. Clergy*, 54. For Nash corresp., Bodl. MS. Don. c 158.

³¹ McClatchey, *Oxon. Clergy*, 72.

³² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 671, *passim*; *ibid.* MS. Don. c 159, ff. 100–1.

³³ *Ibid.* c 161, ff. 8 sqq.; e 139–40, *passim*; M.I. in church.

³⁴ Bodl. MSS. Don. c 159, ff. 100–1; c 162, ff. 6–7; e 137, *passim*; Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/20, printed prospectus for sch.

³⁵ M.I. in church.

³⁶ His chief collections are in O.R.O., DL. I/xii/1–9; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275.

³⁷ Below, Nonconf.

³⁸ Bodl. MSS. Don. e 139–40.

³⁹ J. S. Reynolds, *Evangelicals at Oxf.* (2nd edn. 1975), App., p. 104; Pusey House, Oxf., Bricknell MSS.; photo. in O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 38, item d.

⁴⁰ *Wilb. Letter Bk.* (O.R.S. xlvii), nos. 273, 277, 309, 311, 390.

⁴¹ e.g. *ibid.* no. 352.

⁴² McClatchey, *Oxon. Clergy*, 194; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 550, p. 209b; *Eynsham Rec.* ii. 30–1.

⁴³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1811.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* c 1810.

⁴⁵ Above, Local Govt.; below, Char.

⁴⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 178, pp. 209, 216; c 1811–12, *passim*.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* d 178, pp. 209 sqq.; c 1812, *passim*; below, Char.

⁴⁸ e.g. his sustained polemic against the Cath. Apostolic ch.: below, Nonconf.

⁴⁹ e.g. O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1810, letter from Eliza, ctss. of Macclesfield; *ibid.* c 1812, mins. of ct. hearing 1859; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham d 12, pp. 111 sqq.; *Oxf. Jnl.* 2 June 1886.

⁵⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 179, ff. 161–2.

⁵¹ Below.

⁵² Cf. O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 179–80, c 353.

⁵³ *Oxf. Jnl.* 26 May 1886.

⁵⁴ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 356, c 359.

⁵⁵ The chief early views are in Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 64, nos. 12–13; a 66, nos. 257–8; b 283, f. 16; c 522, f. 9; *ibid.* MS. Don. c 90, pp. 419, 421; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 11, item k. Plan and description (1846) in Parker, *Guide*, 137–41.

dateable parts of the fabric, the chancel and part of the south aisle, are of the late 13th century, although in the early 19th century there was said to be earlier masonry in the south wall.⁵⁶ The narrowness of the north aisle and evidence of a south aisle of similar width suggest that there was a large aisled church before late 13th-century alterations. It appears that the eastern end of the south aisle was widened in the late 13th century, probably to form a chapel, and the tower may have been begun at the west end of the north aisle in the early 14th century. The north aisle and arcades were rebuilt in the later 15th century and a clerestory added, comprising four two-light windows on the north but only three single-light windows on the south.⁵⁷ Soon after the completion of the arcades the tower was largely rebuilt and its northern stair turret added. Early in the 16th century a two-storeyed porch was added to the church's north doorway.

Evidently the wide eastern and narrow western parts of the south aisle were connected by an arch which, at least after the rebuilding of the arcades, had its north end on a vousoir of the fourth arch of the south arcade. Some masonry of the connecting arch survived when, in the early 16th century, the west part of the aisle was widened to align with the late 13th-century work to the east.

A gallery was set up in the church in 1648.⁵⁸ There was a gallery in the south aisle until the mid 19th century,⁵⁹ and c. 1820 a large raised gallery over the west end of the church.⁶⁰ Soon afterwards another was inserted in the north aisle.⁶¹ In the mid 18th century the churchwardens complained repeatedly about the condition of the chancel, the lay rector's responsibility,⁶² and Thomas Symonds persuaded the duke of Marlborough to contribute to chancel repairs in the early 19th century.⁶³

In 1856 the roofs of the nave and south aisle were reported to be in danger of collapse, and the vestry agreed to reroof both and rebuild the chancel arch and some of the walls. The south clerestory was built to match that on the north, and the south aisle given a high pointed roof in place of the former lean-to; the architect was William Wilkinson of Oxford. Work began in advance of a faculty and included the removal of the west gallery, but objectors successfully blocked plans to rebuild the north aisle and repew the whole church, mainly because of the expense.⁶⁴ The gallery had been removed to

make way for an organ, to replace a barrel organ;⁶⁵ until at least the 1830s church music had been provided by an orchestra, to which Robert Day in 1831 bequeathed instruments, as well as providing £100 for choir robes.⁶⁶

The church was restored and reseated under a faculty of 1892 to the designs of H. G. W. Drinkwater; the work included the removal of the north gallery and ancient box pews.⁶⁷ Some proposed alterations, notably the reopening of the tower archways, were not carried out.⁶⁸ In 1900–1 the chancel was reroofed by the duke of Marlborough, and a new altar and choir stalls were inserted.⁶⁹ In 1903 the later 13th-century east window, much mutilated before 1840, was replaced with tracery designed by John Wilkins and glazed by Lavers & Westlake.⁷⁰ In 1915 an organ chamber was built on the north side of the chancel.⁷¹ After an appeal launched in 1979 the church was thoroughly restored in the 1980s.⁷²

In the sanctuary is a brass to Sir Edward Stanley (d. 1632), grandson of Edward, earl of Derby.⁷³ There is a wall memorial to Thomas Symonds, vicar (d. 1845) above a tombstone recording Symonds and his family. In the chancel are wall monuments to James Stanley (d. 1611), a London lawyer, and to the families of John Bartholomew (d. 1724), a London goldsmith, and the farmers Samuel Druce (d. 1860) and George Brown (d. 1782). Floor slabs include those of George Knapp (d. 1711) and Edward Minn (d. 1788). In the nave is a black marble tablet, carved in 1713 by Bartholomew Peisley of Oxford, to the 17th-century Martins, whose later members took the name Knight.⁷⁴ In the aisles are plaques to Michael and Richard Martin (d. 1610 and 1617), William Emmot, vicar (d. 1585), Col. Patrick Hay of Eynsham Hall (d. 1822),⁷⁵ John Rogers, vicar (d. 1715), and his son John (d. 1729). In the churchyard is a medieval table-tomb with quatrefoil decoration.⁷⁶ Lost memorials include that of Samuel Benwell (d. 1777), steward of the duke of Marlborough. A north window formerly contained the picture of a kneeling man, commemorating a late-medieval rector of Hanborough, Hugh Hulle.⁷⁷ Nothing remains of heraldic glass noted in 1574,⁷⁸ but fragments of medieval glass were gathered together and inserted in a south window in 1965.

The 15th-century font is much repaired; it was raised in 1893 on steps similar to those removed in the mid 19th century.⁷⁹ The pulpit,

⁵⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, pp. 187, 189, where it is also claimed that a ceiling beam bore the date 1007.

⁵⁷ Parker, *Guide*, 139 mentions six windows in the north clerestory, but cf. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 66, no. 258.

⁵⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham b 12, f. 11.

⁵⁹ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 66, no. 257; d 275, pp. 164–5; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1810, letter from Eliza Swann, 1857; Parker, *Guide*, 141.

⁶⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 66, no. 257.

⁶¹ Parker, *Guide*, 141; for illus., O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham, c 11, item k.

⁶² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 68, ff. 145–9; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham, b 13. ⁶³ Blenheim Mun., box 76.

⁶⁴ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Eynsham d 12, pp. 42 sqq.; c 11, items b–c; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1810.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham b 12, f. 55; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1810. ⁶⁶ Bodl. MS. Don. c 162, f. 199.

⁶⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1810; Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 22 (10).

⁶⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 11, items d–e; *ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 362, c 365, c 368.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 2, p. 125; *ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 368, c 1810; *Oxf. Times*, 30 Mar. 1901.

⁷⁰ O.A.H.S. *Proc.* (1840), 48; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 2, p. 130; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1810.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1810, c 1812.

⁷² *Eynsham Rec.* v. 24–32.

⁷³ Burke, *Peerage* (1878), 348 n.; *Eynsham Rec.* ii. 32–8.

⁷⁴ Bodl. MS. Rawl. D 1054, f. 9.

⁷⁵ *Eynsham Rec.* iv. 30–1.

⁷⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 66, no. 256.

⁷⁷ For inscriptions, *Par. Colln.* 142–4; Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. b 275, pp. 164–7; c 50; c 687; *ibid.* Rawl. B 397, ff. 330–4; *Eynsham Rec.* v. 35–8.

⁷⁸ *Oxon. Visit.* (Harl. Soc. v), 193.

⁷⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 38, ff. 244–7; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 66, no. 249; O.A.H.S. *Proc.* (1889), 230–1; Wright, *St. Leonard's*, 24–5.

described in 1840 as 'ludicrous', perhaps because of its central position,⁸⁰ is of c. 1700 on a later base. There is a much altered 14th-century ogee piscina in the chancel, and a double piscina and aumbry in the south aisle. Near the altar a mutilated 14th-century image niche contains a wooden figure of St. Leonard installed in 1979. Fourteenth-century wall paintings in the sanctuary, discovered in 1936, depict the life of St. Catherine.⁸¹ Before 19th-century restoration the church contained a 15th-century chancel screen,⁸² and a few 15th-century bench-ends remain.

In the early 18th century there were five bells, four cast by the Keenes of Woodstock between 1653 and 1673, the treble by the Bagleys in 1708; there was also a saunce of 1683 by Richard Keene.⁸³ Four new bells cast in 1895 survive with two bells of 1653 and 1673 and a saunce of 1924.⁸⁴ A clock acquired in 1640⁸⁵ was replaced in the mid 18th century by the tower clock which, after 1964, was preserved in the south aisle. The plate includes a communion cup of 1575, one of two cups which belonged to the church in the 17th century; pewter salvers and flagons survive from communion plate given by George Devall in 1720.⁸⁶

The churchyard was enlarged several times, notably in 1825–6, 1866, and 1930.⁸⁷ Parish registers survive from 1653 and there are extracts from an earlier register.⁸⁸

In 1869 Freeland church was consecrated and a Particular District (505 a.) assigned to it;⁸⁹ in 1966 the ecclesiastical parish of Freeland was enlarged by c. 387 a. to make it coterminous with the civil parish as defined in 1948.⁹⁰ The living was a perpetual curacy and titular vicarage, to which incumbents were licensed not inducted. In 1980 the benefice was united with that of Cassington, but in 1985 Cassington was transferred to Eynsham and Freeland united with Hanborough.

The church and glebe house were built and the living endowed at the cost of the Taunton family of Freeland Lodge. The patronage, after some dispute, was vested in W. E. Taunton (d. 1873), his brother-in-law Robert Raikes, and the latter's son Robert Taunton Raikes.⁹¹ Surviving trustees appointed others from time to time until in 1957 the patronage was transferred to the St. John the Evangelist Trust Association. The original endowment of Freeland comprised £1,000 and a repair fund of £150, but grants from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the

Bounty raised the vicar's gross income from c. £116 a year in the 1880s to c. £200 in the 1920s. The glebe house was built in 1869 by J. L. Pearson as part of a unified group with church and school, and is linked to the church by a cloistered passageway. Its Gothic front with a mixture of mullioned and transomed windows, plate tracery, irregular gables, and buttresses, contrasts with a half-timbered rear. It was sold in 1937 and a new house provided. After the union with Cassington in 1980 that house was transferred to the diocese and a new vicarage provided in Freeland.

The foundation of Freeland church was controversial. Eynsham's low church vicar, W. S. Bricknell, acceded to Taunton's wish to create a new church and parish but was then dismayed to find that Freeland was intended to be a centre of extreme high churchmanship. The church was designed with what Bricknell considered illegal ornaments, and the first incumbent, F. H. Bennett, brother of the prominent high churchman W. J. E. Bennett, vicar of Frome (Som.), was notorious for liturgical innovation.⁹² The Tauntons, with many other Freeland churchgoers, worshipped at Hanborough rather than Eynsham, perhaps because of their liturgical tastes. Local tradition⁹³ attributes the foundation of Freeland church to Emma Taunton (d. 1895), daughter of Sir W. E. Taunton (d. 1835), but W. E. Taunton (d. 1873) credited it to the family as a whole: he and his wife Sarah had long been associated with the Bennetts,⁹⁴ his mother Maria (d. 1872) gave the site, and his relatives the Raikes family were influential; Robert Raikes, a Tractarian, had already commissioned a new church at Treberfedd (Brecon.) from J. L. Pearson, the chosen architect for Freeland.⁹⁵ Bricknell's vigorous opposition to the consecration of the new church alienated Bishop Wilberforce and he was successful only in securing the removal of a proposed stone altar.⁹⁶ The consecration of the church and an oratory in the glebe house was attended by many leading high churchmen.⁹⁷

The form of liturgical worship established by F. H. Bennett was refined by later incumbents.⁹⁸ The new church continued to attract controversial interest, as in 1871 when a vast crowd gathered on Palm Sunday because of a rumour that Bennett proposed to ride round the church on an ass, 'as in some Catholic churches'. William Ulyat, vicar 1888–1903, made the church notorious for the 'extreme character' of his services before he became a Roman Catholic. A

⁸⁰ O.A.H.S. *Proc.* (1840), 48.

⁸¹ *Oxoniensis*, ii, 204.

⁸² O.A.H.S. *Proc.* (1840), 48; Parker, *Guide*, 139.

⁸³ *Par. Colln.* 141; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham b 12, ff. 13v., 14v., 17v., 27.

⁸⁴ *Ch. Bells Oxon.* 132–3. For Bell Closes, intended for the upkeep of church bells, above, Econ. (Agric.).

⁸⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham b 12, f. 8.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* f. 10; Evans, *Ch. Plate*, 66–7.

⁸⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 1, f. 132v.; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1811.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* MSS. d.d. Par. Eynsham b 1–11, c 1–9; indexed transcripts in O.R.O., Westgate Libr., and Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. d 671, c 901; excerpts from lost reg. in Bodl. MS. Rawl. B 400c, f. 239 and v.

⁸⁹ The following paragraphs are based on papers in O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1822, c 1823/1–3.

⁹⁰ Above, Intro.

⁹¹ For the Tauntons, Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1875), 1358–9; *Tauntons of Oxf.* (1902).

⁹² W. S. Bricknell, *Protest against the consecration of a stone altar*: copy in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. 8° 884 (10); O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1823/1, printed letter of Bricknell to Taunton; F. Bennett, *Story of W. J. E. Bennett* (1909), 283 sqq.; *D.N.B. Suppl.*

⁹³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332; 'Freeland Village Bk.' (TS. of c. 1930 in Westgate Libr.).

⁹⁴ Their first child was baptized at Frome in 1824.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1823/1 (letter to J. M. Davenport, May 1868); County Mus., P.R.N. 4637.

⁹⁶ Bricknell, *Protest*.

⁹⁷ R. C. West, *St. Mary the Virgin, Freeland* (1969): copy in Westgate Libr.

⁹⁸ Para. based on *ibid.*

commission investigating the forms of services used at Freeland was disturbed particularly by the Stations of the Cross on the nave walls.⁹⁹ In the 19th century there were sometimes as many as four Sunday services and many extra midweek communion services, the number of communicants rising from *c.* 30 to 70 by the 1880s.¹ In the 1870s and 1880s assistant curates were employed. Altar lights and vestments were introduced in 1874–5, the ceremonial use of incense in 1886, and the reserved sacrament in 1899. Of the services which continued to make Freeland church distinctive in modern times the weekly sung Eucharist was introduced in 1909 and a children's mass in 1931.

The church of *ST. MARY THE VIRGIN*² comprises an aisleless nave and apsidal chancel, a north-east tower with a saddleback roof, and a south porch and parvise. The building was completed in 1869 at a cost of *c.* £2,900. It was designed by J. L. Pearson in 13th-century style, with little exterior decoration except for carved stonework around the south doorway and porch, and a statue of the Virgin Mary over the entrance.³ The interior, which retains all its original fittings, is notable for the emphasis placed on the paramount importance of the chancel. In contrast with the plain nave the chancel was lavishly decorated and included 13th-century style wall-paintings by Clayton and Bell; some were added in 1878, and the whole design completed in 1890. The same firm was responsible for other interior fittings and all the stained glass. The west window was inserted in 1877 in memory of Sir W. E. Taunton (d. 1835) and his wife Maria (d. 1872). In 1889 Pearson inserted raised marble steps and a new super-altar, which involved raising his original alabaster reredos; a stone altar slab consecrated at that time was presumably a replacement for that removed from the church in 1869. Paintings depicting the Stations of the Cross were hung in the nave in 1897.

A ring of six bells by Mears & Stainbank (1896) was given by Emma Taunton (d. 1895);⁴ the tower clock of 1898 commemorates Sarah Percival Taunton (d. 1896). The plate, of 1868 and later, includes a chalice of 1894 set with jewels once belonging to Maria, Lady Taunton.⁵

The churchyard, which contains the graves of the Taunton family, was enlarged on the south in 1902 by the gift of Robert Taunton Raikes.⁶ The lych gate was built in 1873 in memory of Maria, Lady Taunton. A war memorial cross was placed in the churchyard in 1919.⁷

By will proved 1900 the Revd. C. E. Taunton

left stock to provide for the education of choristers. The income was rarely, if ever, used for choral scholars, and by a Scheme of 1904, altered in 1951, was divided between the school, the organist, and the choir. R. A. R. Bennett by will proved 1931 and Minnie Taunton by will proved 1940 left charities for churchyard maintenance, the Bennett charity also yielding a small income for the Sunday school.⁸

ROMAN CATHOLICISM. In the later 16th century the Stanleys, lords of Eynsham manor, encouraged a recusant group in the parish, including the gentry families of Annesley and Hart and the Days, of whom one, Thomas (d. 1566), was a priest.⁹ In the 1560s several Lancashire Catholics, antecedents of Anthony Wood, the Oxford antiquary, settled in Eynsham as servants in the Stanley household.¹⁰ In 1580 Thomas Hart and in 1582 Sir Edward Stanley and his family were named as recusants to the Privy Council.¹¹ Sir Edward and his wife Lucy, daughter of the Catholic Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland (d. 1572), officially conformed in the 1590s but were later reported as recusants.¹² Their daughter Venetia was a childhood playmate at Eynsham of the Catholic Kenelm Digby, whom she married in 1625.¹³ In 1603 a dozen Eynsham people were listed as recusants, and several families, notably that of Richard Reynolds, gentleman, were persecuted in the earlier 17th century.¹⁴ The prominent Almond family was sequestered for recusancy during the Interregnum,¹⁵ after which the Catholic tradition in the parish died out.¹⁶

Roman Catholicism revived in Eynsham when Herbert May started a small mission at his house, Newland Lodge, in 1895. After the house burned down *c.* 1897 the mission met at the Railway inn and later at May's new house, St. Michael's. It was served from Oxford and Begbroke, attracting congregations of over 40; after a few years the mission closed, May moving to Oxford.¹⁷ In 1928 Eynsham was joined with Witney as a Roman Catholic parish; the Bartholomew Room was leased for services, and was known as St. Peter's chapel.¹⁸ A new church of St. Peter was begun on land south-west of the parish church in the late 1930s, but work was interrupted by the war and the congregation had to resume services at the Bartholomew Room when flooding and other discomforts made the half-completed church unusable.¹⁹ A temporary wooden nave continued in use after the war, and the church was not completed until 1967, to

⁹⁹ *R. Com. on Eccl. Discipline* [Cd. 3069], p. 427, H.C. (1906), xxxiii. ¹ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 341–59.

² Description in Pevsner, *Oxon.* 606–7.

³ Bricknell, *Protest.*

⁴ *Ch. Bells Oxon.* 138.

⁵ Evans, *Ch. Plate*, 70–1.

⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1822.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Char. Com. files.

⁹ *Cath. Rec. Soc.* xviii. 251; xxii. 110; lvii. 121; lxi, 70–1; Stapleton, *Cath. Miss.* 3; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 184, f. 242.

¹⁰ *Wood's Life*, i (O.H.S. xix), 24–5.

¹¹ *Acts of P.C.* 1580–1, 240; 1581–2, 430.

¹² M. Foster, 'Gloucester Hall and the survival of Catholicism', *Oxoniensia*, xli. 118.

¹³ *D.N.B.* s.v. Kenelm Digby; Chambers, *Eynsham*, 41.

¹⁴ H. E. Salter, 'Oxon. Recusants', *O.A.S. Rep.* (1924), *passim*.

¹⁵ *Cal. Cttee. for Compounding*, iv. 2868.

¹⁶ *Compton Census*, ed. A. Whiteman, 423; Hist. MSS. Com. 13, 10th Rep. App. IV, p. 177.

¹⁷ Stapleton, *Cath. Miss.* 187–8; O.R.O., Palm. I/4, pp. 235–7; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1903), index of priv. residents.

¹⁸ *Roundabout* (Eynsham Par. News), Jan. 1983; O.R.O., Misc. Eynsh. I/2, pp. 189, 348.

¹⁹ *Roundabout*, Jan. 1983.

designs by Gilbert Flavel. It is of stone with mullioned windows and an apsidal east end.²⁰ From 1928 until his death in 1961 the parish priest, John Lopes, played a prominent part in the life of Eynsham.²¹

PROTESTANT NONCONFORMITY. In 1706 there were no dissenters in Eynsham and, except for a Quaker in 1738, none were reported during the 18th century.²² In 1802 one Quaker and a few Methodists were reported²³ but thereafter nonconformity flourished. By 1804 the curate was concerned enough to ask whether the bishop could withhold licences²⁴ and by 1811 he reported that visiting teachers came sometimes thrice weekly; largely to combat nonconformity he introduced evening lectures.²⁵

An unnamed Eynsham couple, who attended the New Road Particular Baptist chapel in Oxford from the 1780s and were ridiculed as the only 'meetingers' in the parish, were probably the instigators of Eynsham's first Baptist meetings. In 1808 James Hinton, minister at New Road, opened 'a pretty neat little chapel' in Eynsham, established with funds raised in Eynsham, Witney, and Oxford.²⁶ The chapel was in William Nutt's barn off Mill Street, behind the later White House; the surviving barn retains some meeting-room fittings.²⁷ In 1814 a church was formally established with a core of 15 members, many of them 'dismissed' from New Road. At first Hinton was pastor but from 1817, when there were 30 communicants and c. 200 hearers, there was a resident minister. A new chapel built west of Lombard Street was opened in 1818, and from the outset was associated with a flourishing Sunday school.²⁸ The congregation declined in the 1830s, probably because of the challenge of the Irvingites.²⁹ In 1851 average attendance at the Providence Baptist chapel was said to be 20 in the morning, 50 in the afternoon, and 70 in the evening, with as many as 70 at the morning Sunday school. The chapel was also used for a day school run by the minister. According to him the Baptists were in temporary decline, partly because of 'excitement in another religious denomination', perhaps the Primitive Methodists.³⁰ In 1866 the vicar re-

ported that there were only five or six regular members of the Baptist chapel and in 1872 claimed that of the five dissenting sects in Eynsham only the Baptists regularly absented themselves from church.³¹

On the death in 1884 of Henry Matthew, resident minister for nearly fifty years, the chapel was said to be dilapidated and disused. Services were thereafter organized from Oxford, and energetic superintendents, notably Robert Alden, inspired a revival. A new Sunday school was built in 1907. In 1913 and 1921 the chapel had over 100 Sunday scholars on its roll and chapel membership was 25; a Band of Hope met there.³² Alden sent meat from his Oxford shop to be distributed to the poor on Saturday evenings, and on Sundays he preached in the chapel.³³ There was a resident minister in 1984 and the chapel was still linked with New Road chapel. The building of 1818 is of stone with stone-slatted roof incorporating traditional domestic features such as sash windows with square hoods.³⁴

Methodism seems to have been introduced from Witney and North Leigh; in 1804 large meetings held on Eynsham heath were sometimes dispersed by the local magistrate, the Revd. John Robinson of Eynsham Hall. In 1805 the Methodists opened Freeland chapel on land given by William Judd.³⁵ The first chapel was presumably rebuilt, for the surviving stone and slate building was opened in 1817.³⁶ In 1851 it was said to have 250 free and 30 rented sittings; membership then was only 24, having been 31 in 1837, and average attendance was 80.³⁷ Until Freeland acquired an Anglican church in 1869 most inhabitants attended the Methodist chapel on Sunday evenings.³⁸ Membership was 14 in 1866 but revived in the early 1880s, reaching a peak of 27 in 1894; the chapel remained in use in 1984.³⁹

In the early 19th century Methodists also met in Eynsham in private houses⁴⁰ but before 1822 had taken over the former Baptist meeting place in the barn off Mill Street; there was a resident preacher who may have served the Freeland chapel.⁴¹ In 1822, when meetings in the barn were disrupted by some of the vicar's boarding pupils and by labourers who let sparrows into

²⁰ Pevsner, *Oxon.* 601; *Oxf. Mail*, 8 Nov. 1963 (includes photo. of temporary nave).

²¹ *Roundabout*, Jan. 1983; O.R.O., Misc. Eynsham I/2-4, *passim*.

²² Hist. MSS. Com. 13, 10th Rep. App. IV, p. 177; *Secker's Visit.* 60.

²³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 566, f. 126 and v.

²⁴ Ibid. c 656, f. 131; Bodl. MS. Eng. Lett. c 493, f. 82. The corresp. is printed with commentary in *Oxon. Local Hist.* i (3), 30-3.

²⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 659, f. 161; d 570, f. 127 and v.; d 572, f. 130 and v.; d 576, f. 103 and v.; d 578, f. 99 and v.; d 707, f. 64.

²⁶ J. H. Hinton, *Life of J. Hinton*, 251, 281; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 707, f. 64.

²⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 644, f. 94; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 18, f. 85 and v. For Nutt's property see O.R.O., incl. award and map (plot 45).

²⁸ *Baptist Mag.* (1817), 279; J. Hinton, *Hist. of Associated Chs.*; Hinton, *Life of Hinton*, 251, 281, 285; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 18, ff. 74-5; *ibid.* G.A. Oxon. c 317/20: flysheet; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39, f. 139v.; *ibid.* CH. CXXI/1.

²⁹ Below.

³⁰ *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 160.

³¹ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 180; c 338, f. 154v.

³² H. Paintin, *Centenary Souvenir Booklet: New Road Chapel Sunday Sch. Soc.* (Oxf. 1913); *New Road Baptist Ch. Handbk.* (1921); *New Road Oxf. Monthly Visitor*, no. 1 (1 Jan. 1889); Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/20: newspaper cutting, 1907; Harris, *From Acre End*, 43.

³³ Harris, *From Acre End*, 55.

³⁴ Datestone on bldg. For a drawing of 1820, Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 66, no. 251.

³⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 644, f. 81; c 656, f. 131; d 566, f. 126; *Oxon. Local Hist.* i (3), 30-2.

³⁶ *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 170; damaged date on bldg. (19 Nov., probably 1817).

³⁷ *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 170; O.R.O., Witney and Faringdon Meth. Circuit I/1/a-b.

³⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 180.

³⁹ Ibid. Witney and Faringdon Meth. Circuit I/1/c-i; County Mus., P.R.N. 700.

⁴⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 566, ff. 126 and v.; d 576, f. 103 and v. Unidentified licensed meeting-hos. may also have been Wesleyan: e.g. *ibid.* c 644, ff. 177, 184, 208.

⁴¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 18, ff. 74 sqq.; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 578, f. 99 and v.; d 580, f. 99 and v.

the building, the preachers were Robert Martin, an Oxford circuit minister, and a 'Woodstock tinker', William Leggatt, ironmonger, who was the usual Eynsham teacher.⁴² A Wesleyan meeting disrupted in 1828 may have been in the house of William Buckingham, licensed in 1827.⁴³ No chapel was established in Eynsham until 1884 when, after meeting for a few years in an unidentified mission hall, the Wesleyans built a brick and stone chapel in Thames Street.⁴⁴ Membership in 1885 was 37 but fell steadily thereafter and in 1955 was only eight; in 1979 the chapel was sold to the parochial church council for use as St. Leonard's church hall.⁴⁵

A separate Wesleyan meeting was formed at Barnard Gate in the 1880s; membership reached double figures in 1890, and a peak of 19 in 1910. A corrugated iron mission chapel was built beside the Oxford-Witney road c. 1906. The chapel remained in use with a small membership until c. 1970.⁴⁶

Primitive Methodists were meeting in Eynsham by 1843, and in 1847 a rented meeting room was registered by Thomas Jackson of Witney.⁴⁷ In 1851 the Primitive Methodist meeting house in Mill Street was described as 'not a separate chapel' and may have been the barn formerly used by the Baptists and Wesleyans. On census Sunday that year 82 people attended in the afternoon and 118 in the evening.⁴⁸ A new chapel was built in 1860 in Chapel Yard, off Newland Street;⁴⁹ there were then 30 members and in 1863 an average congregation of 140.⁵⁰ The Primitive Methodists were probably then the strongest dissenting group in the parish but by 1872 there were only 12 members and by 1900 only three, with an average congregation of only a dozen. Between 1905 and 1913 the chapel was demolished.⁵¹

The Catholic Apostolic (Irvingite) church in Eynsham was established after a schism in the Baptist congregation.⁵² In 1829 James Hinton the younger, who was preaching in Eynsham, found opposition there to his new doctrines, notably his rejection of the Calvinist view of predestination. He therefore withdrew with some 70 followers and established a separate meeting, probably that licensed in 1830 at the house of Robert Ford; by 1837 Ford had moved to the site of the later Catholic Apostolic church in Mill Street.⁵³ H. B. Bulteel of Oxford was closely associated with Hinton at that time but

withdrew in 1833 as the congregation moved further towards Irvingism. The first 'utterances' were heard at Eynsham in 1832 and in 1834 Hinton was ordained as an 'angel' of the church in Eynsham and Oxford. In 1835 the two congregations were officially separated, Hinton remaining at Eynsham; the congregation was visited by prominent 'apostles' of the new church in 1836. Jonathan Smith of Eynsham was in 1837 ordained one of the seven 'prophets' of the Universal Church.⁵⁴ Hinton was removed to Paddington in 1838 but soon returned to Eynsham, where he was living in 1841.⁵⁵ In 1843 services at Eynsham ceased, the congregation rejoined the parish church, and the Mill Street chapel was boarded up.⁵⁶ By 1860 it was again in use with a small congregation which had seceded from the parish church; by 1863 there was a resident minister and the congregation numbered c. 20, of whom some occasionally attended the parish church.⁵⁷ Catholic Apostolic services in Eynsham became increasingly liturgical and the congregation flourished in the late 19th century. There were frequently two resident ministers and after 1876 a Gothic chapel of stone and brick was built on the original site, reputedly with funds provided by Sir Algernon-George Percy, duke of Northumberland (d. 1899), son-in-law of the Irvingite Henry Drummond. In 1901 services were held on six days a week and there were four services on Sundays. Weekday services attracted fewer than 20 worshippers but the Easter congregation in that year was 105; over 150 attended on Advent Sunday when two 'archangels' were present. Numbers declined thereafter, and in 1928 the Easter congregation was only 46. Worshippers came from a wide area, and the ministers anointed sick people from as far away as Buckingham and Fairford (Glos.).⁵⁸ Baptisms ceased in the 1950s and thereafter the congregation was drawn mostly from outside the parish; close links were developed with the Anglicans. After the death in 1982 of the deacon, Mr. Bevan Pimm, services ceased and the building was sold to the parish council.⁵⁹

By 1866 a group of a dozen Plymouth Brethren had established itself in Eynsham with a teacher who had moved from Witney. By 1875 the congregation had divided into two and was not recorded thereafter.⁶⁰ The Salvation Army was meeting in Eynsham in 1890.⁶¹

⁴² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 18, ff. 74 sqq.

⁴³ O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. ii, p. 407b; viii, p. 814.

⁴⁴ Ibid. MS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circuit c 21 (6), f. 112; *Eynsham Rec.* i. 31-2.

⁴⁵ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circuit b 6-7; *Eynsham Rec.* i. 31-2.

⁴⁶ O.R.O., Witney and Faringdon Meth. Circuit II/1/e-i; County Mus., P.R.N. 4641.

⁴⁷ O.R.O., Witney and Faringdon Meth. Circuit II/1/a; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 647, f. 61; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847).

⁴⁸ *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 161.

⁴⁹ O.R.O., Witney and Faringdon Meth. Circuit II/1/b; XII/1/j; *ibid.* Palm. I/3, pp. 38-40, 181.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* Witney and Faringdon Meth. Circuit XII/1/j.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* II/1/c; XII/1/l-r; *ibid.* Palm. I/4, pp. 352-3; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII.8 (1913 edn.).

⁵² Mr. Timothy Stunt of Sandford-on-Thames kindly supplied refs. for the following account.

⁵³ Bodl. MS. Facs. b 61, ff. 29, 76, 86; Louisa A. Hewett,

Story of the Lord's Work (1933 edn.), 54-6; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 645, f. 166; c 646, f. 51. For Ford's property see O.R.O., Palm. IV/4-5 (plot no. 238).

⁵⁴ Bodl. MS. Facs. b 61, ff. 29, 52, 76, 86, 88, 90, 95, 101-3; Hewett, *Lord's Work*, 58-9.

⁵⁵ Bodl. MS. Facs. b 61, f. 114; P.R.O., HO 107/889, recording Hinton at the later Murray Ho. in Acre End Street.

⁵⁶ Bodl. MS. Facs. b 61, f. 120; *Eynsham Churchman's Monthly Mag.* 1871-3, containing articles on Cath. Apostolic ch.: copies kindly loaned by Mr. J. Evans of Eynsham.

⁵⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 180, ff. 429-30; c 322, f. 180; c 341, ff. 174-5; *Dutton, Allen, & Co's Dir. Oxon.* (1863).

⁵⁸ O.R.O., E.C.A.C. I/i-ii.

⁵⁹ *Oxf. Star*, 2 Sept. 1982; local inf.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 180; c 341, ff. 174-5; c 344, f. 155v.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* c 356, ff. 156-7.

EDUCATION. A schoolmaster, William Pope, was living in Eynsham in 1628.⁶² By will proved 1654 Michael Sparke, citizen and stationer of London and probably native of Eynsham, left money for the maintenance of a free school, but an order of 1665 by commissioners of charitable uses for the executor, Henry Eccleston of Eynsham, to pay the bequest seems to have been ineffective.⁶³ John Bartholomew, by will proved 1701, left £350 to buy land worth £15 a year, of which £10 was to be paid to a schoolmaster to teach and provide writing materials for 10 poor Eynsham boys, the remaining £5 to form an apprenticeship fund. A court house and school, later called the Bartholomew Room, was built by public subscription c. 1703 on land in the market place provided by the lord of the manor.⁶⁴ The £350 was put out at interest by the trustees until 1714, when they bought part of Long mead; in 1725 the remaining capital with £20 bequeathed to the school in 1711 by William Plasterer of Stanton Harcourt was spent on land in Mill mead.⁶⁵ After inclosure in 1802 and a partition of Long mead in 1803 the trustees held c. 17 a. of meadow.⁶⁶

Under Plasterer's bequest two more boys were educated and 17s. a year added to the master's salary.⁶⁷ Twelve boys were taught reading, writing, and accounts throughout the 18th century; in 1738 the vicar was satisfied that his 'statutes' were well observed by the master and boys.⁶⁸ As land values rose the master's salary was increased, in 1798 to £12 and in 1808 to £20.⁶⁹ By then there were between 10 and 15 free, and over 40 fee-paying, pupils and an accumulating fund to provide a master's house.⁷⁰ The rent of the Bartholomew estate, £46 in 1809, was reduced in 1823 to £36, reflecting prevailing values.⁷¹ The school had between 40 and 50 pupils in 1823, and 60 in 1833.⁷²

A Sunday school started by the curate Thomas Symonds in 1799 was supported by voluntary contributions.⁷³ By 1808 it was attended by 60 children of whom 30 were given clothing; in 1815 it had 100 pupils taught by two masters and two mistresses, and by the 1830s there were over 100 girls and boys of all ages, supported by subscriptions and church collec-

tions.⁷⁴ A Baptist Sunday school, begun in 1830, had 40 pupils in 1833, and by the 1850s the minister was teaching day pupils at the chapel.⁷⁵ In the early 19th century there were a few dame schools, described as 'really nurseries or crèches',⁷⁶ and several private schools, some providing for day pupils.⁷⁷ In 1833 one girls' school had 30 boarders;⁷⁸ it was probably that at Newland House, established by 1801 and still open in the 1840s.⁷⁹ A boys' school at Newland Lodge had a dozen boarders in 1841 and Thomas Symonds educated a few gentlemen's sons at the vicarage.⁸⁰ In 1871 there were five private schools with c. 70 pupils.⁸¹ In the early 20th century Miss H. G. Swann ran a private school at Redthorn House.⁸²

Symonds failed to establish a National school in the 1830s and 1840, partly because the Bartholomew school trustees refused to merge their endowments in a new school.⁸³ His successor as vicar, W. S. Bricknell, secured subscriptions and grants and a National school was built in 1847 in the angle of Swan Street and the Stanton Harcourt road on land given by Samuel Druce (d. 1860). The Bartholomew school and its endowment were transferred to it.⁸⁴ In 1854 the National school had 70 boys and 40 girls on weekdays and 194 children on Sundays. An evening school failed in the 1850s but was active in the 1860s.⁸⁵ The National school's average attendance was fewer than 120 in 1867 and 1871, partly because boys started work at 12 years old or younger;⁸⁶ others may have attended nonconformist schools.

A school board was formed in 1875 against opposition from members of the Church of England.⁸⁷ The new board school on the Witney Road was opened in 1878 with places for 324 children. There was one certificated master, and fees were set at 3d. a week for labourers' children, 6d. for others. From the outset the vicar was satisfied with religious education there.⁸⁸

The former National school was reopened in 1879 as a Church infants' school, where 45 children were taught by an uncertificated teacher for 2d. a week each, the vicar supplying books. The school received a parliamentary grant, but by 1889 numbers had fallen to 26 and the school was closed.⁸⁹ An infant board school

3, 10 Jan. 1829; 24 Aug. 1833.

⁷⁴ *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, p. 746.

⁸⁰ P.R.O., HO 107/889; above, Church.

⁸¹ *Returns relating to Elem. Educ.* H.C. 201, p. 324 (1871), lv.

⁸³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 200, f. 75; *ibid.* MS. Don. c 160, ff. 87-8, 103-34; O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 12, ff. 108-9; c 13, item g.

⁸⁴ O.R.O., Misc. Druce VIII/i/1; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 70, p. 91; Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/20, subscription appeal; Joy James, 'Eynsham National Sch.' (TS. *penes* Eynsham Hist. Group).

⁸⁵ *Wilb. Visit.* 56; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 179v.

⁸⁶ *Returns relating to Pars.* H.C. 114, pp. 344-5 (1867-8), liii; *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202-1], p. 327, H.C. (1868-9), xiii; *Returns relating to Elem. Educ.* H.C. 201, p. 324 (1871), lv.

⁸⁷ Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/20 (circular letter, 1876); James, 'Eynsham National Sch.'

⁸⁸ P.R.O., ED 7/101/82; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.); O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 344, f. 155v.

⁸⁹ P.R.O., ED 7/169; *Public Elem. Sch. Return*, H.C. 403, p. 215 (1890), lvi; *Sch. Board Grants, 1901-2*, [Cd. 1276], p. 105, H.C. (1902), lxxviii.

⁶² O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 12/3/10 transcribed in *Eynsham Rec.* ii. 11-15 (where Pope is misread as Hope).

⁶³ P.R.O., C 93/28/40; *ibid.* PROB 11/236, ff. 49-50v. Sparke was probably son of Ric. Sparke (d. 1624), an Eynsham miller: O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 59/4/30.

⁶⁴ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 116/1/9; above, Intro.

⁶⁵ *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 398; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 12, f. 6v.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; O.R.O., incl. award (1802) and suppl. award (1803).

⁶⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsh. c 12, f. 15v.

⁶⁸ *Secker's Visit.* 61.

⁶⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsh. c 12, ff. 90, 99.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 659, f. 29; d 707, f. 64.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* c 659, f. 29; *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 398.

⁷² *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 398; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39, f. 140.

⁷³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 433, f. 89. Symonds was remembered as the founder: M.I. in church.

⁷⁴ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 707, f. 64; c 433, f. 89; b 38, f. 88; b 39, f. 140.

⁷⁵ *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, p. 746; P.R.O., HO 129/5/161.

⁷⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 433, f. 89.

⁷⁷ e.g. *ibid.* d 570; *Oxf. Jnl.* 17, 31 Dec. 1825; 5 Jan. 1828;

was then begun in part of the girls' school, moving back to the former National school building in 1898. It continued there until transferred in 1958 to a new primary school in the former board school. Although the infant school was a council school the vicar was sole manager for most of its life.⁹⁰ The National school building was converted into a private house c. 1971.⁹¹

In 1904 there were 111 boys, 103 girls, and 108 infants at the three board schools.⁹² In 1926 the schools were reorganized as a mixed school with 180 pupils and an infant school with 47; in 1938 attendance had risen to 197 and 71 respectively.⁹³ From 1948 the mixed school was known as Eynsham Council (later County) Senior school and in 1953 had a roll of 208.⁹⁴ The Bartholomew County Secondary Modern (later the Bartholomew Comprehensive) school, built on the playing fields of the senior school, was opened in 1958. The old school buildings became the primary school until a new primary school was opened in Beech Road in 1967.⁹⁵ Eynsham County Primary school was said in 1968 to represent 'the most advanced thinking in Britain' about primary education.⁹⁶ By 1983 the Bartholomew school had a roll of 1,097 and the County Primary school 305.⁹⁷

Apprenticing through the Bartholomew charity in the early 18th century was usually annual but became intermittent, since the cost of repairs to the schoolroom took priority. By the early 19th century the fund was sufficient for regular apprenticing.⁹⁸ A Scheme of 1878 directed that part of the St. Thomas's bread charity should be used for educational and other charitable uses. In 1880 the Eynsham schools received £5 and Freeland school £3; by 1888 the amounts had increased to £32 10s. for the board school, £7 10s. for the infant school, and £10 for Freeland school.⁹⁹ Under a Scheme of 1891 the Bartholomew trustees were empowered to sell the Bartholomew Room and devote the charity to tuition or apprenticeship fees of poor Eynsham boys; they continued to let the building and in addition received c. £44 a year from land and interest.¹ In 1911 a Scheme transferred £400 stock, considered under the Scheme of 1878 to be the educational endowment of the St. Thomas's charity, to the Eynsham Educational Foundation, which under a Scheme of 1914 was merged with the Bartholomew charity to form the Bartholomew Educational Foundation for apprenticeship and other educational purposes; the foundation's annual income at that time was

£66 and by 1970 £208.² Between 1914 and 1947 26 apprentices were indentured and many exhibitions for grammar school education were awarded; in recent times funds were also used to supplement university grants and pay for school clothing.³ In 1983 the Bartholomew Room was sold to the lessee, the parish council.

A school established at Freeland in 1862 was moved in 1871 to new premises, comprising schoolrooms and a teacher's house, built by the Taunton family to the designs of J. L. Pearson.⁴ The school, privately owned until conveyed by Miss M. Taunton to the diocese in 1933, was always run in accordance with Church of England principles.⁵ Until it became a Controlled school in 1963 its links with the nearby church included attendance at a weekly children's mass.⁶ At first an uncertificated teacher taught 47 pupils, who contributed 2d. or 1d. each. A qualified teacher was soon appointed and from 1875 a government grant was received.⁷ Winter evening classes were reported in 1878.⁸ In the early 20th century average daily attendance was 35.⁹ By 1930 some senior children travelled to Church Hanborough and from 1940 all seniors went to Woodstock.¹⁰ In 1963, when there were 57 pupils, the school's academic standards were high but the buildings unsatisfactory.¹¹ In 1964–5 a new county primary school was built on Wroslyn Road, and the old school converted into a private house.¹² In 1983 the school roll was 112.

A benefaction for choral scholars by C. E. Taunton in 1900 was used partly for the school; in 1951 the school share was set at £10 a year. The income enabled the school to retain Aided status until 1963, when a new Scheme devoted the fund to special educational benefits, such as the Sunday school. Part of a charity founded by will of R. A. R. Bennett, proved in 1931, was for the general benefit of the church and parish and may be used for educational purposes.¹³

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR.¹⁴ St. Thomas's bread charity, sometimes referred to as the poor's estate, was an amalgamation of many small charities administered by the churchwardens and overseers. In 1658 the poor's stock of £58, presumably made up of earlier charitable donations, was invested in c. 2 a. of pasture near Mill Street, later Poor's close, the site of the workhouse. A Commission of Charitable Uses in 1701 nominated trustees

⁹⁰ O.R.O., T/SL 84/i–iii; James, 'Eynsham National Sch.'

⁹¹ County Mus., P.R.N. 810.

⁹² *Public Elem. Schs. 1906* [Cd. 3182], p. 526, H.C. (1906), lxxxvi.

⁹³ Inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.

⁹⁴ O.R.O., T/SM 40/ii.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., Misc. Eynsham I/4, pp. 232, 314; inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.

⁹⁶ *The Times*, 5 July 1968.

⁹⁷ Inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.

⁹⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham b 12, f. 1 (list of apprentices 1702–53); *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 659, f. 29; *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 398.

⁹⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 23, item b; e 3, ff. 32, 126.

¹ *Ibid.* c 13, item g.

² *Ibid.*; *ibid.* QSD/C.25; O.R.C.C., Kimber files.

³ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 14–16.

⁴ P.R.O., ED 7/101/83; R. C. West, *St. Mary the Virgin, Freeland*, 11; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 607.

⁵ West, *St. Mary's*, 23–5; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1833/1, conveyance of 1933.

⁶ West, *St. Mary's*, 15.

⁷ P.R.O., ED 7/101/83; *Rep. of Educ. Cttee. of Council*, 1875–6 [C. 1513–I], p. 612, H.C. (1876), xxiii.

⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 344, f. 169v.

⁹ *List of Schs. 1901–2* [Cd. 1277], p. 199, H.C. (1902), xxix; *Return of Non-Provided Schs.* H.C. 178, p. 35 (1906), lxxxviii.

¹⁰ West, *St. Mary's*, 17; O.R.O., T/SL 27/3, p. 138; inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.

¹¹ O.R.O., T/S Misc. 19.

¹² West, *St. Mary's*, 16; County Mus., P.R.N. 701.

¹³ West, *St. Mary's*, 25–7.

¹⁴ Except where stated otherwise inf. before 1823 is derived from *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 399–405.

to call in and invest in land £66 acquired from Catherine Butler (d. 1682, £5 by gift), Francis Perrott (£10 by will proved 1684), Christopher Maund (£10 by will proved 1697), Eleanor Fulkes (d. 1699, £6 by gift), and recent gifts of £30 by George Castell of Tunbridge Wells (Kent) and £5 by William Wilkins of London. The income was to be distributed to the poor with special care that five widows benefited from the Butler charity.¹⁵ In 1711 £86 from those and other charities were invested in Bitterall close. Meadow in Spareacre (c. 3 a.) was purchased with £200 given as a bread charity by Edward Goddard of London by will of 1709. In 1753 the charities of George Castell (£10 by will proved 1739),¹⁶ John Wise (£10 by will of 1729), and Anne Ayres (£10 for widows by will of 1752) were used, with c. £15 from the sale of timber from charity lands, to buy meadow in Mill mead. In 1770 a further £44 was spent on a close and orchard near Spareacre.

By 1787 a total of £376 had been laid out in land producing £9 16s. for the poor:¹⁷ the estate represented all the above-named donations, together with sums of £10 each given by Joan Blackman (? d. 1635),¹⁸ Joan Olive (fl. 1652), John Green (will proved 1653),¹⁹ and James Quartermain (will proved 1704),²⁰ and £5 each from Stephen and Margaret Wise, Thomas Smith, and Richard Berry at unknown dates, and from Richard Castell (? d. 1705), Susannah Saywell (will proved 1707), George Knapp (will proved 1711), and Thomas Wastie of Cowley (fl. mid 18th century).²¹ The St. Thomas's fund also received rent charges of 5s. given as a bread charity for 10 poor widows by John Wastie (will of 1667),²² and 5s. from the Bolds (later Bowles farm) granted by Richard Castell in 1694 to be given to the poor on Good Friday; there was also a stock of £10 for 10 poor widows given by Esther Bartholomew (will proved 1762).²³

In 1786 it was decided to raise the rent of the poor's estate and distribute bread at the rate of £1 worth each week from Christmas until Lady Day; lists of those qualified for bread were drawn up by the vestry.²⁴ Not all the above benefactions were for bread, notably those of Richard Castell (1694), George Castell, Esther Bartholomew, and probably several others, which were meant to be distributed in cash on Good Friday: in the later 18th century the overseers regularly disbursed 'Good Friday money' arising from benefactions which had been invested in a house which they may have been using as a poor house.²⁵ At inclosure in 1802 annual payments to the Eynsham com-

moners of £2 12s. 6d. from Twelve Acre farm and £1 1s. from Newfield farm, to free those lands from common rights, were turned into rent charges paid into the St. Thomas's fund.²⁶ After inclosure the poor's estate comprised c. 18 a., which in 1823 was let for c. £45; with the rent charges and 15s. a year from the Esther Bartholomew and Catherine Butler charities the total income of the St. Thomas's charity was over £50, from which £6 was held back for cash payments to poor widows and widowers, and the rest distributed in bread on nine Sundays after Christmas.

Another bread charity was given by John Bartholomew (will proved 1701), who charged his estate with the provision of a 3d. loaf weekly to each of 10 poor widows or widowers.²⁷ By 1823 the estate, though divided, yielded £6 10s. a year which was distributed in cash on the distribution days of St. Thomas's charity and in bread on the other Sundays; arrangements were unchanged in 1852 but by 1871 the £6 10s. was administered with the St. Thomas's charity.²⁸

Thomas Walker (will of 1789) gave the income from £100 to provide bread. A plan of 1814 to sell the stock for a parish fire engine and fund the charity from the overseers' accounts²⁹ seems not to have been implemented, and in 1823 the income of £4 4s. 6d. a year was distributed in bread on Sundays when there was no St. Thomas's charity distribution. The charity was linked with two other bread charities, £40 given by Thomas Castell in 1830 and £100 by Robert Day in 1831, and all were invested in stock yielding c. £7 10s. in 1852; by 1871 the stock of £235 was absorbed in the St. Thomas's account.³⁰

In 1852 the income of the St. Thomas's charity, with balances from the other bread charities, was c. £57, of which £7 was disbursed on Good Friday and at Whitsun, presumably to poor widows and widowers; there were four large distributions of bread in January.³¹ In 1871 the income of the St. Thomas's charity (excluding the £6 10s. from John Bartholomew's charity) was c. £71.³²

Several other charities not recorded by 1871 may have been merged in the St. Thomas's fund. A bread charity of 10s. a year was given by Joseph Druce (will proved 1822) and another of £5 was given by Elizabeth Scarsbrook (will proved 1819).³³ The income from £100 left by James Lord (d. 1809) to provide coal or bread was being distributed in bread in 1823 but was recorded as lost in 1871.

Another lost charity was that of Francis

¹⁵ P.R.O., C 93/46/25. For Fulkes and Maund, *Index of P.C.C. Wills*, xii. 155, 274; for Perrott, O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 52/4/7.

¹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 122/4/50.

¹⁷ *Char. Don.* 994-5.

¹⁸ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 107, f. 35 (no bequest to poor).

¹⁹ P.R.O., PROB 11/229, ff. 317-18 (will of John Green referring to his mother, Joan Olive).

²⁰ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 146/4/14.

²¹ *Char. Don.* 994-5; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 138/3/7 (Knapp); 150/2/49 (Saywell); benefactions board in Bartholomew Room.

²² O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 71/4/21.

²³ *Ibid.* 9/3/2.

²⁴ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 1, f. 17v.

²⁵ *Ibid.* b 15, *passim*. The overseers' payments were said in 1768 to represent the chars. of Esther Bartholomew and Thos. Wastie, and later those of Esther Bartholomew and Cath. Butler: *ibid.* f. 32v.; *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 401-2.

²⁶ Cf. O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham b 12, f. 2; benefactions board in Bartholomew Room.

²⁷ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 116/1/9.

²⁸ *Ibid.* QSD/C. 25; *Digest of Endowed Chars.* 1869-70, H.C. 292-II, Oxon. pp. 26-7 (1871), lv.

²⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 1, f. 100.

³⁰ *Ibid.* QSD/C. 25; benefactions board in Bartholomew Room; *Digest of Endowed Chars.* 1869-70, Oxon. pp. 26-7.

³¹ O.R.O., QSD/C. 25.

³² *Digest of Endowed Chars.* 1869-70, Oxon. pp. 26-7.

³³ O.R.O., Acc. 2361; *ibid.* Colvin IV/ii/1.

Wastie (will of 1775), who gave the interest of £10 to clothe two fatherless children; in 1823 the interest had not been paid for 30 years, and although an agreement was made over arrears the charity was not recorded thereafter.

A bread charity was given by Elizabeth West (will of 1638) and her brother and executor John Walter (will proved 1640), who left an estate at Appleton (formerly Berks.) in trust for the poor of Witney, Standlake, and Eynsham; Eynsham received a quarter share of the charity. In the 1650s the income, spent on bread, was usually between £2 and £3 but rents rose³⁴ and in the late 18th century Eynsham's share was between £6 and £7 half-yearly.³⁵ In 1823 bread worth c. £17 was distributed on Sundays when there was no St. Thomas's distribution. In 1852 and 1871 Eynsham's share of the Appleton rent was c. £20.³⁶ The estate was sold in 1931 and the capital invested.³⁷

At inclosure in 1802 Foxley farm (c. 83 a.) was awarded as a fuel allotment to the poor in compensation for their former common rights;³⁸ the rent was distributed in coal on St. Thomas's day. The rent fell from c. £125 to £70 by the 1820s,³⁹ and later fluctuated from £185 in 1863 to only £86 in 1890.⁴⁰

From the 1860s the administration of Eynsham's charities caused bitter dispute. In 1865 the vicar, W. S. Bricknell, refused to produce accounts of the bread and coal charities for the previous six years,⁴¹ and shortly afterwards

came to blows at a meeting of the Bartholomew charity trustees.⁴² In 1873 Bricknell's leading opponent, Joseph Druce, secured a Chancery investigation and under threat of prison Bricknell eventually rendered accounts in 1875;⁴³ quarrels over the charities continued into the 1880s.⁴⁴ A Scheme of 1878 amalgamated the St. Thomas's charity with the fuel allotment and directed that bread distributions should be phased out and income devoted to the sick poor, to pensions, to educational purposes, and to provident institutions. The fuel allotment was to be distributed in coal.⁴⁵ During the next ten years up to £95 a year were spent on coal, up to £75 on education, and up to £25 on the sick poor and donations to local hospitals.⁴⁶ In 1911 the charity commissioners rejected the parish council's plea that the fuel allotment was not a charity,⁴⁷ and under a revised Scheme transferred £400 from the St. Thomas's charity into a separate educational foundation, leaving the Consolidated Charities with an income of c. £217 for the general benefit of the poor.⁴⁸ The distribution of bread and fuel continued; grants for tools, false teeth, and spectacles were made, but in recent times cash payments to old age pensioners were favoured.⁴⁹ After various land sales, notably that of Foxley farm in 1923 and the Appleton estate in 1931,⁵⁰ the Consolidated Charities by 1970 retained only 4 a. of land and rent charges of less than £5; investment income, however, rose to £995 by 1979.⁵¹

HANBOROUGH

HANBOROUGH lies c. 6 miles (9 km.) north-west of Oxford, and about mid way between the market towns of Woodstock and Witney.⁵² It contains two villages: Long Hanborough, which has developed into a dormitory village for Oxford, and the smaller Church Hanborough. The parish, roughly triangular in shape, is bounded by the river Evenlode on the north and east, except for a short section on the north where the river seems to have been diverted by the construction of Combe mill. A small tributary of the Evenlode, called Caverswell brook in the Middle Ages and Eynsham brook in the 16th and 17th centuries, forms the short southern and part of the western boundary. Those boundaries have apparently been unaltered since medieval

times, but the remainder of the western boundary, which follows field boundaries from the point at which it leaves the brook, south-west of Church Hanborough village, was changed in 1932 and again in 1948, reducing the area of the parish from 2,270 a. to 2,125 a. (860 ha.).⁵³

The ancient boundary, first shown on a map of 1761, seems to have matched those of Eynsham, described in 1005, and of the eastern portion of Wychwood forest, within which Hanborough lay, described in 1300.⁵⁴ The forest boundary ran up the Caverswell brook to Cavershull meadow, later Chasehill close, then between Mousley wood and le Frith to Walter the vintner's house in Hanborough. Walter held ½ yardland in socage in 1279, perhaps on the site

³⁴ Ibid. MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham b 12, *passim*.

³⁵ Ibid. b 13, pp. 220–3.

³⁶ Ibid. QSD/C. 25; *Digest of Endowed Chars.* 1869–70, Oxon. pp. 26–7.

³⁷ e.g. O.R.C.C., Kimber files (schedule of 1911).

³⁸ O.R.O., incl. award.

³⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. 155.

⁴⁰ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham d 12, p. 197; *ibid.* Misc. Eynsham I/1, p. 109; *Suppl. Digest of Endowed Chars.* 1889–90, H.C. 247, p. 8 (1890), lv.

⁴¹ Cf. *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham d 12, pp. 197–233; *Oxf. Jnl.* 20 May 1865.

⁴² *Oxf. Chron.* 24 June 1865.

⁴³ O.R.O., Misc. Druce IX/i/1; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 23, item c; Bodl. MS. Don. b 34, f. 39; *Oxf. Jnl.* 8 Sept. 1877.

⁴⁴ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham e 2, pp. 62, 84 and

passim.

⁴⁵ Ibid. c 23, item b.

⁴⁶ Ibid. e 3, ff. 61, 94, 126.

⁴⁷ Ibid. Misc. Eynsham I/1, pp. 94, 103, 105, 109, 116, 131; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1903 and later edns.).

⁴⁸ O.R.O., Misc. Eynsham I/2, *passim*; O.R.C.C., Kimber files; above, Educ.

⁴⁹ O.R.C.C., Kimber files; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Eynsham c 24, ff. 5v., 43v., 50.

⁵⁰ O.R.O., Misc. Eynsham I/1, p. 249; I/2, pp. 194–5.

⁵¹ O.R.C.C., TS. review of Oxon. chars. 1979.

⁵² O.S. Maps 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 11–12, 14–16 (1881 and later edns.); 1/10,000, SP 41 SW; 1/2,500, SP 4014–4114, 4211–4311, 4212–4312, 4213–4313, 4214–4314.

⁵³ *Census*, 1881, 1951, 1971.

⁵⁴ *Archaeologia*, xxxvii. 435; Blenheim Mun., map of 1761; above, Eynsham, Intro.

of Little Blenheim on the edge of the modern Freeland village where there seem to have been five cottages in 1609–10.⁵⁵ From Walter's house the boundary ran to Robert le Eyr's grange, leaving the grange itself in Eynsham, and to Blowens on the site of the modern Cook's Corner. The next boundary mark, Roweleye, cannot be positively identified but was presumably on Hanborough heath, as the element 'row' usually means 'rough'.⁵⁶ From there the boundary ran to Leyhambrok, presumably the small stream which runs along the western edge of Hanborough heath, and to Colnham, the small tributary of the Evenlode which forms the parish boundary for a short distance north of Abel wood and whose name was preserved in Colnham meadow in Combe.⁵⁷ The building of houses or walled closes across the boundary west of Church Hanborough had led to slight alterations to the perambulation route, if not the boundary, by 1628.⁵⁸ In 1932 Hanborough parish was extended westwards by the addition of 977 a. around the hamlet of Freeland, formerly in Eynsham parish, but the change was reversed in 1948 when Freeland civil parish was created.⁵⁹

Much of the ancient parish, including both villages, lies on the Thames gravel, the northern part on the Hanborough terrace, the southern part on the Summertown-Radley terrace and the flood plain. In the centre of the parish and along its western boundary the soil is clay; much of that area was wooded in the Middle Ages, and one wood, Pinsley wood, survived in 1986. Along the Evenlode are wide bands of alluvium, limestone of the great oolite series, forest marble, and cornbrash. The alluvium has supplied Hanborough with extensive meadow, and the limestone and forest marble have been quarried intermittently since the Middle Ages. Hanborough heath in the north-west corner of the parish lies on unbedded glacial drift.⁶⁰ The ground rises from the Evenlode valley in the north and east and the smaller valley of the brook in the south and south-west to a T-shaped hill or ridge on which both Long Hanborough and Church Hanborough stand and from which the parish takes its name: Hagena's, Hanna's, or possibly cock's, hill.⁶¹ The slope is fairly gentle on the south and east, but much steeper in the north and parts of the west. The highest land is near the north-west corner of the parish, 100 m. above sea level at Cook's Corner and on the Church Hanborough road in Long Hanborough, and the lowest, 65 m., in the Evenlode valley on the eastern boundary.⁶²

The parish was within Wychwood forest in the Middle Ages, and a number of Hanborough

men were accused of forest offences in the 13th century. Among them was the rector's son, Hubert, who in 1254 was accused of poaching in Woodstock Park and of regularly receiving stolen deer to take to Oxford, presumably for sale.⁶³ Hunting rights continued to cause friction in the 19th century when a tenant of the duke of Marlborough complained that the duke's rabbits and pheasants from Pinsley wood ate a large proportion of his crops.⁶⁴

The Witney–Bicester road, an ancient route which was called port street in the neighbouring Eynsham parish in 1005, runs across the parish from east to west near the northern boundary, and is the focus for the village of Long Hanborough;⁶⁵ it was turnpiked in 1751 and disturnpiked in 1870.⁶⁶ The road branching from it just west of Hanborough bridge and running south was the main route from Eynsham to Woodstock, called the Woodstock way, by 1605, but has never had more than local importance. It has been suggested that the road through Millwood End, which continues by a bridle path to North Leigh, and the road from Long Hanborough to Church Hanborough, which continued to Eynsham until inclosure in 1773 when it became a footpath, were part of a prehistoric route from the North Oxfordshire iron fields to Uffington on the Berkshire ridgeway,⁶⁷ but the evidence is not conclusive. A network of minor roads and paths joined the different parts of Hanborough to each other and to Freeland, North Leigh, and Combe. The surviving road to Freeland was Heathfield Lane in 1605, preserving the name of a boundary mark recorded in 1005, and Heath Lane in 1761; the modern name, Pigeon House Lane, was applied in 1761 only to the eastern end of the road which runs past Hanborough rectory house and its outbuildings. A more northerly road to Freeland was called Powes Lane in 1605 and Fowles Lane in 1761; it seems to have disappeared at inclosure.

Hanborough bridge, over the Evenlode on the Witney–Bicester road, existed by 1141 when the Empress Maud granted Oseney abbey land at Hanborough by the Bladon (or Evenlode) bridge.⁶⁸ Traces of stone piers remain just north of the surviving late 18th-century bridge, and the churchwardens made payments for four days' work 'at the old bridge' in 1783–4.⁶⁹ In 1798 the bridge was completely rebuilt with two flattened stone arches over the main stream of the river and two small flood arches to the west, the cost apparently being shared between the turnpike trust, Hanborough parish, and the duke of Marlborough.⁷⁰ Further repairs in 1828, 1840, and 1867 were carried out by the county.⁷¹ Between 1952 and 1954 a new bridge was built a

⁵⁵ P.R.O., LR 2/202, f. 37; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 871.

⁵⁶ *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 463.

⁵⁷ V. Wickham Steed, 'Bounds of Wychwood Forest', *Top. Oxon.* vii.

⁵⁸ St. John's Coll. Mun. XXXVII. 5, p. 7.

⁵⁹ *Census*, 1931, 1951.

⁶⁰ *Geol. Surv. Map 1"*, solid with drift, sheet 236 (1938 edn.).

⁶¹ E. Ekwall, *Dict. Eng. P.N.* 216; *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 268–9.

⁶² O.S. Map 1/10,000, SP 41 SW.

⁶³ P.R.O., E 32/137, rot. 3; E 32/135, rot. 1; E 32/251; *Close R.* 1247–51, 324; 1256–9, 36.

⁶⁴ G. Osborn, *Duke of Marlborough vs. Osborn* (1863).

⁶⁵ Except where otherwise indicated the following paragraph is based on C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Maps I, nos. 7–8; Blenheim Mun., 1761 map; O.R.O. incl. award.

⁶⁶ 24 Geo. II, c. 28; 32–3 Vic. c. 30 (Local).

⁶⁷ H. J. Case and others, 'Excavations at City Farm, Hanborough', *Oxoniensia*, xxix/xxx. 1–98.

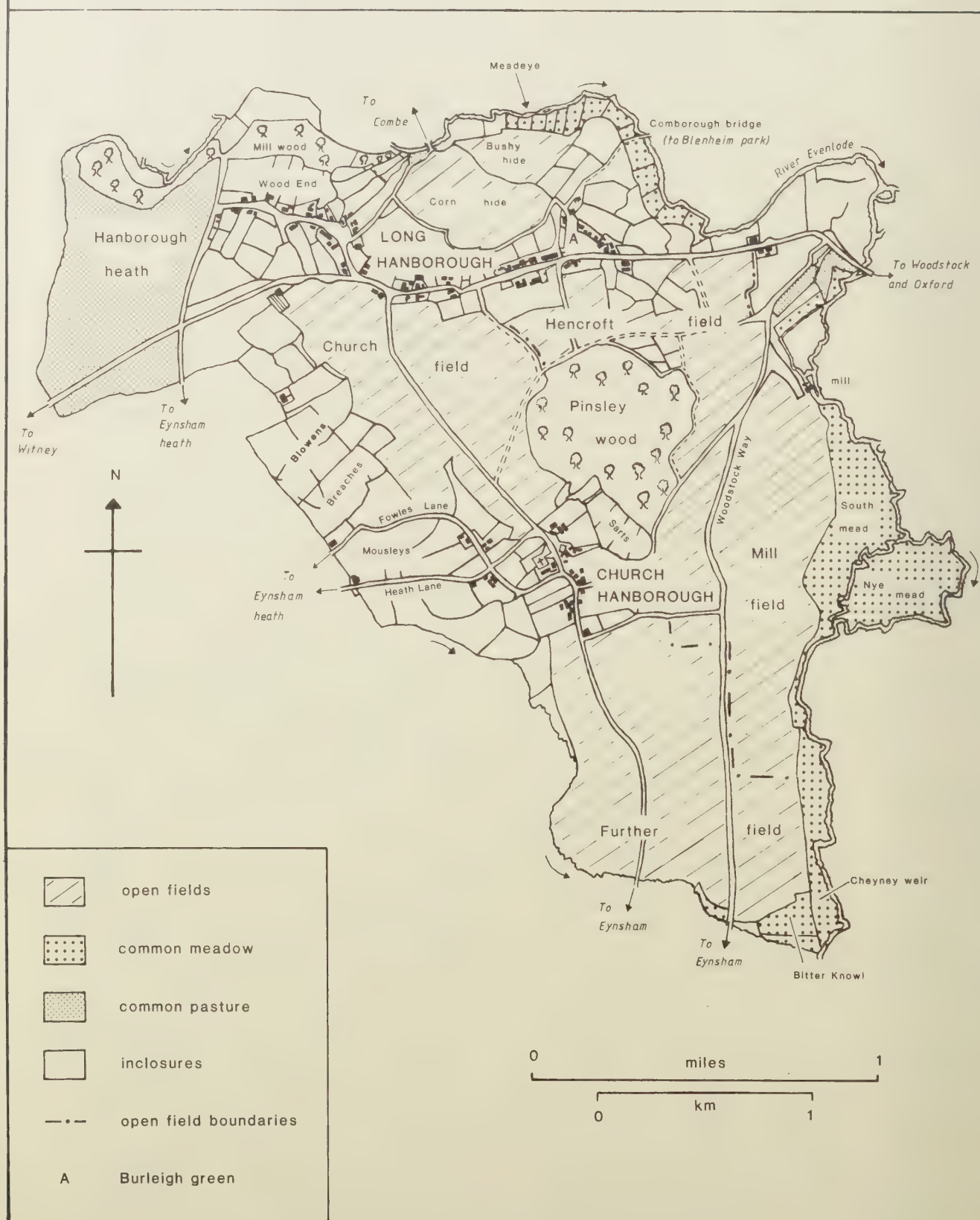
⁶⁸ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 84.

⁶⁹ County Mus., P.R.N. 2315; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Hanborough b 7, s.a. 1783–4.

⁷⁰ Blenheim Mun., box 84.

⁷¹ O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. viii, p. 723; J. Davenport, *Oxon. Bridges*, 4; copy in O.R.O.

HANBOROUGH 1761



few yards north of the 18th-century one, removing a dangerous corner on the road.⁷²

Both roads south to Eynsham crossed the boundary brook by fords in 1605, and the lower ford, presumably on the Woodstock way, was recorded in 1663,⁷³ but there was a footbridge across the brook in 1610, perhaps the Tolcon or Token bridge recorded in Eynsham deeds.⁷⁴ The Church Hanborough path crossed the brook by a plank in 1773, when there may still have been a ford for carts on the Woodstock way.⁷⁵ In the 18th century a track running north-east from Burleigh green to Blenheim Park crossed the Evenlode at Comborough bridge, which survived as a footbridge in 1883 but apparently disappeared soon after; stone foundations along the bank remained visible in 1988.⁷⁶

A station was opened at Long Hanborough in 1853 on the Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton Railway. For a few years from 1854 the station was the junction for a service to Euston using the L.N.W.R. line from Yarnton, and was enlarged to accommodate the extra traffic. Local protests helped save the station from closure in 1964, and it remained open in 1986, although most of the station buildings were demolished in 1966–7.⁷⁷

Witney and Woodstock seem to have been the usual market towns for Hanborough people in the 16th and 17th centuries.⁷⁸ In the 19th century carriers' carts ran to Witney once a week and to Oxford twice a week.⁷⁹ A bus service to Oxford and Witney was introduced in 1922 and became a daily service in 1955.⁸⁰ There seems to have been no post office in the parish until 1877.⁸¹

Wells supplied almost all the water in Hanborough until 1935 when mains water from Witney was connected.⁸² Main drainage was completed in 1963, and a sewage disposal works, at Downhill farm just west of Church Hanborough, was opened in 1964.⁸³ Electricity reached the parish c. 1932.⁸⁴

A palaeolithic hand-axe found in Long Hanborough is important for the dating of the Hanborough gravel terrace,⁸⁵ but the first evidence of settlement in the parish dates from the Bronze Age when a barrow cemetery and a henge monument were constructed on the Summertown–Radley gravel terrace at the southern tip of the parish. Flints of the same date have been found at Long Hanborough, where the Hanborough gravel terrace also attracted early settlement. Two Iron Age farmsteads, one occu-

pied in the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. and the other about the 1st century A.D., were established near the Eynsham boundary. The inhabitants of the earlier settlement may have been iron workers; pits for smelting iron ore, roughly contemporary with the settlement, were found nearby. Further north, near Cook's Corner, which stands on a small patch of gravel terrace, were two early Iron Age and two early Roman pottery kilns. The evidence suggests scattered and intermittent settlement throughout the prehistoric period.⁸⁶

No early Anglo-Saxon house sites have been found, but in the pagan period the area of the Bronze Age cemetery at the southern tip of the parish was again used for burials.⁸⁷ Early settlement was presumably also on the gravel, perhaps on the sites of Church and Long Hanborough. A swain's croft was recorded in 1005 on the Eynsham boundary, probably at Cook's Corner, and later evidence confirms scattered settlement over much of the north and west of the parish by the 13th century. Church Hanborough, clearly in existence by the 12th century when the existing church was built, was probably the manorial settlement; traces of the fishpond which Henry I or Henry II made on Eynsham abbey's land survive in a field south-west of the village.⁸⁸

A total of 26 unfree tenants and 5 *servi* was recorded on Hanborough manor in 1086.⁸⁹ By 1279 numbers had risen to 91 customary and free tenants (excluding the abbot of Oseney), 34 of whom held only assart land.⁹⁰ Surnames indicate that several of them lived in Long Hanborough, and others occupied farmsteads along the western boundary of the parish. Agnes at Wood probably lived in the later Wood End or Millwood End of Long Hanborough, and John, Walter, and another John at Hacche were probably near the 'hatch' or gate at the junction of the Church Hanborough road and the Witney–Bicester road. Robert at Bridge was perhaps near Hanborough bridge or possibly Combe bridge, where traces of what may be house platforms survive, and William at Wytheg (willow) is also likely to have lived near the Evenlode. Linnot of Heathfield presumably lived on Heathfield Lane near the later Little Blenheim. All were customary tenants holding land in the common fields, and most of their holdings are likely to have been established by 1086. The same is probably true of the land held by tenants in socage, two of whom bore the surname Blowend, related to the field names Blowens or

⁷² Bodl. MS. Dep. c 382, blue folder, no. 13.

⁷³ C.C.C. Mun., Langdon Maps I, no. 8; St. John's Coll. Mun. XXXVII. 5, p. 25.

⁷⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 9; Chambers, *Eynsham under the Monks* (O.R.S. xviii), 75–6.

⁷⁵ O.R.O., incl. award.; Blenheim Mun., E/P/21.

⁷⁶ Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); T. Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789): copy in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. 8° 930; O.S. Maps 6", Oxon. XXVI (1881 edn.); 1/2,500, XXVI. 11 (1899 edn.); inf. from Mr. H. G. Busby, Myrtle Fm., Long Hanborough.

⁷⁷ S. C. Jenkins and H. I. Quayle, *Oxf. Worc. & Wolverhampton Rly.* 25–40, 93, 107; O.R.O., Hanborough P.C. I/3, p. 135.

⁷⁸ e.g. *Witney Ct. Bks.* (O.R.S. liv), *passim*; Woodstock Boro. Mun. 3/4/6.

⁷⁹ *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847 and later edns.).

⁸⁰ Bodl. MS. Dep. b 158, item c, f. 152.

⁸¹ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1877 edn.).

⁸² O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 11–12, 14–16 (1881 edn.); O.R.O., Hanborough P.C. I/1, p. 162.

⁸³ O.R.O., Hanborough P.C. I/3, p. 156; Bodl. MS. Dep. c 381, f. 59.

⁸⁴ O.R.O., Hanborough P.C. I/1, p. 124.

⁸⁵ W. J. Arkell, 'Palaeolith from Hanborough Terrace', *Oxoniensia*, xi/xii. 1–4; cf. *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 236.

⁸⁶ H. J. Case, *Oxoniensia*, xxix/xxx. 1–98; County Mus., P.R.N. 1284.

⁸⁷ *Oxoniensia*, xxv. 133; xxix/xxx. 1–98; xxxii. 71; xli. 56–63.

⁸⁸ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 398; County Mus., P.R.N. 4499.

⁸⁹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 419–20.

⁹⁰ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 871.

Blowings located by later maps on the high, and thus perhaps exposed and cheerless,⁹¹ ground near Cook's Corner. Further south, the sub-manor of Downhall had been established by 1279 on land west of Church Hanborough village. One tenant of assart land bore the surname at Ford, perhaps referring to a crossing of the Evenlode towards Combe or of the brook which formed the boundary with Eynsham. Great Bondon or Bandon, recorded in 1312, 1376, and 1410,⁹² appears to have been another settlement in or near the parish, but it has not been identified.

Only 143 people over 14 were recorded in 1377, and the population does not seem to have increased greatly by 1609–10 when there were c. 87 tenants on the manor.⁹³ Despite a large excess of recorded baptisms over burials in most years from 1560 to 1640,⁹⁴ the population appears if anything to have declined, perhaps because of large-scale emigration or of consistent under-registration of burials. Fifty-nine people were assessed for hearth tax in 1662, and only 142 adults were reported in 1676.⁹⁵ The reduction in the population did not lead to much contraction of the area of settlement. In 1609–10 there were 4 cottages at or near Blowens, and 5 others which seem to have been on the Eynsham boundary near the modern Little Blenheim, as well as c. 52 houses or cottages in Long Hanborough and c. 16 in Church Hanborough. Long Hanborough was usually divided into two 'ends', Burleigh End, first recorded c. 1535, which centred on Burleigh green at the eastern end of the village, and Wood End, first recorded in 1610, the later Millwood End.⁹⁶ The modern names of the farms or hamlets Cook's Corner and Little Blenheim were not recorded until 1820 and 1851 respectively.⁹⁷ Cook's Corner presumably takes its name from an earlier owner or tenant, although in 1763 and 1841 it was occupied by members of the Woodward family.⁹⁸ The origin of the name Little Blenheim is obscure, but may be connected with the Blenheim estate, which acquired nearby land in Eynsham in 1789.

The population rose slightly in the later 17th century and the early 18th, with an increase in both baptisms and burials. The 1720s were years of high mortality, the number of burials reaching a peak of 27 in 1729, but there had probably been some recovery by 1738 when the curate reported a total of 130 houses in the parish, 110 in Long Hanborough and 20 in Church Hanborough.⁹⁹ The rising number of baptisms in the later 18th century suggests that the population continued to grow; in 1801 it was 655, but the number of houses had fallen to 100.¹ The population rose steadily to a peak of 1,153, including 60 probably itinerant railway labourers, in 1851, then fell fairly steadily to 816

in 1921. Long Hanborough remained by far the largest settlement; separate figures for the villages in 1891 gave the population as 805 in 179 houses in Long Hanborough, 160 in 36 houses in Church Hanborough, and 40 in 10 houses in Little Blenheim.² Since 1921 Long Hanborough has grown rapidly as a dormitory for Oxford; in the decade 1961–71 the population of the parish almost doubled, from 1,380 to 2,460. In 1981 it was 2,697.³

Church and Long Hanborough have developed very differently in the 20th century, Long Hanborough being designated as an area for expansion, Church Hanborough one for conservation. As a result, Church Hanborough is still a small, quiet, village, dominated by its church standing on the edge of what was once a small green but which has been converted into a car park. Most of the houses are mid to late 18th-century cottages or small farmhouses, reflecting the relative poverty of the village in the 17th and 18th centuries and the absence of any gentry families at that date. They are built of local stone, most with slate roofs, although two of a row of cottages on the eastern edge of the village are thatched, as is the house opposite the Free-land road. A house on that site was shown on a map of 1605, and it is possible that the surviving house contains 17th-century work. Just to the south is a small 18th-century farmhouse to which a symmetrical front, in coursed rubble with ashlar window surrounds, was added in the late 18th century or the early 19th. The chief 19th-century additions to the village were the school, north-west of the church, and the new rectory house to the north-east, both private houses in 1986. Two other houses bear 19th-century dates, Priest's Close (1834) and Church Cottage (1893); Church Cottage was probably restored in 1893 as the house appears to be substantially older. There has been some infilling, with large, detached, houses, and a small estate has been built north of the church.

The oldest surviving house in Long Hanborough is the Malt House, in Millwood End, once the property of Edward Henmarshe, warden of Durham College, Oxford. It was said to have been built as a refuge for the Durham College monks in time of plague in Oxford, and was described as a fair house in 1553. The core of the surviving house, including the remains of a central smoke-bay, probably dates from that time. The house was altered in the later 16th century, probably by Leonard Perrott, tenant from c. 1550,⁴ when a four-centred stone fireplace was put into a first floor room. It was greatly extended in the 17th and 18th centuries. Baker's Court, on the south side of the road, retains some 17th-century stonework, notably a staircase projection. The 17th-century staircase apparently survived until the conversion of the

⁹¹ *P.N. Elements* (E.P.N.S.), i, 38.

⁹² C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcript, iii, pp. 9, 89, 121.

⁹³ P.R.O., E 179/161/42, 44; LR 2/202, f. 37.

⁹⁴ Transcript of par. reg.: copies in Bodl., O.R.O., and Westgate Libr.

⁹⁵ P.R.O., E 179/161/4, rot. 281; *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 423.

⁹⁶ P.R.O., C 1/735/12; Blenheim Mun., box 9.

⁹⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Hanborough c 8, s.a. 1820; P.R.O., HO 107/890, 1731.

⁹⁸ Blenheim Mun., maps of 1761 and 1841.

⁹⁹ *Secker's Visit.* 70.

¹ *Census*, 1801.

² *Ibid.* 1811–1921; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 42, f. 47.

³ *Census*, 1931–81.

⁴ P.R.O., E 318/39/2105; E 321/20/13; below, Manors.

building into old people's flats in 1971.⁵ Just south-east of Baker's Court is a terrace of 18th-century cottages, two of which bear dates, K:RM 1735, for Richard Keen and his wife Mary, and I:WA 1793, possibly for William Judd. Further north-west is Millwood Farm, a substantial mid 18th-century farmhouse, and another group of cottages, one of which is dated H:RP 1721, possibly for Richard Harris, who acquired a cottage in Hanborough in 1720.⁶

A much-altered cottage at the north end of Park Lane, formerly Burleigh green, bears a datestone apparently of 1618. No. 76 Main Road dates from the 16th century or early 17th; it is a small house, of local limestone with a thatched roof supported by crucks. The original house, the farmhouse for ½-yardland, was of one storey with an attic and had on the ground floor only two rooms separated by the chimney stack, but the house was twice extended westwards during the 20th century and divided into two cottages; it again became a single dwelling in the 1960s.⁷ A house on the site of the Manor House, on the south side of Main Road almost in the middle of the village, was occupied by the Butcher or Bouchier family from the later 16th century until c. 1763. The house had no connexion with any manor, and the name Manor House was not recorded until 1841.⁸ The surviving house was built by Thomas Bouchier in 1628 as a long east-west range with a short cross wing at the east end. Later in the 17th century another Thomas Bouchier remodelled the house, building two detached blocks to the north of the long range to make a symmetrical forecourt; he also enlarged the garden, planting an avenue of trees along the street front.⁹ In the 18th century a short wing was added south of the main range and rusticated gate piers were erected at the courtyard entrance on the main road. The detached later 17th-century block on the east was linked to the original cross wing in the 19th century, and c. 1980 the cross wing was extended southwards. The ground floor of the main range was gutted in the earlier 20th century. In the 1970s the stable block to the south-east was the Blenheim Motel, but by 1986 it had been converted into flats.

The chief 19th-century additions to the village were the new church, Christ Church, built on the north side of Main Road almost opposite the road to Church Hanborough in 1893, and Methodist chapels of 1827 and 1895 a little further east and on the south side of the road. Opposite the manor house is the small school, built in 1879 and still in use in 1986. At the east end of the village, the railway station was built in 1853. Among the cottages built in the 19th

century were those in the Row, at the west end of the village, and a small terrace of later 19th-century workers' cottages at the top of the road to Church Hanborough.

The Blenheim estate started to sell building plots in Long Hanborough in 1910, and since the 1920s large estates of council and privately-owned houses have been built there, principally in Millwood End and on either side of the Church Hanborough road. Council houses were built on the Church Hanborough road in the 1920s and 1930s, but in 1946 the parish council complained about the lack of housing in the parish.¹⁰ More houses were built in the late 1940s and 1950s, mainly in the area between the main road and Pinsley wood. In 1963 the Wimpey construction company built an estate of over 100 houses at Millwood farm, and by 1965 the first stage of the Marlborough Fields estate had been completed. Further development was carried out at Millwood End in 1970 and 1973.¹¹ Most of the occupants of the new houses came from outside the parish. A survey in 1966 found that 30 per cent of households had settled in Hanborough within the previous four years. Only 16 per cent of those employed had jobs in the parish; nearly half the working population travelled to Oxford, most of them to Morris Motors or Pressed Steel, and the rest worked in Witney or neighbouring villages.¹² Since 1966 some light industry has been started in Long Hanborough, but most inhabitants still work in Oxford or elsewhere in the county.

There was an alehouse in Hanborough c. 1533, when a litigant claimed that a will had been forged there, and three victuallers were presented for breach of the assize of ale in 1634.¹³ An alehouse called the Katharine Wheel was recorded in 1661, and in 1686 and 1693 the churchwardens spent money 'with the neighbours' at the Holly Bush, presumably another alehouse; at least seven alehouse licences were issued in 1701.¹⁴ Between 3 and 6 houses were licensed each year between 1753 and 1774, 1 or 2 in Church Hanborough, the remainder in Long Hanborough. In 1775 the houses were named as the Hand and Shears, the George, the Bell, and the Ball. A fifth house, called the Swan from 1778, seems to have opened in 1777, but in 1778 the Ball apparently closed.¹⁵ A house, later called Shepherd's Hall, associated with the brickworks on Hanborough heath, was a public house by 1851, and the Three Horseshoes, on the corner of the Church Hanborough road and Main Road in Long Hanborough, by 1861.¹⁶ All six houses were still open in 1986, the Hand and Shears opposite the church in Church Hanborough, the George and Dragon, the Bell, and

⁵ *Oxf. Times*, 8 Jan. 1971. The staircase had gone by 1986.

⁶ Blenheim Mun., B/M/213, pp. 182-3; B/M/216, pp. 192-3; B/M/217, p. 226.

⁷ *S. Midlands Archaeology*, xiii. 92; County Mus., P.R.N. 13224; local inf.

⁸ Blenheim Mun., 1841 map.

⁹ Datestone on bldg.; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 183, f. 193; 3/4/64; 9/1/5; 115/3/39; Blenheim Mun., B/M/210, f. 80.

¹⁰ O.R.O., Hanborough P.C. I/1, pp. 24-9, 54, 66, 68, 78,

87, 94, 96, 111, 113, 141; 2, p. 87.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 2, pp. 201, 263; 3, pp. 92, 97, 121, 124, 165; 4, meetings of 9 Oct. 1968, 9 Sept. 1970; 5, meetings of 20 Dec. 1972, 14 March 1973, 15 May 1974; Blenheim Mun., modern sales deeds.

¹² 'Long Hanborough' TS. in Westgate Libr. LONGb. 711.

¹³ P.R.O., C 1/735/12; Blenheim Mun., B/M/208, f. 229.

¹⁴ St. John's Coll. Mun. XXXVII. 5, pp. 142, 188.

¹⁵ O.R.O., vctls' recogs.

¹⁶ P.R.O., HO 107/1731; RG 9/904.

the Three Horseshoes in Main Road, Long Hanborough, and the Swan on the corner of Millwood End and the road to Combe.

Henry I stayed at Hanborough, presumably in the manor house, in 1105.¹⁷ Charles I passed through the parish in June 1644 at the end of his night march from Oxford, and drew up his army on Hanborough heath before continuing to Burford,¹⁸ but otherwise the Civil War does not seem to have affected Hanborough greatly.

In 1795 a cartload of flour and wheat bound from Witney to Chipping Norton was siezed outside the Bell by a crowd reportedly of several hundred, some from Witney and many of them women, who beat the driver and forced him to sell the contents at a low price.¹⁹ A public meeting of agricultural labourers was held at Hanborough in 1872 during the dispute between farmers and labourers in Wootton and and other nearby villages, and shortly afterwards the union was said to be making rapid progress at Hanborough. In 1877 the union men supported one candidate for churchwarden, the farmers another; after an acrimonious campaign and poll, during which the rector was insulted several times, the farmers' candidate was elected by a narrow majority. The following year the rector reported that the labourers' union had stirred up much ill feeling towards the church.²⁰

In 1741 the churchwardens presented a husbandman for failing to provide the usual food for those who beat the parish bounds, an omission which, they claimed, might endanger the custom.²¹

MANORS AND OTHER ESTATES. In 1066 Hanborough was held by Tonni; it was his only Oxfordshire manor, but he had substantial estates in Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire, in all of which, as in Hanborough, he was succeeded by Gilbert of Ghent.²² On Gilbert's death c. 1095, Hanborough seems to have passed, with his other estates, to his son Walter, but the manor was acquired by Henry I before c. 1130 when the king granted Hanborough church to Reading abbey, and probably before 1105 when three of the king's charters were dated there.²³ It was later claimed that Henry I had taken the manor from Walter of Ghent and given it to Walter's sister, his mistress.²⁴ Simon de St. Liz, earl of Northampton, probably Simon III (d. 1184) who in 1156 married Alice,

daughter and heir of Gilbert of Ghent (d. 1156), seems to have claimed the manor; between 1165 and 1176 or possibly between 1156 and 1157 he confirmed Henry I's grant to Reading abbey.²⁵ The manor was in the king's hands in 1156 and 1194,²⁶ and remained part of the royal demesne until it was granted, with Woodstock manor, to John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, in 1705.²⁷ It was held by his successor in 1986.

In 1217 Henry III granted the manor to Thomas Basset the younger, during pleasure.²⁸ It was in the king's hands again in the 1240s, but in 1269 was granted to Eleanor, queen of Henry III, who held it in dower in 1279.²⁹ In 1299 Hanborough was assigned in dower to Margaret, queen of Edward I, who held it in 1316, and on her death it was assigned to Isabella, queen of Edward II.³⁰ On Isabella's death in 1330 Hanborough was committed to William de Montagu, later earl of Salisbury, keeper of Woodstock manor, but on his death in 1344 it was again separated from Woodstock, being granted for life to Robert de Ferrers.³¹ From 1375 Hanborough formed part of Woodstock manor.

The manorial buildings, probably in Church Hanborough, included in the earlier 13th century a hall, at least one grange, and a stable. Although the buildings seem to have been repaired as late as 1471, there is no evidence that they were used as a royal residence after 1105.³²

Half a knight's fee, held in 1236 by John of Hanborough, was held in 1279 by Adam of Downhall,³³ and remained in his family for over 200 years. Adam (d. 1309) was succeeded by his son Robert, who in 1311 conveyed at least part of the estate to John of Champagne and Nichole his wife for their lives.³⁴ In 1328 John and Nichole conveyed their interest to Peter of Dodecote, who, by 1329, had acquired the rest of the estate from Robert Downhall.³⁵ In 1346 Peter of Dodecote held the $\frac{1}{2}$ fee of the king.³⁶ In 1347 Peter settled the estate on himself for life, with remainder to John, son and heir of Robert Downhall, who seems to have been in possession by 1354.³⁷ John Downhall still held the estate in 1364, but had been succeeded before 1382 by his son Ellis, who was still alive in 1416.³⁸ William Downhall of Geddington (Northants.) died in possession of the estate in 1505,³⁹ and in 1511 his son Thomas sold it to Humphrey Brown. Brown exchanged it in 1526 with Margaret Heron and her son Giles; in 1533 Giles sold it to

¹⁷ *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* ii, pp. 43–5.

¹⁸ Vaughan Thomas, *Night March of King Chas. I*, 14, 16; copy in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. 8° 73.

¹⁹ P.R.O., ASSI 5/116; *Past & Present*, cxx. 104.

²⁰ *Oxf. Chron.* 20 July, 10 Aug., 1872; *Agric. Trade Unionism in Oxon.* (O.R.S. xlviii), 135; Diary of A. Matthews, 6 Apr. 1877: xerox copy in Westgate Libr.

²¹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 72, f. 220.

²² *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 419–20; *V.C.H. Northants.* i. 346; *Lincs. Domesday* (L.R.S. xix), pp. 107–12.

²³ *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* ii, pp. 43–5, 282; Sanders, *Eng. Baronies*, 47.

²⁴ *Bk. of Fees*, ii. 1158.

²⁵ *Reading Cart.* i, p. 376.

²⁶ *Pipe R.* 1156–8 (Rec. Com.), 37; 1194 (P.R.S. N.S. v), 16.

²⁷ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 249.

²⁸ *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i. 103.

²⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1266–72, 311, 433–4; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 871.

³⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1292–1301, 453; 1317–21, 401; *Feud. Aids*, iv. 164.

³¹ *Cal. Fine R.* 1327–37, 215; 1337–47, 391.

³² P.R.O., SC 6/962/4; *Close R.* 1256–9, 79; *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77, 241.

³³ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 587; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 871.

³⁴ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* v, p. 50; P.R.O., C 143/87, no. 10.

³⁵ C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcript, iii, p. 25; *Cal. Pat.* 1327–30, 472.

³⁶ *Feud. Aids*, iv. 177.

³⁷ C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcript, iii, pp. 53, 65, 81.

³⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1361–4, 516–17; C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcript, iii, pp. 137, 139.

³⁹ P.R.O., PROB 11/14, f. 284.

Richard Andrews, who sold it the following year to John Claymond, president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.⁴⁰

Another freehold estate, built up in the early 15th century, also passed to Corpus Christi College. It included $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland held in 1355 by William Kingman and his wife Gillian, and 1 yardland granted the same year to John Millward by Adam of the Wardrobe.⁴¹ David Bradwell acquired the yardland in 1385 and the $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland, then called Porter's place, before 1412 when he conveyed his estate (later reckoned to be 2 yardlands) to feoffees.⁴² In 1416 it was conveyed to Walter Smith of Lyneham, who in 1424 granted it to John Launse and William Weller, who conveyed it in 1428 to William Riley.⁴³ In 1557 John Riley of Broad Campden (Glos.) sold the estate to Robert Morwent, president of Corpus Christi College. In 1563 and 1564 Morwent's executors and heirs quitclaimed it to the college, but the college does not seem finally to have obtained possession until 1599.⁴⁴ The college still had a large estate in the parish in 1986.

In 1231 Henry III granted William of St. Owen 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland and a croft called Chavereshull (later Chasehill) in Hanborough and land in Combe for a rent of 12s.⁴⁵ William was said to hold 4 yardlands for the same rent in 1236, but in 1279 the estate, held by his son, another William, was again 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland.⁴⁶ Richard of St. Owen had land in Hanborough in 1302, but before 1358 William Snarestone acquired the estate, probably 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ yardlands and the croft, from Nicholas Poure of Bletchington.⁴⁷ Another William Snarestone held it in 1411, and in 1487 the land was settled on that William's kinswoman and heir Joan, wife of Thomas Harris.⁴⁸ It seems, however, to have passed to the descendants of Richard Snarestone (d. by 1474), his daughter Isabel, wife of John Romney, and her daughter Margaret, wife of Richard Smith, who was the richest man in the parish in 1524.⁴⁹

The 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ yardlands were later, probably in the early 17th century, held by Sir Thomas Tempest, and in 1641 were conveyed by William Kenyon to Thomas Laurence (d. 1657), master of Balliol College, Oxford. In 1682 the land was settled on Gilbert Laurence, who in 1688 sold it to Henry Curll of Andover (Hants). By a series of transactions between 1698 and 1700 it was conveyed to Simon Adams (d. 1701) of Oxford, from whom it passed to his widow Elizabeth and to his daughters Elizabeth and Sarah. On Sarah's marriage in 1734 to Digby Cotes, the whole estate was settled on her; she died in 1767,

and in 1772 her executors sold it to Thomas Walker, agent for the duke of Marlborough.⁵⁰

In the 1540s Chasehill Close was leased from Edward Smith, presumably Margaret's son, from whom it seems to have passed to William Fletcher, who held it at his death in 1557.⁵¹ The residue of a 200-year lease and a reversionary 2,000-year lease of the close was bought in 1593 by Exeter College from John Willis of Oxford.⁵² The college seems to have sold Chasehill in the mid 19th century.

Between 1136 and 1138 Adela, widow of Henry I, granted to Oseney abbey 1 hide at Hanborough belonging to Stanton Harcourt, which manor she then held.⁵³ Henry III's attempt in 1248 to recover the land was unsuccessful, and the abbey retained it until the Dissolution when it passed to the first Oxford cathedral. It was surrendered with the rest of the cathedral's endowments in 1545 and sold the same year to Leonard Chamberlain, who sold it in 1546 to William Fletcher.⁵⁴ William Fletcher (d. 1557) was succeeded by his son Henry (d. 1601) and by Henry's son William,⁵⁵ who seems to have sold the estate. In 1624-5 it was conveyed by Edward Fenner to Richard Harris and his son Henry.⁵⁶ In 1663 the estate was held by Francis Harris, son and heir of Henry Harris of Great Missenden (Bucks.). Francis died soon after 1691, and a dispute over the settlement of his estates led to a protracted suit in Chancery. In 1731 the Hanborough estate was sold by order of the court, and bought by the duke of Marlborough's trustees.⁵⁷

A half yardland which was alleged to have been held by Durham College, Oxford, was granted to Durham cathedral in 1541 and surrendered in 1545. It was leased by the Crown to Leonard Perrott c. 1550 and sold in 1553 to John Wright and Thomas Holmes, two London speculators.⁵⁸ The sale seems not to have taken effect, the $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland having apparently been successfully claimed to have been the personal property of Edward Henmarshe, warden of Durham College from 1519 until the Dissolution, who at his death in 1542 left to it to William Todd, prebendary of Durham.⁵⁹ Thereafter the $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland, held by John Terry in 1606, was not distinguished from other customary land in the parish.⁶⁰

In the late 14th century some Eynsham abbey tenants held lands in Hanborough comprising paddocks, crofts, tofts, and small parcels in the Breach, probably the result of assarting from Eynsham along the parish boundary; the abbey held no estate in Hanborough.⁶¹

⁴⁰ C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcript, iii, pp. 197, 199, 201-3, 209, 217, 219-21, 229-30.

⁴¹ Ibid. f. 83; *Cal. Pat.* 1354-8, 191; P.R.O., C 143/313, no. 5.

⁴² *Cal. Pat.* 1385-9, 56; C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcript, iii, p. 123.

⁴³ C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcript, iii, pp. 139-43, 155-7, 159-185.

⁴⁴ Ibid. pp. 251-69, 279-95, 335-63.

⁴⁵ *Cal. Chart R.* 1226-57, 137.

⁴⁶ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 589; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 871.

⁴⁷ C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcript, iii, p. 5; *Cal. Pat.* 1358-61, 101.

⁴⁸ *Snappe's Formulary* (O.H.S. lxxx), 230-1.

⁴⁹ P.R.O., E 179/161/198; *ibid.* REQ 2/12/183.

⁵⁰ Blenheim Mun., box 80.

⁵¹ P.R.O., C 3/194/86; *ibid.* REQ 2/84/31.

⁵² Exeter Coll. Mun., C. IV. 21, f. 54; M. II. 6.

⁵³ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 107.

⁵⁴ Ibid. pp. 109-10; P.R.O., E 318/7/256; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xx (2), p. 219; xxi (1), p. 150.

⁵⁵ P.R.O., C 142/112, no. 136; C 142/291, no. 115.

⁵⁶ Bodl. MS. Dep. d. 71, f. 267.

⁵⁷ Blenheim Mun., boxes 77, 84.

⁵⁸ P.R.O., E 318/39/2105; E 321/20/13; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, p. 422; xx (1), p. 179; *Cal. Pat.* 1553, 245.

⁵⁹ P.R.O., E 321/20/13; E 321/33/17; O.R.O., Rob. III/i/1; Emden, *O.U. Reg.* 1501-40, 281.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., LR 2/224, f. 127; Blenheim Mun., B/M/208, ff. 9v., 101v., 375.

⁶¹ B.L. Harl. Rolls E. 32, F. 19; below, Econ.

ECONOMIC HISTORY. There seem to have been three main fields in the Middle Ages, named in 1302 as the South, North, and East or Mill fields.⁶² Farindon field, recorded in the late 13th century and again in 1362, was probably, like the later Fur or Further field, the South field.⁶³ Great Bondon field, recorded in 1312,⁶⁴ cannot be identified and may not have been in Hanborough. In 1605–6 the three fields were South or Fur field (314 a.) south of Church Hanborough village, Mill field (295 a.) between Pinsley wood and the Evenlode, and Middle or Church field (288 a.) between Church Hanborough and Long Hanborough. There was a fourth, smaller field, the Hide (89 a.), north of the Witney road, which was sometimes divided into Bushy Hide and Corn Hide; it was composed mainly of former demesne or bury land. A few acres, mainly free land, were not assigned to any field.⁶⁵ The boundary between Mill field and Further or South field was moved south in the earlier 18th century, one or two furlongs being transferred from Further field to Mill field. By 1761 there was another small field, Hencroft field, called Winmore or Fallow field in 1772, immediately south of the Witney road, taken from Church field and Mill field.⁶⁶

From an early date the arable was extended by assarting. The earliest assarts were probably absorbed into the open fields, but a total of c. 11 a. of encroachment or assart land was reported in 1274. Individual assarts were small, varying from 5 ft. to 1 rod, although there were eight of $\frac{1}{2}$ a. or more. In 1279 there were c. 28 a., 11 cottages and 3 messuages on old assart land, individual holdings varying from 'a corner' to 6 a. Although they were often held by the same tenants, the assarts of 1279 were different from those of 1274.⁶⁷ Those assarts which can be identified were on the eastern and western boundaries of the parish, the eastern ones presumably having been recovered from marsh or scrub along the Evenlode rather than from the wood. Other land which seems to have been assart, including the two furlongs and 6 a. in the Breach which William of St. Owen gave to Oseney abbey between 1267 and 1284,⁶⁸ was not described among the assarts in either 1274 or 1279. In 1689 a close called the Breach was cultivated on the same rotation as the adjoining Church field, and both the Breaches and the nearby Blowens or Blowings closes were valued and redistributed with the open field land at inclosure in 1773.⁶⁹ In the late 14th century nine tenants of Eynsham abbey held 3 paddocks in Hanborough besides land in the Breach, all of

which was probably assart land.⁷⁰ More land was cleared from Pinsley wood in the centre of the parish during the later Middle Ages; in 1605–6 there was an area of 16 a. called the Assart or Sarts between the wood and Church Hanborough village, and the shape of the wood suggests similar clearing on the east.⁷¹

In 1086 there was woodland 7 furlongs by 6 furlongs in Hanborough.⁷² Then, as later, the demesne wood probably lay along the northern boundary of the parish, with one wood, the later Pinsley wood, in the centre. Pinsley (Pin's wood) was first recorded in 1237 when it was in the charge of the keeper of the king's houses at Woodstock, presumably as a source of timber for building.⁷³ In 1256 it was in the charge of the keepers of Hanborough manor, but had its own warden in 1405.⁷⁴ Timber from Pinsley was sold in 1690, and the wood was still being coppiced c. 1704.⁷⁵ Its area was estimated to be 88 a. in 1609–10 and 81 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. c. 1704, but in 1761 and 1765 it was said to contain 115 a. and 112 a., perhaps because it had been extended slightly to the north.⁷⁶

In 1245 William of St. Owen, keeper of Hanborough manor, was ordered to supply two oaks for building from Hanborough grove.⁷⁷ The grove may have been the same as the Hanborough wood, of 20 a., which Queen Eleanor wanted to impark in the late 13th century, and as the later Mill wood near the north-west corner of the parish, which contained 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. in 1609–10, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. c. 1704, and 23 a. in 1765.⁷⁸ The tenants of the manor had rights of common in Hanborough wood in the 13th century.⁷⁹ Abel wood, in the extreme north-west corner of the parish, north of the heath, was also called Mill wood in 1609–10, when it contained 18 a.; c. 1704 it was Woll or Avoll coppice (16 a.), and in 1765 Abel wood (19 $\frac{1}{2}$ a.).⁸⁰

West of Church Hanborough in the Middle Ages was Mosele or Mousley wood, part of Downhall manor, first recorded in 1280 when Adam of Downhall was engaged in a dispute with the abbot of Eynsham over rights there and in the abbot's adjoining wood, le Frith in Eynsham parish.⁸¹ The wood was still there in 1412, although it may by then have begun to be cleared. By 1605 it had been converted to pasture.⁸²

Hanborough was well supplied with meadow along the Evenlode in the north and east and its tributary brook in the south and west; 100 a. were recorded in 1086.⁸³ In the 1240s the bailiffs accounted for the sale of hay from Bitterhale and

⁶² C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcript, iii, p. 5.

⁶³ Ibid. pp. 3, 87; P.R.O., LR 2/224, p. 128.

⁶⁴ C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcript, iii, p. 9.

⁶⁵ P.R.O., LR 2/202, ff. 36v.–38v.; LR 2/224, ff. 112–45; C.C.C. Mun., Langdon maps, I, nos. 6–8.

⁶⁶ Blenheim Mun., map of 1761; ibid. box 84: quality bks.; C.C.C. Mun., AL 1/4, 9.

⁶⁷ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 35, 47, 871.

⁶⁸ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 111.

⁶⁹ C.C.C. Mun., AL 1/3; O.R.O., incl. award; Blenheim Mun., box 84: quality bks.

⁷⁰ B.L. Harl. Rolls E. 32, F. 19.

⁷¹ C.C.C. Mun., Langdon maps, I, no. 6; Blenheim Mun., map of 1761.

⁷² *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 419–20.

⁷³ *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii, 269; *Close R.* 1237–42, 2.

⁷⁴ *Close R.* 1254–6, 322; 1256–9, 281; *Cal. Signet Letters Hen. IV and Hen. V*, p. 79.

⁷⁵ O.R.O., Jo. I/iii/7; Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 256.

⁷⁶ Blenheim Mun., 1761 map; ibid. E/P/13; C.C.C. Mun., Langdon maps, I, no. 8; Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 265.

⁷⁷ *Close R.* 1242–7, 312.

⁷⁸ P.R.O., C 143/3, no. 7; ibid. LR 2/202, f. 37; Blenheim Mun. E/P/13; Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 265.

⁷⁹ P.R.O., C 143/3, no. 7.

⁸⁰ Ibid. LR 2/202, f. 36v.; Blenheim Mun. E/P/13; Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 265.

⁸¹ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 279, 298–9.

⁸² C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcript, iii, pp. 126–8; ibid. Langdon maps, I, no. 7; P.R.O., LR 2/202, f. 37v.

⁸³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 419–20.

Bureham meadows, the former perhaps the later Bitter Knowl in the south-east corner of the parish.⁸⁴ Bureham may have been further north, near Burleigh wood in Cassington parish. Oseney abbey's hide of land included meadow at Bladon bridge, and in the later 13th century the younger William of St. Owen gave the abbey further meadow at Cowmead.⁸⁵

In 1609–10 there was a total of 233 a. of meadow in Hanborough, most of it lot meadow.⁸⁶ The lots were presumably those recorded in 1761: the broad arrowhead, the square, the cross, Downhalls, the sawbox, the ladle, White's, the hale hide, bucksfoot, the headless cross, the pit, and the spokeshave. Fenlake, Nye mead, and South mead were drawn with the first nine lots, and Cheyney weir with the last seven; Bridge mead was not lot meadow. The rectory had the cross for the 4 yardlands of glebe in the draw for each furlong in which it had meadow, which suggests that each lot had originally represented the meadow for a ploughland of arable. Other landowners held fractions of lots, presumably representing yardlands; most held different lots in different furlongs and meadows. Thomas Bouchier, for example, had in Fenlake mead $\frac{1}{2}$ of the sawbox in the draw for the first furlong, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the hale hide in the second, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the broad arrowhead in the third. In South mead he had $\frac{1}{2}$ of the broad arrowhead in the first furlong, $\frac{1}{2}$ of Downhalls in the second and third furlongs, and the sawbox in the third, while in Cheyney weir he had the spokeshave in the first furlong, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the pit in the second, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the hale hide in the third, and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the headless cross in the fourth. The duke of Marlborough, who held only the former Oseney abbey estate in 1761, had no right in any lot, which may suggest that the lots dated to a period, perhaps in the 12th century, before Oseney abbey's hide (originally attached to Stanton Harcourt) had been absorbed into Hanborough.⁸⁷

No pasture was recorded in 1086, but the tenants had a common pasture in the mid 13th century when the abbot of Oseney was accused of overloading it.⁸⁸ That pasture was presumably the heath, in the north-west corner of the parish, which contained 194 a. in 1609–10. Many of the assarts along the western edge of the parish were pasture by the 17th century, and by 1573 leasnes or leys had been created. In 1606 they were in Bushy Hide north of the Witney road and in Allands in Mill field near the Evenlode.⁸⁹ The leys seem to have been extended during the 17th century to include land at Hurdswell near the Witney road in Church field, and near Bitter Knowl meadow in the South field.⁹⁰ In 1772 one furlong in Further field, six in Mill field, and one in Winmore or Hencroft field were 'sainfoin land'.⁹¹ Han-

borough men claimed common rights in High wood and Tilgarsley in Eynsham during the Middle Ages and still in the early 18th century, when the rights were probably no longer exercised.⁹²

In 1086 Hanborough was said to contain land for 12 ploughteams, all of which were actually in use, 2 on the demesne operated by 5 *servi*, and 10 on the tenants' land held by 20 *villani* and 6 bordars.⁹³ The demesne was still 2 ploughlands in 1279. The tenants' land had increased to a total of 3 hides and 31 yardlands, or 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ ploughlands, excluding the ploughland of glebe, but that increase was almost entirely due to the incorporation into Hanborough of Oseney abbey's hide which had been assessed in Stanton Harcourt in 1086.⁹⁴ Twenty-four yardlands were held by customary tenants, most of whom held only $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland each. There were 6 cottagers, and a further 6 tenants held a total of 4 yardlands, 2 cottages, and the mill in socage. A total of 53 people held small quantities of old assart land. The abbot of Oseney (1 hide), Adam of Downhall (2 hides and $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland), and William of St. Owen (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland) held their land freely, as, probably, did Adam the tailor, who held 1 yardland, formerly Hugh Brown's, which had escheated to the queen.⁹⁵ No tenants were recorded on Adam's or William's land, although Adam certainly had several, but 3 yardlands of the abbot's hide were held by 2 tenants.⁹⁶

The Hanborough villeins, like those of many of the other demesne towns, performed heavy labour services for a yardland in 1279, ploughing 3 selions at each of the winter, spring, and fallow ploughings, harrowing once at each of the two sowings, mowing for 2 days with one man, making hay with one man for 2 days and carrying 4 cart-loads of hay, and reaping with 2 men for 3 days and carrying 4 cart-loads of corn, besides paying 5s. rent. The yardlander could also be worked at will every day of the year except Saturdays and festivals. For his mowing he received one bundle of grass a day, and for his reaping 2 sheaves a day, with an extra sheaf if he bound or stacked the corn. The cottagers performed 3 boon-works with 1 man for 3 days and helped with the haymaking; they also guarded prisoners taken in the vill. All the socage tenants except the miller performed services similar to those due from the customary tenants. The abbot of Oseney's tenants performed mowing services. All the unfree tenants paid pannage for their pigs. Most of the assart land was held for a small money rent, but 4 tenants also performed reaping services.⁹⁷

In the later 13th century rents were remitted to the reeve, woodward, hayward, 2–4 ploughmen, and a smith, for their work, which in the 1240s was performed by paid servants. The

⁸⁴ C.C.C. Mun., Langdon maps, I, no. 8.

⁸⁵ *Close R.* 1231–4, 64; *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 111.

⁸⁶ P.R.O., LR 2/202, ff. 36v.–38v.; Blenheim Mun., B/M/208, ff. 115–16.

⁸⁷ Blenheim Mun., map of 1761; for the duke of Marlborough's holding, above, Manors.

⁸⁸ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 110.

⁸⁹ P.R.O., LR 2/202, ff. 36v.–38; LR 2/224, ff. 119, 131–43; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 185, f. 160.

⁹⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 40, f. 150.

⁹¹ Blenheim Mun., box 84; quality bks.

⁹² Above, Eynsham, Econ.; below, Local Govt.

⁹³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 419–20.

⁹⁴ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 871.

⁹⁵ Cf. *Cal. Inq. Misc.* i, p. 441.

⁹⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 871; C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcript, iii, pp. 5, 21.

⁹⁷ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 871.

rents of several other tenants were reduced because they had worked every day except Saturday. In the 1280s the reeve received small sums from some of the tenants in socage for commutation of part of their labour services.⁹⁸ There is no later record of the demesne, but a croft on the Downhall manor owed 2 days' haymaking and 3 days' reaping a year in 1318.⁹⁹

The chief crops on the demesne in the 13th century were oats, wheat, and barley; in most years similar acreages of wheat and oats were sown, assuming that oats were sown twice as thickly as wheat, but only a quarter or a third as much land was sown with barley. Small quantities of peas were sown in most years, and of beans in the 1280s.¹ The autumn, spring, and fallow ploughing services owed in 1279² imply a three-course rotation.

A cow-house was built in 1227,³ but no cows were recorded later, and in the 1240s and 1260s demesne cultivation seems to have been exclusively arable. In the 1280s a shepherd was employed even though no sheep were recorded among the manorial stock.⁴ Oseney abbey made a sheepfold about the 1220s,⁵ and other landholders probably also kept sheep, but pigs were the most important livestock for many tenants. Rights of pasture in the abbey woods were the cause of disputes between Hanborough men and Eynsham abbey in the later 12th century and again *c.* 1230. The settlement reached provided that Hanborough tenants might keep their pigs in High wood in Eynsham in return for doing two boon works for the abbey and paying a hen at Christmas and 10 eggs at Easter.⁶ The clearance of the woodland may have reduced the numbers of pigs, and in 1370 and 1371 Hanborough's dispute with Eynsham was over rights of common for cattle in Tilgarsley.⁷

Just over 40 people were assessed for subsidy in 1306, most of them at sums of between 1s. and 2s.⁸ The highest assessment was 12s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. on William of Estdun, a man otherwise unknown in the parish, who may have been the royal clerk of that name.⁹ Richard of St. Owen and two others were assessed at 5s., William Akerman, probably the descendant of the tenant of an assart in 1279, at 4s. 7d., and Adam Downhall at 4s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. As many as 71 people were assessed in 1327, at sums ranging from 9s. to 6d. Hugh the tailor, perhaps the descendant of Adam the tailor who had held a yardland, probably free, in 1279, had the highest assessment, John de Champagne, tenant of the Downhall manor, was assessed at 7s., and two men, possibly descendants of villein tenants of 1279, were assessed at 5s.¹⁰ Hanborough's assessment for later medieval subsidies, £7 11s., was the highest of the demesne towns.¹¹

Before 1606, and probably in the later Middle Ages, the demesne was reduced by about half, and largely concentrated in the Hide, north of the Witney–Bicester road. The amount of seed sown in the 13th century suggests that the demesne then contained *c.* 300 a., but in 1606 it was only 148 a., of which 96 a. were in the Hide, the remainder scattered in the other open fields. Sixteenth-century tradition ascribed the change to a general reorganization of the demesne towns following an extension of Woodstock Park,¹² but it is hard to see how such an extension could have affected Hanborough. The separation of the demesne from the customary land was not complete; in addition to the *c.* 50 a. of demesne land in the three main fields, there were *c.* 7 a. of customary land in the Hide in 1606.¹³

A total of 42 people were assessed for subsidy in 1524, and 43 in 1525; 20 of them were assessed on wages in 1524, only 15 in 1525.¹⁴ Other assessments, all on goods, ranged from 1s. to 6s. 8d., all but two men having assessments of between 1s. and 2s. 6d. The highest assessment in 1524 was that of Richard Smith, who probably held Snarestone's 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ freehold yardlands; by 1525 he had died and his widow Margaret was assessed at 4s. only. John Collins who was assessed at 6s. in both years may have been the tenant of one of the other freeholds. The evenness of the other assessments suggests that in the early 16th century, as later, most customary tenants held 1 yardland or $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland.

In 1606 a total of 39 tenants, among them several gentry from neighbouring parishes, including Sir Martin Culpeper of Dean in Spelsbury and John Gregory of Hordley in Wootton, held 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ customary yardlands, the largest single holdings being of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland. The yardlands varied in size from 28 a. to 19 a., the half-yardlands from 5 a. to 15 a.; in addition to the customary land each tenant held from 2 a. to 18 a. of bury land, the former demesne, roughly in proportion to the amount of his customary land. Fifty-six tenants, some of whom also held customary land, held small amounts of free land, at least part of it former assart land.¹⁵ Although a few people built up holdings of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 yardlands, most such holdings were dispersed at death as provision was made for younger sons. The Butcher (later Bouchier) family, however, in the course of the 17th century built up an estate of 10 yardlands, including a lease of a moiety of Downhalls (4 yardlands) from Corpus Christi College, and several free cottages and closes. John Butcher (d. 1600) held a house called London's and land belonging to it, presumably the $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland held by his son Richard Bouchier in 1606.¹⁶ Richard, who became headmaster of Thame grammar school,¹⁷ acquired

⁹⁸ P.R.O., SC 6/958/22-4; SC 6/962/4,6.

⁹⁹ C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcript, iii, p. 21.

¹ P.R.O., SC 6/962/4, 6.

² *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 871.

³ *Cal. Lib.* 1226-40, 34.

⁴ P.R.O., SC 6/958/22-4. ⁵ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 110.

⁶ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 104-7.

⁷ *Ibid.* i, pp. 241-2; *Cal. Close*, 1369-74, 232.

⁸ P.R.O., E 179/161/10. The first few names on the Hanborough list are missing.

⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7, 196, 212, 259, 464.

¹⁰ P.R.O., E 179/161/9.

¹¹ *Subsidy 1334*, ed. R. E. Glasscock, 244.

¹² B.L. Lansd. MSS. 27, ff. 94v.-95; 25, f. 189v.

¹³ P.R.O., LR 2/224, ff. 112-45.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* E 179/161/175, 198.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* LR 2/224, ff. 96-145.

¹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 3/4/64.

¹⁷ Blenheim Mun., B/M/208, f. 131v.; *V.C.H. Oxon.* viii, 209.

another $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland before his death in 1627, and his brother and heir Thomas acquired a further 3 yardlands. Thomas's son James (d. 1641) sold $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland and left 1 yardland to his younger son Richard. James's elder son Thomas Bouchier, principal of St. Alban Hall in Oxford, bought another $1\frac{1}{2}$ yardlands of customary land as well as the mill and its $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland between 1661 and 1696. He was accused of 'minding the settling of a family and adding land to land to his seat at Hanborough' to the detriment of his academic hall.¹⁸ Thomas's son James bought $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland in 1704, and inherited Richard Bouchier's 1 yardland after 1715. Thereafter the family made no additions to the estate, which was sold to the duke of Marlborough in 1764.¹⁹

Late 16th- and 17th-century wills suggest the mixed farming usual in the area, most farmers owning some sheep and cattle besides equipment for arable farming.²⁰ The main crops were wheat and barley, but oats, maslin, peas, and beans were also grown. Two 16th-century farmers made bequests of rye, and one man in 1685 left some rye in the field. Lentils or chick peas were recorded in 1563, dills in 1684 and 1686, and hops in 1635. Arrangements for annuities in 1577 and 1600 included 3 bu. and 4 bu. of apples.²¹ The proportions of the different crops suggest that the four-course rotation of (1) wheat (2) peas, beans, or oats (3) barley (4) fallow, recorded in 1771, was already being followed.²² In January 1636 a yeoman left $3\frac{1}{4}$ a. sown with wheat, presumably the 3 a. and 1 butt of arable which he held in Mill field;²³ Mill field can thus be assumed to have been the winter wheat field that year, but there is no other evidence of the organization of the fields for cropping.

The existence of extra pasture on the heath seems to have encouraged the keeping of cattle by smallholders and craftsmen. A carpenter left a cow and 4 sheep in 1592, a wheelwright 3 milk beasts in 1610, a weaver 2 milking cows and 2 calves in 1627, and another weaver 8 cows in 1712.²⁴ A butcher, who may have been using the heath in his trade, had 13 cows, 6 sheep, and a lamb there in 1691.²⁵ Richard Mansell, who had a sub-lease of a moiety of Downhall's farm, left 16 beasts and 3 calves and 2 ewes and 2 lambs in his grounds in 1663; no crops were valued with his possessions, although Downhall's included open field land. James Bouchier in 1641 left 6 milking cows, 6 heifers, and 4 calves; he too appears to have had no crops and was presumably letting his arable land to tenants.²⁶

The largest herds and flocks, however, be-

longed to the mixed farmers. John Salter, who held $2\frac{1}{2}$ yardlands, left 16 cattle, 130 sheep, 6 hogs, and 3 pigs worth £88 and corn worth £61 at his death in 1639. His widow Alice the following year left 5 cows, 6 calves, 7 pigs, and 70 sheep worth £37, about the same value as her corn.²⁷ Richard Hitchcock, who held c. 1 yardland, in 1668 left 4 cows, 2 heifers, 50 sheep, and 30 lambs worth £37 and wheat, barley, and pulse worth £45, and Joseph Haines, who held a similar amount of land, in 1697 left 77 sheep, 28 lambs, 11 cows, 4 heifers, and a bull, worth £68, compared with corn worth £227, some of which may have been grown on his land at Kidlington and at Worton in Cassington.²⁸ Richard Langford, husbandman, in 1695 left 12 cows and calves worth £24, a flock of sheep worth £25, and corn worth £44.²⁹ John Salter, who held 1 yardland, left 10 cows and a bull, a flock of sheep, and 7 pigs, worth c. £70 in all, besides $31\frac{1}{2}$ qr. of wheat, 16 qr. of barley, 14 qr. of beans, and 6 qr. of maslin in 1742.³⁰ Bees were recorded in 1577 and 1668, but in the 19th century they were apparently seldom kept in the neighbourhood.³¹

Although men were presented at the manor court in the 17th century for overloading the common, there is no evidence for the stint until 1735 when a cottage had common for 2 cows and 3 sheep.³² That was the same as the cottage stint recorded in 1761, when the stint for a yardland was 4 horses, 4 cows, and 20 sheep for each yardland that included bury land, but only 3 horses, 3 cows, and 20 sheep for yardlands without bury land.³³ In 1763 tenants had the right to stock the heath with all sorts of cattle without stint.³⁴

The dukes of Marlborough acquired the woodland in the parish with the manor in 1705, and in 1731 they bought the former Oseney abbey estate of 4 yardlands freehold.³⁵ They seem to have made no further effort to extend the land in their own possession until 1764 when they bought the Bouchier estate and another 3 yardlands from Simon Adams.³⁶ In 1771 the duke claimed to hold 18 of the 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ yardlands in the parish (including, presumably, 4 yardlands of Downhalls on lease from Corpus Christi College), and the following year he bought the $2\frac{1}{2}$ yardlands freehold which had belonged to the Snarestones.³⁷

By 1609–10 there were c. 255 a. of inclosed land in and around the village of Long Hanborough, c. 100 a. along the western boundary of the parish, and c. 118 a. in and around Church Hanborough,³⁸ all of it probably dating

¹⁸ A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. P. Bliss, iv. 498.

¹⁹ Blenheim Mun., B/M/208–215, *passim*; *ibid.* box 79.

²⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon., indexed in D. M. Barratt, *Oxon. Probate Rec. 1516–1732*.

²¹ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 181, f. 123 and v.; 182, f. 113; 184, f. 106v.; 185, f. 493; *ibid.* 3/4/66; 7/4/11; 9/1/5; 13/1/4; 34/3/3; 62/2/14.

²² Blenheim Mun., box 84.

²³ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 127/1/9; P.R.O., LR 2/224, f. 122.

²⁴ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 17/1/56; 21/4/81; 60/1/34; 169/4/41.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 171/5/24.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 8/4/7; 115/3/39; C.C.C. Mun., lease bk. xi, f. 61.

²⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 60/4/35; 61/1/3.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 133/1/18; 298/2/41.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 139/5/7.

³⁰ Woodstock Boro. Mun., 47/1/24; Blenheim Mun., B/M/216, f. 454.

³¹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 185, f. 493 and v.; *ibid.* 156/2/17; 'Oxon. Village Folklore (1840–1900)', *Folklore*, xxiv. 84.

³² Blenheim Mun., B/M/216, f. 186.

³³ *Ibid.* map of 1761.

³⁴ *Ibid.* box 84.

³⁵ Above, Manors.

³⁶ Blenheim Mun., boxes 79, 80.

³⁷ *Ibid.* boxes 80, 84.

³⁸ P.R.O., LR 2/202, ff. 36v.–38v.

from the earlier Middle Ages. There was no further inclosure until 1773, when, in spite of the opposition of many of the cottagers,³⁹ the parish was inclosed by Act of parliament. The Act dealt with a total of 1,704 a., including Pinsley, Mill, and Abel woods, parts of the Breach and Blowens closes, and at least some meadows. The rector received 309 a. for tithe and 93 a. for glebe, the poor 10 a. The remaining land was divided among 60 landholders. The largest allotment, 556 a., was made to the duke of Marlborough for 17½ yardlands, some odd lands, the woods, and manorial rights. Corpus Christi College was allotted 147 a. for 10 yardlands, Thomas Haynes 77 a. for 3½ yardlands, Edward Clarke 64 a. for 2½ yardlands, and John Prior 61 a. for 2 yardlands. Six people received between 20 a. and 36 a. for a yardland, and nine people between 9 a. and 15 a. for ½ yardland; most of the remaining allotments were of 1 a. or less for cottage commons.⁴⁰

Inclosure enabled the duke's tenant to plough the heath, which was made into four fields cultivated on a three-course rotation, but otherwise there seems to have been little change in the arrangement of farms after inclosure. In the early 19th century the Blenheim estate 'floated' two meadows on the Evenlode in the north-east corner of the parish, which seem to have been old inclosures. Little is known of farming methods, but the mill farm was cultivated on a four-course rotation, a tenancy agreement of 1774 laying down that two-fifths of the arable was to be fallow or under turnips each year.⁴¹ An inclosed ground was planted with sainfoin in 1780, and in 1782 a farmer's effects included clover seeds.⁴² In 1801 there were said to be 828 a. of arable to 854 a. of permanent grass and 180 a. of wood in the parish.⁴³

There were no major changes in landownership in the years immediately after inclosure, but in the 19th century the dukes of Marlborough continued to build up their estate, acquiring in 1829 the 77 a. allotted to Thomas Haynes, in 1844 the 27 a. allotted to Thomas Gregory, and in 1856 the 64 a. allotted to Edward Clarke. In 1863 the duke bought 61 a. which had belonged to Sophia Brown.⁴⁴ In the mid 19th century the parish was usually farmed in 6 large farms of 100 a. or more, and as many as 10 smaller ones. Apart from the glebe, or Rectory farm, the farms varied in size as tenant farmers gave up or acquired land. John Bullock, for instance, farmed 300 a. in 1851 and 229 a. in 1861; in 1871 Frederick Bullock had 284 a. The farm later known as Manor farm, leased to members of the Parker family, was 160 a. in

1851, 162 a. in 1861, 281 a. in 1871, and 325 a. in 1881. Most of the small farms, some of which had been less than 10 a., had disappeared by 1881.⁴⁵

In 1867 cultivation was said to be chiefly arable, and a lease of the glebe farm in 1870 required the tenant to follow a five-field system, having $\frac{1}{5}$ of the land under wheat, $\frac{1}{5}$ of it fallow, $\frac{1}{5}$ of it under beans, clover, or pulse, and $\frac{2}{5}$ of it under barley or oats.⁴⁶ The duke of Marlborough's land in 1863 comprised 175 a. of wood, 364 a. of pasture, and 731 a. of arable, and in 1873 one of the farms belonging to Corpus Christi College had 109 a. of arable (including 7 a. of former woodland) to 73 a. of pasture.⁴⁷ There seems to have been some move back to pasture farming before 1914 when only 51 per cent of the land was arable; both cattle and sheep were kept, and the number of pigs, although smaller than that of cattle or sheep, was above average for the county. The chief crops were barley (21 per cent of the arable) and wheat (20 per cent), with 12 per cent of the arable under oats.⁴⁸ In 1920 the outlying parts of the Blenheim estate offered for sale were mainly pasture, 236 a. of pasture to 152 a. of arable,⁴⁹ but those proportions probably did not reflect the cultivation of the parish as a whole, which in 1986 was mainly arable, the chief crops being wheat and barley; cattle and some sheep were also kept.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY. Stone was being quarried in Hanborough in 1260, and there is a tradition that Hanborough church was built of stone from a quarry in the south part of Pinsley wood.⁵⁰ In 1605 there were quarries north-east of the wood in Stonepits furlong, and that or another nearby quarry, in Hencroft, was being worked in 1720 and 1729 and probably also in 1674 when it was described as in the adjoining Sowcroft.⁵¹ Hanborough stone was used in Woodstock in 1619, and stone was sold, illicitly, from the heath in 1637.⁵² Masons were recorded in the parish from 1567, and a stone-cutter in 1739.⁵³ The Hencroft quarry had been worked out by 1763 when its site was under the plough, but there may have been another one nearby by 1772.⁵⁴ Two men were killed by a landslide in a Hanborough quarry in 1811, and in the 1830s as many as 10 masons were recorded in the parish.⁵⁵ In 1841 there were 11 masons and 1 apprentice, and in 1851 a total of 28 masons; numbers fell slightly to 18 masons, 5 labourers, and 1 stone quarrier in 1861, and to 14 masons, 1 labourer, and the quarry master by 1881.⁵⁶ One quarry was on the eastern boundary of the parish, at Goosey; others, owned by the Lay

³⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 84; C.C.C. Mun., AL 1/11.

⁴⁰ O.R.O., incl. award.

⁴¹ Blenheim Mun., box 84; *ibid.* plans in wooden chest in estate office.

⁴² *Oxf. Jnl.* 26 Feb. 1780; 9 Mar. 1782.

⁴³ P.R.O., HO 67 18.

⁴⁴ Blenheim Mun., boxes 80-3; O.R.O., land tax assess.

⁴⁵ P.R.O., HO 107/890, 1731; RG 9/904; RG 10/1450; RG 11 1513.

⁴⁶ O.R.O., Rob. III/iii/3; *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202-I], p. 348, H.C. (1868-9), xiii.

⁴⁷ Blenheim Mun., E/P/58; C.C.C. Mun., AL 2/2.

⁴⁸ Orr, *Oxon. Agric.* statistical plates.

⁴⁹ *Auction Cat.*: copy in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b 92* (3).

⁵⁰ *Close R.* 1259-61, 50; R. C. S. Bailey, *Hanborough*, 4-5; County Mus., P.R.N. 4902.

⁵¹ C.C.C. Mun., Langdon maps, I, no. 6; Blenheim Mun., B/M/ 210, ff. 68v., 90; 213, f. 171; 216, f. 42.

⁵² Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 77; Blenheim Mun., B/M/208, f. 229.

⁵³ O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. i, f. 283; *ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 185, f. 214; *ibid.* 145/2/40; Blenheim Mun., B/M/208, ff. 85v., 311; P.R.O., REQ 2/84/31; *ibid.* ASSI 5/116.

⁵⁴ Blenheim Mun., map of 1761; *ibid.* box 84; quality bks.

⁵⁵ *Oxf. Jnl.* 12 Oct. 1811; par. reg. transcript, baptisms, 1813-40.

⁵⁶ P.R.O., HO 107/890, 1731; RG 9/904; RG 11/1513.

family until 1935, were further north, between Long Hanborough and the Evenlode. Stone from them was used for the Oxford University Press building in Walton Street, Oxford, between 1826 and 1830, and for Eynsham Hall in 1904. By 1935 H. A. Tolley had opened a new quarry near the station, which was acquired by Benfield & Loxley in 1939, and which supplied much stone for Oxford buildings in the mid 20th century.⁵⁷ The quarry was worked out by 1986.

Hanborough was known as a source of good lime in the later 17th century, and in 1706 Henry Wise, described at his death as a lime burner, agreed to supply 500,000 bricks for the walls of the kitchen garden at Blenheim.⁵⁸ There were brick and lime kilns on Hanborough heath in 1783, but no further brick-making was recorded until 1851 when there were four brick-makers in the parish, one of them a publican and brickmaker at Shepherd's Hall where there was certainly a brickworks by 1861. There may have been another works north of the main road, just west of Long Hanborough. In 1861 there were 5 brickmakers, 3 tilemakers, and 1 brick and tile manufacturer in the parish, and in 1881 the brickworks employed 10 men, only 4 of whom seem to have lived in Hanborough.⁵⁹ From c. 1852 to c. 1899 the works were owned by members of the Breakspear family; before 1907 they were taken over by Wastie Bros., but seem to have closed by 1911.⁶⁰

Occasional references to clothworkers suggest that Hanborough may have had a clothing industry, or housed outworkers from Witney. The surnames le Webbe (weaver) and le Fuller occur in 1327 and 1355.⁶¹ Weavers died in 1546, 1627, and 1711, clothiers in 1675, 1686, and 1722, and a blanket-weaver in 1719.⁶² Hanborough weavers sued for debt in the Witney court in 1579 and 1589, and in 1601 William Valence son of William Valence of Hanborough, broadweaver, was apprenticed to a Witney broadweaver. A clothier lived in the parish in 1650.⁶³ The last known clothworker was a fuller and dyer who died in 1725.⁶⁴

Other occupations recorded in Hanborough in the 16th and 17th centuries and the early 18th included blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, maltsters, a baker, a butcher, a shoemaker, and a cordwainer. Coopers died in 1587 and 1666, and a tinplate worker in 1703; a flax dresser was recorded in 1709.⁶⁵ In 1558 a Hanborough glover rented a shop in Woodstock, other

glovers died in the parish in 1563 and 1593, and one was recorded in 1627.⁶⁶

Most of the population in the early 19th century were labourers; a sawyer recorded in 1795 and 3 others in 1861 and 1871 presumably worked on the Blenheim estate. A glove-cutter recorded in 1830, and a glover and a watchmaker in 1838 were the only men, apart from the masons, who were not directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture.⁶⁷ By 1841 at least 92 women, the wives or daughters of agricultural labourers, were working as glovers, and their number rose to 193 in 1851, falling slightly thereafter, with the total population, to 159 in 1871 and 126 in 1881. In 1847 the inhabitants of Long Hanborough were said to be principally dependent on the Woodstock glove trade, and in 1867 all the women in the parish were reported to be employed in glove-making.⁶⁸ In the mid 19th century just under half the working men in the parish were agricultural labourers or small farmers, the quarry, brickworks, and railway providing alternative employment. Most of the 64 railway labourers in Hanborough in 1851 were presumably temporary residents, but there were 24 railway employees in 1861 and 23 in 1881, including the station master, an inspector, and 2 porters. In the 1840s and 1850s there seem to have been an unusually large number of both blacksmiths and shoemakers in the parish: 8 blacksmiths in 1841 and 9 in 1851; 12 shoemakers in 1841 and 13 in 1851. There was a coal merchant from 1861, but the coal wharf at which 1 labourer worked was presumably in Eynsham or Cassington. The Blenheim estate probably employed the 4 gardeners, 3 gamekeepers and a lodge gatekeeper recorded in 1871 and the 6 garden labourers and 2 gamekeepers recorded in 1881. The number of domestic servants rose from 4 in 1841 to 21, not all of them employed in the parish, in 1881. Among the more unusual occupations were a collar-maker in 1841, a flock-maker, who lived at Gooseye cottage, in 1851, and a book seller and a smock frock-maker in 1861.⁶⁹

There were few changes in the economic structure of the parish in the late 19th century or the early 20th. A cycle repairer had started business by 1907, and a branch of the Oxford Co-operative and Industrial Society was established in 1913. There was a newsagent from 1920, and two garages from 1924.⁷⁰ From 1941 onwards Corpus Christi College granted licences to dig gravel on the college land in

⁵⁷ C.C.C. Mun., AL 1/26; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1887 and later edns.); W. J. Arkell, *Oxf. Stone*, 89, 114.

⁵⁸ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 177/1/50; Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxon.* (1705), 79; *Oxon. Brickmakers* (Oxon. Mus. Publication, xiv), 14.

⁵⁹ County Mus., P.R.N. 9285; Blenheim Mun., box 84; P.R.O., HO 107/890, 1731; RG 9/904; RG 10/1450; RG 11/1513.

⁶⁰ *Gardner's Dir. Oxon.* (1852), 676–8; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1887 and later edns.).

⁶¹ P.R.O., E 179/161/9; *ibid.* C 143/313, no. 3.

⁶² O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 179, f. 200; *ibid.* 52/4/22; 60/1/34; 147/3/20; 169/4/41; P.R.O., PROB 11/356, f. 107v.; Blenheim Mun., B/M/312, f. 144.

⁶³ *Witney Ct. Bks.* (O.R.S. liv), 88, 122, 172–3; C.C.C. Mun., lease bk. ix, f. 29v.

⁶⁴ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 139/5/7.

⁶⁵ *Ibid. passim*, especially 37/1/15; 120/2/37; 63/1/16; *ibid.* Cal. Q. Sess. i, f. 155.

⁶⁶ Woodstock Boro. Mun. 3/4/6; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 184, f. 79; 10/5/55; 44/1/40.

⁶⁷ Par. reg. transcript, baptisms 1813–40; P.R.O., ASSI 5/116; *ibid.* RG 9/904; RG 10/1450.

⁶⁸ *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847); *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202–I], p. 331, H.C. (1868–9), xiii.

⁶⁹ P.R.O., HO 107/890, 1731; RG 9/904; RG 10/1450; RG 11/1513; above, Combe, Econ.

⁷⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1887 and later edns.); datestone on Co-op. bldg.

Church Hanborough, and from 1957 to 1961 the land was leased to Amey's Aggregates Ltd. for gravel extraction.⁷¹ Work had ceased by 1986.

Since c. 1960 some light industry has moved into the parish. J.H.B. (Equipment) Plant Hire started business c. 1964 on a site near the railway station; Oxford Scientific Films was established nearby in 1969, and Joslin (Contractors) Ltd. moved from Oxford to Southrah Quarry, Lower Road, in the early 1970s.⁷² In 1986 a business park was under construction in Main Road near the station.

MILLS. There was a mill worth 10s. on the manor in 1086, and in 1279 Richard son of Hugh the miller held the mill, apparently in socage, for a rent of 100s. a year.⁷³ Other millers or millwards were recorded in the late 13th century, in 1355, and in 1415.⁷⁴ In 1606 the mill was still part of the manor, leased to Edward Johnson in succession to his father George; Edward had acquired a new lease for three lives from Sir Henry Lee, the steward of Woodstock manor, in 1601.⁷⁵ Before 1615 the freehold of the mill was sold to Anne Vavasour, Sir Henry Lee's mistress, but Edward Johnson retained his lease which passed on his death in 1640 to his sons Richard and John (d. 1661).⁷⁶

The freehold of the mill was held by Thomas Hiorns in 1650 and was sold by his son and heir Edmund to Thomas Bouchier in 1675. It then descended with the Bouchier estate, being conveyed in 1746 by another Thomas Bouchier to Charles Harris of the Inner Temple, London, who granted it to his sister Elizabeth Bouchier and nephew Thomas Bouchier in 1750. It was sold to the duke of Marlborough with the rest of the Bouchier land in Hanborough in 1764.⁷⁷

The Bouchiers and then the dukes of Marlborough leased the mill to a succession of millers. There was only one pair of stones in 1640, but by 1740 it was a double mill, a wheat mill and a household mill; the tenant agreed to find a new French stone for the wheat mill.⁷⁸ The mill was held with $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland in 1606; in 1774 the miller also held the fishery and 117 a. of land. Throughout the 19th century the mill farm was one of the largest in the parish, being 141 a. in 1798, 160 a. in 1851, 133 a. in 1871, and 100 a. in 1881. The mill was leased in the early 19th century to Joseph Druce of Eynsham, and later to members of the Walker family.⁷⁹ A new foundation for the wheel was built in 1896, and by 1915 steam machinery had been installed. The mill seems to have ceased to work in the late 1920s; the wheel had been removed by 1967 although the wheel chamber remained.⁸⁰

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. In 1279 Queen Eleanor, widow of Henry III, who held the manor in dower, had view of frankpledge, return of writs, and the fine for beaupleader within the manor. She and her tenants did not owe suit to the hundred or county court, or to the sheriff's tourn, and did not have to go outside the manor for the coroner or any other officer. Prisoners taken within the manor seem to have been kept there for a short time, as the cottars owed a service of guarding them.⁸¹ Similar rights were enjoyed by later kings and those to whom they granted the manor, and courts were held until 1897.⁸² In the 15th century, and presumably earlier, some Hanborough men attended the abbot's court at Eynsham; they may have owed suit in return for rights of common in High wood in Eynsham, for which they owed labour services to the abbot, or for similar rights claimed in Tilgarsley.⁸³

In the 17th century some courts for Hanborough manor were held in the hall at Woodstock, presumably Woodstock palace, and others in tenants' houses in Hanborough.⁸⁴ By the 19th century the court leet or view of frankpledge was held at the George and Dragon, the court baron at the park gate at Woodstock.⁸⁵ Although the inhabitants of Hanborough held a messuage called the town house in 1606, it was let to a tenant and does not seem to have been used for meetings of any sort.⁸⁶

In the 17th century, and presumably earlier, the view regularly elected 2 constables, 3 tithingmen, and a hayward; occasionally 4 or 5 fieldsmen, a cowherd, and 2 alesters were also elected, and the appointment or resignation of a reeve was occasionally recorded. The 3 tithings were named in 1661 as Church Hanborough, Wood End, and Burleigh End. The court dealt with the usual manorial offences: overburdening the common or putting upon it uncommonable beasts such as donkeys; rescuing animals from the pound; obstructing the highway with dung or, on one occasion, a dead horse; taking furze or stone from the heath without permission; failing to scour watercourses; and taking lodgers or undertenants. In the 1630s the whole vill was amerced several times for not repairing the butts and once for not having a crow net. On two occasions men were presented for assault, once on the town hayward. Like the courts of the other demesne towns, the Hanborough court recorded conveyances of land, registered wills, and heard pleas of land in the forms used at common law. By the 19th century only one tithingman and one hayward were elected, and the only presentments were of encroachments

⁷¹ C.C.C. Mun., AL 6.1; *ibid.* lease bks. xliii, pp. 166–7, 211, 223–4, 241–3, 277–9, 293–5, 319; xlv, no. 66; xlvii, no. 31.

⁷² O.R.O., Hanborough PC I/3, p. 152; *Hanborough Herald*, Aug. 1983; copy in Westgate Libr.; P. S. Crowson, *Animals in Focus*, 55; *inf.* from Joslin (Contractors) Ltd.

⁷³ V.C.H. Oxon. i. 419–20; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 871.

⁷⁴ C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcript, iii, p. 3; P.R.O., C 143 313, no. 5; *Reg. Repington*, iii (L.R.S. lxxiv), p. 73 n.

⁷⁵ P.R.O., LR 2 224, f. 144.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* C 2 Jas. I 11 9; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 136/4/1.

⁷⁷ Blenheim Mun., box 79.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 136/4/1.

⁷⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 84; P.R.O., HO 107/890, 1731; RG 9/904; RG 10/1450; RG 11/1513; O.R.O., Welch LIII 1.

⁸⁰ Blenheim Mun., shelf A6, box 3, certificate 134; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1887 and later edns.); County Mus., P.R.N. 304.

⁸¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 871.

⁸² Blenheim Mun., B/M/225, p. 54.

⁸³ B.L. Harl. Roll F. 18; above, Eynsham, Econ. (Agric.).

⁸⁴ Blenheim Mun., B/M/208. f. 347v.; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 21, ff. 445–449v.

⁸⁵ Blenheim Mun., B/M/216–25, *passim*.

⁸⁶ P.R.O., LR 2/224, f. 107.

and the deaths of tenants; most conveyances of land were made out of court.⁸⁷

A vestry held in the church and attended by about six persons was recorded only when overseers' accounts were passed, and seems to have been a select vestry for the poor.⁸⁸ By the 1830s overseers were paid a fee of £5 and rates were set by the overseers and churchwardens; the curate criticized the overseers for wasteful rate increases and the vestry as unfit to decide on allowances.⁸⁹

The amount raised in rates, almost all spent on the poor, rose from £119 in 1776 to an average of c. £150 in the period 1783–5.⁹⁰ In 1789 the poor were farmed.⁹¹ By 1803, when £677 was spent, the cost of c. £1 a head of population was not unusually high for the area, but it became so in the period 1810–13 when it was between 51s. and 54s. a head. An attack on the sheriff's officer by a group of Hanborough men in 1811⁹² may reflect the local distress. In the post-Waterloo depression the parish spent c. 33s. a head, and after a fall in the 1820s (to c. 8s. a head in 1826) expenditure rose again to c. 23s. a head in 1831.⁹³ Accounts for the period 1817–35 show a loss of rate income from 'unoccupied houses' during the 1820s, and the duke of Marlborough was a defaulter on his property throughout.⁹⁴

A workhouse with room for 20 was recorded in 1776;⁹⁵ it may have been the building on the east side of Burleigh Green which the parish owned in 1761.⁹⁶ In 1803 it was occupied by 23 persons (including children) who earned £13, but no workhouse was recorded thereafter.⁹⁷ In 1765 and in the early 19th century c. 6 houses in Long Hanborough and one in Church Hanborough were used to house the poor; they and two other houses at Cook's Corner, maintained by the overseers from 1820 or earlier, were sold in 1839.⁹⁸ Rents of £47 were paid by the parish in 1817, but no further rents are recorded.⁹⁹

In 1803 there were 26 adults and 140 children on regular out-relief. The parish spent £30 on materials to employ them but they earned only £24, probably from spinning: payments for spinning and buying flax were recorded in later overseers' accounts. In 1813 there were 78 people on regular out-relief¹ and between 1817 and 1835 from 53 to 80 people received weekly pay. Yardland men (roundsmen) were being paid for 1817–18 and possibly later. Payments for 'days' to 30 or more persons were recorded

in 1826–7; in 1834–5 as many as 67 were paid on that basis for more than half a week,² and were probably employed on road work. The curate said that in the early 1830s in winter 'the only employment attempted to be found by the parish for a hundred, more or less . . . has been to walk over about four miles of road'.³ Some farmers, however, received a few payments for 'lost labour'. At that time the overseers made bargains with some labourers to 'keep off' demanding work from the parish: in 1834–5 a man received 8s. for 'keeping off' the parish from December to February.⁴

Hanborough was in the Witney poor law union from 1834 and in Witney rural district from 1894. In 1974 it became part of West Oxfordshire district.⁵ The remaining functions of the vestry were taken over by a parish council in 1894.⁶

CHURCH. Hanborough church was in existence by c. 1130 when Henry I granted it to Reading abbey.⁷ Reading abbey retained the advowson until the Dissolution.⁸ The king presented during voidances of the abbey in the 13th century and the earlier 14th, but in 1365 the abbey successfully claimed such presentations for the prior.⁹ In 1552 the advowson was among a number of estates granted to Edward Clinton or Fiennes, Lord Clinton and Say, who before 1558 conveyed it to Sir John Baker, speaker of the House of Commons and Chancellor of the Exchequer.¹⁰ From Sir John (d. 1558) the advowson passed to his son Richard and then to Martin Culpeper, later warden of New College, Oxford.¹¹ Culpeper granted an interest in the advowson to his brother Walter (d. 1616) and to Walter's wife Jane or Joan (d. 1636), but the advowson itself seems to have been claimed after Martin's death in 1605 by his daughter-in-law Joyce (d. 1618) and his nephew John Culpeper. In 1623 the patrons were Jane Culpeper and William Sandys, apparently Joyce Culpeper's heir; they had granted a turn to John Tyllie of Castle Combe (Wilts.) and John Fudgell of Charlecombe (Som.).¹² In 1638 Sir William Sandys conveyed the advowson to his son William and to Thomas Ayres, to whom Thomas Culpeper, son and heir of John Culpeper, quit-claimed it.¹³

At the request of Archbishop Laud, Sandys

⁸⁷ Blenheim Mun., B/M/208–25, *passim*.

⁸⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Hanborough, c 8.

⁸⁹ *1st Rep. Poor Law Com.* H.C. 44, p. 374 (1834), xxxii–xxxiii.

⁹⁰ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406–7.

⁹¹ *Oxf. Jnl.* 19 Sept. 1789.

⁹² O.R.O., Q. Sess. indictments, Trin. 1811.

⁹³ *Poor Abstract*, 1818, 360–1; *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 556, p. 138 (1822), v; H.C. 334, p. 173 (1825), iv; H.C. 83, p. 161 (1830–1), xi; H.C. 444, p. 157 (1835), xlvii.

⁹⁴ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Hanborough, b 8; c 8.

⁹⁵ *Poor Abstract*, 1777, 439.

⁹⁶ Blenheim Mun., 1761 map.

⁹⁷ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406–7; 1818, 360–1.

⁹⁸ Blenheim Mun., E/P/13; *Oxf. Chron.* 6 July 1839; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Hanborough c 8, s.a. 1820.

⁹⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Hanborough, c 8, s.a. 1817.

¹ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406–7; 1818, 360–1.

² O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Hanborough, b 8; c 8.

³ *1st Rep. Poor Law Com.* H.C. 44, p. 374 (1834), xxxii.

⁴ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Hanborough, b 8; c 8.

⁵ *Census*, 1851; O.R.O., RO 258.

⁶ O.R.O., Hanborough PC I/1–5.

⁷ *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* ii, p. 282; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 460.

⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 460, ff. 164–5.

⁹ P.R.O., CP 40/421, rot. 36 and d.; *Reading Cart.* i, pp. 377–9.

¹⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1550–3, 373; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 105, p. 178; for Baker, *D.N.B.*; *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 29.

¹¹ P.R.O., C 142/123, no. 99; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 105, p. 239; *Reg. Mat. Parker*, iii (Cant. & York Soc.), 1001–2; for Culpeper, *Alum. Oxon.* 1500–1714, 303.

¹² P.R.O., PROB 11/106, f. 290; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 70, no. 75; *Hist. Dean and Chalford* (O.R.S. xvii), 77–8, 80.

¹³ St. John's Coll. Mun. XXXVII. 1–3.

and Ayres conveyed the advowson to St. John's College for the benefit of the president of the college.¹⁴ Before that conveyance, however, Sandys and Ayres had granted a turn to Adam Torless of Lambeth, who presented in 1638.¹⁵ In 1665 John Houghton, fellow of Brasenose College, presented Richard Baylie, president of St. John's College, presumably by a grant of a turn.¹⁶ Thereafter the college regularly presented successive presidents until 1854 when the living was separated from the presidency. The college was still patron in 1986.¹⁷

The living, a rectory with 4 yardlands of glebe, was valued at only 8 marks or £8 in 1254, but at £11 16s. 8d. net, after the payment of a pension of 30s. to the abbot of Reading, in 1291.¹⁸ The value in 1254 may have been reduced by the payment of a pension to a former rector. The 30s. pension to Reading abbey continued to be paid until the Dissolution, an attempt by Henry Beaufort, bishop of Lincoln, in 1403 to stop the payment of that and other pensions to Reading having failed.¹⁹ The value of the living was unchanged in 1526 and in 1535, £13 6s. 8d. gross, £11 6s. net after the payment of the abbot of Reading's pension and of procurations and synodals.²⁰

In the early 17th century the rectory was said to be worth £100, and in the early 18th century £300.²¹ At inclosure in 1773 the rector was allotted c. 309 a. for tithe and 93 a. for the 4 yardlands of glebe.²² In 1831 the income was £382 gross, £353 net; by 1851 it had risen to just over £400 gross, and in 1865 it was £600 a year gross, £537 net, almost all derived from land.²³ The glebe was leased and in 1896 the rector complained that the net income of £296 10s. did not allow him to employ the curate or reader whom he needed. By 1899, however, the rent for the glebe farm had risen to £363.²⁴

In 1237 Reading abbey presented to a vicarage composed of a third of the endowments of the church, but the arrangement seems to have ended in 1239 when the vicar was presented to the rectory and the former rector, who had served the church since 1220 or earlier, was given a pension of 18 marks a year and the use of the vicar's house for as long as he lived as a layman.²⁵

The medieval rectory house stood south of the church on the site of the later rectory farmhouse. The site, or part of it, seems to have been acquired by exchange in 1255–6, and in 1257 the rector had 12 oaks from Pinsley wood to repair

the buildings.²⁶ The north–south range of the surviving house is of later 16th-century origin, and may then have formed part of a larger house. In 1662 the rectory house was the largest house in the parish, assessed on 10 hearths, and in 1685 it had seven low rooms on the ground floor: kitchen, hall, wainscoted parlour, dairy house and 3 'butens', and eleven chambers and a long gallery above them.²⁷ For most of the 18th century the house seems to have been occupied as the glebe farmhouse, but c. 1795 the rector, Michael Marlow, added four rooms for his own use, perhaps incorporating part of an older range.²⁸ The interior was refitted in the earlier 19th century, perhaps c. 1815 for the first resident curate, but the building deteriorated thereafter, and despite the addition of buttresses was found in 1845 to be in a dangerous condition. A new rectory house was built that year in Cotswold style on glebe land north-west of the church. The old house was repaired as the rectory farmhouse.²⁹ The Victorian rectory house was replaced in 1966 by a new house in Long Hanborough.³⁰

The large size of the 12th-century church suggests its importance, and in 1220 and c. 1221 the rector was styled dean.³¹ Henry de Wengham, presented by Henry III in 1253, was a nephew of the royal clerk and later bishop of London of the same name; the younger Henry was studying at Oxford, and was perhaps given Hanborough rectory to support him there.³² Henry of Woodstock (d. 1277), a licensed pluralist, was the queen's chancellor and a papal chaplain.³³ Two 14th-century rectors, Alexander de Quappelode (1311–36) and John Noyon (1345–9), had licences to study, presumably at Oxford; a chaplain and a parochial chaplain, who may have been curates, were recorded in 1362 and 1382.³⁴ John Turry, rector in 1410 and 1426, had a testimonial letter from Oxford university in the latter year, suggesting that at least part of his time was spent in Oxford.³⁵ Neglect by such absentee rectors perhaps accounts for the presence of Lollards in the parish in 1414 and 1415.³⁶ The later 15th-century rectors were all members of the university; Roger Combe died in Oxford in 1458, and at least one, Simon Tawere (1458–75), was a pluralist.³⁷ John Higden, rector from 1518 to 1532, was successively president of Magdalen College, dean of Cardinal College, and dean of Henry VIII's College or Christ Church. About 1520 it was reported that Higden did not reside

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 70, no. 76.

¹⁶ Ibid. no. 77.

¹⁷ Oxf. Dioc. Yr. Bk.

¹⁸ Lunt, *Val. Norw.* 307; *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 31.

¹⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 184; B.L. Add. Ch. 19647.

²⁰ *Subsidy 1526*, 266; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 184.

²¹ B.L. Harl. MS. 843, f. 9v.; *Par. Colln.* 157.

²² O.R.O., incl. award.

²³ *Rep. Com. Eccl. Revenues* [67], p. 781, H.C. (1835), xxii; *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 198; St. John's Coll. Mun. LXXXVI. G. 2.

²⁴ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 362, f. 187; c 365, f. 182; c 1842/2.

²⁵ *Rot. Grosse.* (L.R.S. xi), 454, 462.

²⁶ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1427–1516, 286; *Close R.* 1256–9, 281.

²⁷ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, rot. 281; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd.

Oxon. b 40, f. 150.

²⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 661, f. 105.

²⁹ Ibid. b 103, no. 5.

³⁰ Ibid. c 1842/1.

³¹ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 168; *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 17.

³² *Cal. Pat.* 1247–58, 220; Emden, *O.U. Reg. to 1500*, 2014.

³³ *Rot. Graves.* (L.R.S. xx), 231; *Cal. Pat.* 1272–81, *passim*; *Cal. Papal Reg.* i. 453.

³⁴ C.C.C. Mun., Twyne transcript, iii, pp. 87, 106; Emden, *O.U. Reg. to 1500*, 1362, 1537.

³⁵ Emden, *O.U. Reg. to 1500*, 1918; *Epist. Acad. Oxon.* (O.H.S. xxxv), pp. 18–19.

³⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1413–16, 271; *Reg. Repingdon*, iii (L.R.S. lxxiv), p. 73 n.

³⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 460; *Cal. Papal Reg.* xi, 673; Emden, *O.U. Reg. to 1500*, 474, 1850.

and two former churchwardens had failed to account satisfactorily for church goods.³⁸ By 1526 Higden employed a curate to serve the cure.³⁹

The rector from 1534 to 1558 was the pluralist John Holyman, bishop of Bristol from 1554,⁴⁰ who seems to have lived at Hanborough for much of his incumbency. In 1537 one of Cromwell's spies reported that he was a secret favourer of the bishop of Rome and 'marvellous familiar' with the abbots of Eynsham and Reading.⁴¹ Some at least of his parishioners shared his views; one in 1557 left 8d. for an antiphonal for Hanborough church.⁴² His successor at Hanborough was his protégé Thomas Neal, later professor of Hebrew at Oxford, who was 'more Catholic than protestant', but whose two curates at Hanborough conformed to the Elizabethan settlement.⁴³ Neal resigned in 1567, retiring to Cassington, but he remained on good terms with his curate and successor Ralph Merryman, being an executor of his will in 1577.⁴⁴ Merryman's successor, John Bates, rector 1576–1623, lived in Hanborough where he acquired an estate of 2 yardlands in addition to his glebe. At his death in 1623 his possessions included an unspecified number of books, which he left to Edmund Hiorne and his kinsman John Slatter, apart from one to be given to his curate.⁴⁵ In 1634 the rector, Joseph Ford, appeared before the court of High Commission,⁴⁶ but the nature of the charge is unknown.

The pluralist Thomas Walker, fellow of St. John's College and later master of University College, was rector from 1638; he was ejected c. 1649 but restored in 1660 and held the living until his death in 1665.⁴⁷ The minister from 1653 or earlier until 1660 was Robert Rogers, a fellow of New Inn Hall who seems to have been non-resident part of the time, although his children were baptized at Hanborough in 1648, 1649, and 1657. From 1658 to 1665 or later the rectory house was occupied by John Wainwright, fellow of All Souls College and chancellor of Chester diocese from 1661,⁴⁸ but there is no evidence that he served Hanborough. Rogers was later accused of having neglected the cure, failing to visit the sick and not administering communion for c. 2 years, and of having made excessive claims for tithes and mortuaries.⁴⁹

From 1665 the rectory was annexed to the presidency of St. John's College, and successive presidents employed curates to serve the parish. The two known 17th-century curates, Thomas and William Ayerst, were members of Univer-

sity College; William remained in the parish until his death in 1723, although he did not apparently act as curate after 1699.⁵⁰ Thomas Smith served the cure from 1699 until his death in 1729, living in the parish; his son James was ordained to the cure in 1736 but had left it by 1738.⁵¹ In such circumstances, the sequestration of the living in 1710, for debts allegedly incurred by the rector as vice-chancellor of Oxford university,⁵² presumably had little or no effect on the parish. Later curates were usually fellows of St. John's College who served the cure from Oxford for a stipend which rose from £40 in 1759 to £80 in 1815.⁵³

During the later 18th century there were two services and one sermon on Sundays, with holy communion four or five times a year, the standard duty for country parishes. In 1738 the curate reported that, for unknown reasons, many people did not attend church, and tried, not very successfully, to account to the bishop for the small number of confirmation candidates from the parish. Later rectors and curates reported no absenteeism, and the number of communicants remained fairly steady at 40–50.⁵⁴ Michael Marlow, rector and president of St. John's College 1795–1828, took an interest in the parish, spending some time there himself in vacations. In 1815, however, the bishop required him to employ a full-time curate, permanently resident in the parish.⁵⁵ By 1831 the curate's stipend had risen to £120, and there were two full services on Sundays, attended by 200–300 people, between a third and half the population of the parish; the number of communicants at the quarterly communion had fallen to 20. There had been a slight improvement by 1834, and Bishop Wilberforce found the curate in the 1840s a respectable man, although he took pupils to augment his salary and was inclined to the High Church party.⁵⁶ Attendance on Census Sunday in 1851 was only 130 adults and 49 children in the morning and 230 adults and 37 children in the afternoon, less than a quarter of the population. The curate blamed the poor attendance on the wet weather and on the distance of the church from Long Hanborough.⁵⁷

The separation of the living from the presidency of St. John's in 1854 seems to have made little difference to the church life of the parish. The number of communion services rose to one a month in 1860, but the number of communicants fell, and in 1878 the rector reported that half the population were dissenters, and that church attendance had further decreased be-

³⁸ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* i. 129; Emden, *O.U. Reg.* to 1500, 931.

³⁹ *Subsidy 1526*, 266.

⁴⁰ Emden, *O.U. Reg.* 1501–40, 295; *D.N.B.*

⁴¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), p. 78.

⁴² O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 181, f. 123.

⁴³ O.A.S. Rep. 1911, 101–4.

⁴⁴ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 185, ff. 517v–518.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 511/13; *Reg. Mat. Parker*, iii (Cant. & York Soc.), 1001–2.

⁴⁶ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1634–5, pp. 268, 272, 277, 334.

⁴⁷ *Walker Revised*, ed. A. G. Matthews, 300.

⁴⁸ Par. reg. transcript, s.a. 1658; P.R.O., E 134/20 Chas. II/East. 1; *ibid.* E 179/255/4, rot. 281; *Hearth Tax Oxon.* 110; *V.C.H. Cheshire*, iii. 38; *Alum. Oxon.* 1500–1714, 1552.

⁴⁹ *Calamy Revised*, ed. A. G. Matthews, 415; P.R.O., E

134/19 Chas. II/Mich. 1; *ibid.* E 134/20 Chas. II/East. 1; par. reg. transcript.

⁵⁰ St. John's Coll. Mun. XXXVII. 5 (chwdns' accts.), p. 51; *Alum. Oxon.* 1500–1714, 47; par. reg. transcript.

⁵¹ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. e 4, f. 56; e 22, p. 89; *ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 151/2/31; *Alum. Oxon.* 1715–1886, 1315.

⁵² *Hist. St. John's Coll.* (O.H.S. n.s. xii), 166–8.

⁵³ O.R.O. MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 30, f. 7v.; b 33, f. 7v.; b 35, f. 144v.; d 556, f. 5; d 549, p. 121; d 568, f. 161; Bodl. MS. Top. Eccles. e 1, f. 111.

⁵⁴ *Secker's Visit.* 70–1; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 556, f. 5; d 558, f. 5; d 562, f. 9; d 564, f. 200; c 327, f. 166.

⁵⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 661, ff. 12–13, 105–8; b 33, f. 7v.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* d 550, f. 49; b 38, f. 106; b 39, f. 165.

⁵⁷ P.R.O., HO 129/161.

cause of 'feelings stirred up by the Labourers' Union'.⁵⁸ By 1884 the rector employed a full time curate, and had started holding services in the infants' school in Long Hanborough to overcome the problem posed by the distance of the parish church from most of the population. In 1893 the new rector built a mission church, Christ Church, on the main road in Long Hanborough.⁵⁹ Both churches were in use in 1986, the parish church remaining the principal church although further from the centre of population. In 1985 the benefice was united with that of Freeland.

The parish church of *ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL*⁶⁰ is built of ashlar, and comprises a chancel with north and south chapels and a north vestry, and an aisled and clerestoried nave with north and south porches, and a west tower with stone spire, which is flanked by the aisles. The 12th-century church seems to have comprised a chancel flanked by short chapels and a long aisled nave. Several windows and the north and south doorways with carved tympana survive, the north tympanum showing St. Peter with a lion and the lamb of God.⁶¹ The chancel and the chancel arch were rebuilt early in the 13th century, the chancel being of notably high quality, and the north chapel was extended eastwards about the same date. Also at that time the aisles were heightened, the porches were added, and a tower was built at the west end of the nave. Early in the 14th century the north chapel was remodelled and the vestry added. In 1399 an indulgence to all those giving alms for the fabric and conservation of Hanborough church⁶² marked the beginning of a series of works to remodel the building. About 1400 the tower was rebuilt, leaving only the bases of the original arches to the nave and aisles, and western buttresses and a spire were added. Shortly after that the nave arcades were rebuilt, the new arcades having two-centred arches and tall octagonal piers with concave faces. The arcades' similarity to those at Northleach (Glos.) has led to the suggestion that they are the work of the same master mason.⁶³ Later in the 15th century new windows were inserted in the aisles and the east end of the chancel,⁶⁴ and the chancel and its chapels were cut off from the nave by the surviving carved and painted wooden screens; the work appears to have continued for some time, as the northern screen is appreciably later and more elaborate than the southern one.⁶⁵ The clerestory and a new low-pitched roof were added to the nave in the early 16th century.

Regular repairs were carried out in the 17th and 18th centuries. Extensive work between

1660 and 1662 included repairs to the spire.⁶⁶ Much of the roof seems to have been renewed in 1778–9 and 1799–1800.⁶⁷ More important repairs carried out between 1845 and 1847 may have included the removal of a gallery, perhaps the singer's gallery recorded *c.* 1806.⁶⁸ The church was restored in 1860 under the supervision of S. L. Seckham; the east window was replaced by one in 14th-century style, and a new window was inserted west of the south porch (presumably new tracery in an existing window opening). The 15th-century screens were saved only by the intervention of Bishop Wilberforce.⁶⁹ Further alterations were made in 1892 when the west door was opened, the font moved to a position under the tower, and the 15th-century pulpit repaired and lowered to its original level. The south chapel was refurnished as a war memorial chapel in 1947, and in 1952 a new altar was placed in the Lady chapel and a rood hung over the chancel screen. In the same year the south porch was made into a temporary boiler house (still in use in 1986). The spire was repaired in 1972.⁷⁰

The monuments include, at the east end of the nave, a brass of *c.* 1500 to Christopher Ford and his wife Joan and to Joan's first husband Thomas Wheeler, and, on the south wall of the chancel, a shroud brass to Alexander Belsyre (d. 1567).⁷¹ On the north wall of the chancel are marble wall monuments to Thomas Smith, curate 1699–1729, and his wife Mary and to Margaret, wife of Humphrey Clarke (d. 1592), a large plaque bearing her arms, erected by her grandson in 1632, and on the south wall are elaborate monuments, now virtually illegible, to William Denison (d. 1756), to Anna Maria Denison (d. 1761), and to Jane widow of Walter Culpeper (d. 1636).⁷² At the east end of the north aisle is a monument to Thomas Bouchier (d. 1723) and his wife Frances Astell and other members of their family, erected by their son William in 1780. Until the restoration of the church in 1860 there was painted on the south wall of the chancel a Latin poem in honour of Charles I.⁷³

In 1728 the goods in the churchwardens' hands included Jewell's *Works*, Erasmus's *Paraphrases*, and the Book of Homilies. The books were still in the church in the early 18th century. The plate includes a silver chalice with paten cover of 1575, presumably that in the church in 1728, and a large, two-handled cup and cover of 1725, the gift of the rector William Derham (1748–57).⁷⁴ There are five bells: (i) 1803; (ii) 1615; (iii) 1602; (iv) 1603 (probably an error for 1623); (v) 1786.⁷⁵

⁵⁸ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 344, ff. 189–90; d 180, f. 519.

⁵⁹ Ibid. c 347, f. 197; c 350, f. 180; c 359, f. 193; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 42, ff. 47–69.

⁶⁰ St. Peter in 1399 and the early 18th century: *Cal. Papal Reg.* v. 278; *Par. Colln.* 157.

⁶¹ C. Keyser, *Norman Tympana and Lintels* (1972), pp. xviii, xxxi, lxxiii, 22–3, figs. 8, 133.

⁶² *Cal. Papal Reg.* v. 278.

⁶³ J. Sherwood, *Guide to Chs. of Oxon.* 55.

⁶⁴ Parker, *Guide*, 145.

⁶⁵ F. E. Howard, 'Screens and Rood Lofts in Oxon.' *Arch. Jnl.* lxxvii. 188.

⁶⁶ St. John's Coll. Mun. XXXVII. 5, pp. 16–25.

⁶⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Hanborough b 7 (unfoliated).

⁶⁸ Ibid. s.a. 1845; MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 24, f. 139; C.C.C. Mun., AL 1/30.

⁶⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 178, p. 258; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 91, ff. 6, 28.

⁷⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1841.

⁷¹ M. Stephenson, *Monumental Brasses*, 406.

⁷² *Par. Colln.* 157–9; Bodl. MS. Don. d 140, f. 76v.

⁷³ *N. & Q.* (4th ser.), iv. 441, 508.

⁷⁴ St. John's Coll. Mun. XXXVII. 5, inside front cover and p. 6; Evans, *Ch. Plate*, 76–7.

⁷⁵ *Ch. Bells Oxon.* 152–3.

The rector John Bates, by will proved 1623, left £4 stock, the profits to be used for church repairs. The money was intact in 1685, when the church also held £6 said to have been given by the rector Ralph Merryman (d. 1578), although it was not mentioned in his will.⁷⁶ By the early 17th century the church also held four houses, a piece of land, and a fishery, from the rents of which it received nearly £5 a year, and in 1663 it had 10 small areas of grassland.⁷⁷ In 1773 the church land in Church field was let for £7 a year, the church close for £1 9s. 6d., and the fishery for £3 10s. a year. The income from the church property was sufficient to cover the churchwardens' normal expenditure until c. 1890.⁷⁸

Thomas Bouchier (d. 1723) built a small, square mausoleum in the north-west corner of the churchyard in a vaguely gothic style. It survived until c. 1845 when it was apparently demolished for its materials which were used for building the new rectory house.⁷⁹ The churchyard was extended in 1873.⁸⁰

CHRIST CHURCH, Long Hanborough, built in 1893 to the designs of E. H. L. Barker,⁸¹ is a small church comprising chancel and nave with south porch and west belfry. The north, south, and west windows are lancets, the east is in 14th-century style. A kitchen and lavatory were added on the north in 1979.⁸² On the north wall of the chancel is a memorial tablet to William Wynne Wilson, rector 1891–1906, who was responsible for building the church.

NONCONFORMITY. Alexander Belsyre, first president of St. John's College, Oxford, who was deprived by the founder for dishonesty and perjury c. 1559, lived in Hanborough rectory house until his death in 1578; in 1561 he was confined to the area within 2 miles of Hanborough as an 'old, wealthy, and stubborn' recusant.⁸³ Despite Belsyre's presence in the parish and the Catholic sympathies of his nephew the rector Thomas Neal, only four recusants, two married couples, were reported in the 1590s.⁸⁴ There was one papist in Hanborough in the 1680s and 1690s, and four, all members of the same family, in 1706.⁸⁵

One anabaptist was reported in 1685, and 'very few' dissenters in 1738,⁸⁶ but neglect by later 18th-century rectors and curates led to the rise of a strong Methodist movement, particularly in Long Hanborough. The new meeting house reported by the rector in 1805 was prob-

ably the chapel opened at Freeland that year, but five of the six houses or barns registered for worship in Long Hanborough between 1812 and 1828 seem to have been Methodist.⁸⁷ The sixth was the short-lived 'anabaptist' meeting house reported by the rector in 1823.⁸⁸ In 1814 a Methodist service in a meeting house or chapel, a converted barn in Long Hanborough, was disrupted, presumably by opponents of Methodism.⁸⁹

A Methodist chapel built on the south side of the main road in Long Hanborough was opened at the end of 1827; it had accommodation for c. 200 and was said in 1828 to be filled for most services.⁹⁰ Actual membership of the church was 56 in 1837 and 73 in 1840; it declined in the 1840s, but on Census Sunday in 1851 there was a congregation of 200 adults and 100 Sunday school children.⁹¹ Membership fell again in the 1870s, reaching a low point of 28 in 1874, but congregations probably remained large, and in 1878 the rector reported that half the population of the parish were dissenters.⁹² Hugh Price Hughes, the active Methodist minister at Oxford, was probably responsible for an increase in membership of the Hanborough church in the early 1880s, to 73 in 1883, but thereafter membership fell again and between 1890 and 1938 generally ranged from 35 to 45.⁹³ A new chapel, just west of the earlier one, was opened in 1895.⁹⁴ The church remained open and active in 1986 when it was served from Witney.

The chapel of 1827 survived as a private house in 1986, having been converted into a parish hall in 1912. It is a small, rectangular building of coursed rubble with pointed arched windows which seem to date from a later 19th-century remodelling. The chapel of 1895 is also of coursed rubble, with ashlar quoins; most windows are lancets, but that on the north is in 14th-century style; an annexe to the east was presumably built as a school room. In 1970–1 the original vestry, at the south end of the church, was demolished and replaced by a flat-roofed extension containing a new vestry, lavatory, and meeting rooms.⁹⁵

Some Primitive Methodist meetings were held in Hanborough in 1842 and 1860, but no permanent congregation seems to have been established. By 1883, however, there was a Primitive Methodist chapel in Millwood End. It was replaced in 1904 by a new chapel, of brick with ashlar quoins, on the south side of Main Road, opposite Millwood End, which seems to have remained open until the Methodist union

⁷⁶ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 185, ff. 517v.–518; *ibid.* 5/1/13; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 40, f. 150.

⁷⁷ St. John's Coll. Mun. XXXVII. 5, pp. 1, 25.

⁷⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Hanborough b 7 (unfoliated).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 9/1/5; Bodl. MS. Dep. c 274; drawing in Bodl. MS. Don. a 7, no. 3.

⁸⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1842/1.

⁸¹ Pevsner, *Oxon.* 691.

⁸² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1841.

⁸³ *Early Hist. St. John's Coll.* (O.H.S. N.S. i), 123–4; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1601–3, 521.

⁸⁴ O.A.S. *Rep.* (1911), 104; *Recusant Roll 1* (Cath. Rec. Soc. xviii), 256; *Recusant Rolls 2 and 3* (Cath. Rec. Soc. lxi), 73.

⁸⁵ *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 38; O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. ix, pp. 395–427; W. O. Hassall, 'Papists in early 18th-cent. Oxon.' *Oxonienia*, xiii. 80.

⁸⁶ *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 38; *Secker's Visit.* 70.

⁸⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 568, f. 161; d 574, f. 133 and v.; c 644, ff. 128–30, 212, 218; c 645, ff. 23, 40, 79, 98–9.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* d 580, f. 119 and v.

⁸⁹ O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. ii, f. 204v.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* viii, p. 814; *Methodist Mag.* 1828, p. 261; *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 199.

⁹¹ O.R.O., Witney W.M. Circuit Schedule Bks. I/1/a–b; P.R.O., HO 129/161.

⁹² O.R.O., Witney W.M. Circuit Schedule Bks. I/1/c–i; *ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 208; c 344, f. 189v.

⁹³ O.R.O., Witney W.M. Circuit Schedule Bks. I/1/f–i; *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 420.

⁹⁴ Datestone on bldg.; *Witney Gaz.* 30 Oct. 1975.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., Hanborough P.C. I/4, meetings of 5 June 1970 and 10 Mar. 1971.

of 1932.⁹⁶ The adjoining Sunday schoolroom was later demolished leaving only the roadside wall, and the chapel was converted into a manse, refurbished c. 1968, for a Methodist minister; it was disused by 1988.⁹⁷

EDUCATION. Two 16th-century testators made provision for their sons to be kept at school,⁹⁸ but that school may have been in Woodstock or even Oxford. In 1729 a man left money to buy books for his godchildren's education, and in 1738 there was a small school in Hanborough, supported by contributions, presumably from parents.⁹⁹ In the early 19th century there was one small private school in Church Hanborough and one in Long Hanborough; in 1808 the rector was paying for c. 24 of the children. Two other private schools in Long Hanborough were supported by the duke of Marlborough for c. 12 of his labourers' children, but closed by 1811. In 1815 the two remaining schools had 25 and 30 pupils, the poorer children paid for by the rector; there was also a Sunday school for c. 60 children.¹ Numbers at the two day schools increased to 106 in 1818, but by 1823 both schools had closed.² The Sunday school may also have closed shortly afterwards, for in 1831, when it provided the only education available for 30–40 boys and 40–50 girls, it was said to have been recently established. At that date poverty drove all children over 10 to work, the boys as agricultural labourers, the girls as glovers, but the rector thought that, with male unemployment so high, the overseers might agree to send back to school boys dependent on parish labour, and suggested that the girls be collected into gloving classes where one could read to the others.³

A National day and Sunday school, attended by 60 day and 120 Sunday school children, was opened in Church Hanborough in 1832; it was supported partly by weekly payments of 1d. a child and partly by subscription.⁴ By 1834 daily attendance had risen to 48 boys and 46 girls, all under 10.⁵ By 1868 attendance was 97, including 8–12 children over 10 although most older children still worked as agricultural labourers or glovers. A night school was recorded in 1866 and 1868.⁶ Attendance at the National school had fallen to 30 boys and 19 girls by 1871, but another 52 children attended three overcrowded private schools. The drop in numbers may have been due to poor conditions at the National

school, for after its repair and enlargement in 1872 numbers rose quickly to 50 boys, 45 girls, and 36 infants. A parliamentary grant was received from 1873.⁷

A new infant school was built in Main Road, Long Hanborough, on land given by the duke of Marlborough, in 1879, bringing the total school accommodation in the parish to 288. By 1893 accommodation had been further increased to 294, but average attendance was only 154.⁸ The schools were reorganized in 1928, Church Hanborough becoming the senior school for Hanborough, North Leigh, and Combe and, from 1930, Freeland; Long Hanborough becoming a junior mixed and infant school. By 1933 accommodation at Long Hanborough was insufficient, and children over 8 were sent to the senior school. After the opening of the Marlborough secondary school in Woodstock in 1940, the Hanborough schools were reorganized again, Church Hanborough taking junior children aged 8 and over and Long Hanborough the infants. The two schools were placed under a single headmaster in 1945.⁹ Church Hanborough became a controlled Church of England school in 1948 and Long Hanborough in 1954.¹⁰

Church Hanborough school closed in 1959 and was replaced by Long Hanborough Manor county primary school, opened in 1960. The old school was converted into a house in 1961.¹¹ In 1983 the Manor school and the infant school between them had a roll of 220.¹² A charity, the Friends of the Manor School, was registered in 1977 to provide facilities for education not normally supplied by the local education authority. Its income was between £500 and £1,000.¹³

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. John Heathen, by will proved 1566, left 1s. a year to the poor, charged on his land in Hanborough; the charity had been lost by 1685.¹⁴ The rector Ralph Merryman, by will proved 1578, left £6 as a loan charity for poor husbandmen. The charity was recorded as £8 in 1605 and 1685, but had been lost by 1824.¹⁵ Richard Eyans of Charlbury, by will proved 1615, left £15, the interest to be distributed to the poor of Hanborough, and Brooke Whitney, by will proved 1624, added £2 to the poor's stock.¹⁶ The money had been lost by 1824, possibly in 1702 when £5 was borrowed to repair the church spire.¹⁷

Robert Valence, by will dated 1632, left £200,

⁹⁶ O.R.O., Witney and Faringdon Meth. Circ. II/1A; II/1B; *ibid.* Oxf. Circuit Prim. Methodist Plans, 1885, 1897; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1903 and later edns.); O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXVI (1883 edn.); datestones on bldg.

⁹⁷ Inf. from Mr. H. G. Busby, Myrtle Fm., Long Hanborough.

⁹⁸ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 185, f. 335; 1/1/18.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 147/3/40; *Secker's Visit.* 70.

¹ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 566, f. 150v.; d 572, f. 154v.; d 707, ff. 77–8; c 433, f. 101.

² *Ibid.* d 580, f. 119; *Educ. of Poor Digest*, H.C. 224, p. 724 (1819), ix B.

³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 107.

⁴ *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, H.C. 62, p. 747 (1835), xlii.

⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39, f. 166.

⁶ *Ibid.* c 332, f. 207v.; *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202–I], pp. 330–2, 337, H.C. (1868–9), xiii.

⁷ P.R.O., ED 7/101/99; *Returns relating to Elem. Educ.*

H.C. 201, p. 324 (1871), lv; *Rep. of Educ. Cttee. of Council*, 1873–4 [C. 1019–I], p. 395, H.C. (1874), xviii.

⁸ *Rep. of Educ. Cttee. of Council*, 1880–1 [C. 2948–I], p. 662, H.C. (1881), xxxii; *Return of Schs. 1893* [C. 7529], pp. 494–5, H.C. (1894), lxxv; Blenheim Mun., box 83.

⁹ O.R.O., T/SL 27, i, pp. 107, 138, 186, 377, 459.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* T/S Misc. 19.

¹¹ *Ibid.* T/SL 27, ii, p. 69; MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1842/2.

¹² Inf. from Oxon. Educ. Cttee.

¹³ Char. Com. files.

¹⁴ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 184, f. 238; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 40, f. 150.

¹⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 185, f. 517v.; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 40, f. 150; St. John's Coll. Mun. XXXVII. 5, p. 1; *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 405.

¹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 20/2/4; P.R.O., PROB 11/144, f. 279v.

¹⁷ St. John's Coll. Mun., XXXVII. 5, p. 233.

the income to be given to the poor. Because of a dispute over the validity of the will the money was not paid until 1662,¹⁸ when it was used to buy two closes in Bletchingdon which yielded c. £12 in 1787. Before 1823, probably in 1792–3 when the churchwardens went to Bletchingdon to look over the poor's land, the closes were exchanged for a single 10 a. close in Weston-on-the-Green, let for £19 a year.¹⁹ In the 17th and 18th centuries the income was spent annually on apprenticing, or on doles of bread, meat, clothes, or, occasionally, money, but in the early 19th century it was allowed to accumulate, and in 1822 coal was bought for 164 families with three years' rent.²⁰ The rent of the land was £17 in 1871.²¹ Susannah Hart, by will proved 1666, left a rent charge of £1 a year to buy clothes for the poor at Michaelmas.²² In the 18th century and the early 19th the charity was distributed in bread and money. In 1823 it was four years in arrears, but was recovered soon afterwards.²³ The rent charge was redeemed in 1973 for £12 which was invested with other charity money.²⁴

Sophia Brown, by will proved 1861, left £200, the income to be distributed in bread on Good Friday. The money was invested and in 1871 yielded only £6 a year.²⁵

At inclosure in 1773 trustees for the poor were allotted 10 a. for common rights.²⁶ In 1871 the land was let for £5 a year, and in 1967 for £40.²⁷ Under a Scheme of 1906 the surviving trustees were replaced by the parish council.²⁸

In 1925 Valence's, Hart's, and Brown's charities, and the poor's land, which were administered as one, had an income of £38 17s. 6d., and at Christmas 156 parishioners each received 2s. 6d. and two half-loaves. By 1941 the income had fallen to c. £20, but rose slowly to c. £28 in 1966 when 26 people received £1 each. In 1967 rents from the charity lands were substantially raised to bring in £94 a year. A Scheme of 1973 amalgamated the four charities into the Hanborough Welfare Trust to provide relief in need. The income from rents rose steadily, and in 1985 72 households each received £10 at Christmas.²⁹

KIDLINGTON

KIDLINGTON parish, as it existed until 1929, covered 4,768 a. between Oxford and Woodstock and contained the townships of Kidlington, Thrupp, Gosford, and Water Eaton; the extra-parochial area of Cutteslowe was geographically within the parish but completely separate from it administratively.³⁰ Each of the townships became a separate civil parish in the 19th century. The area is dominated by Kidlington village which sprawls for nearly 2 miles along both sides of the main Oxford to Banbury road, ribbon development having been allowed in the mid 20th century as Kidlington became the largest of Oxford's dormitory villages.³¹ The built-up area extends into the former Gosford township, but Thrupp was relatively unaffected by modern housing. At Water Eaton a slow process of desertion left only a few scattered houses.

The eastern boundary of the ancient parish followed the river Cherwell; the northern, recorded in the 11th century,³² followed a stream, field boundaries, and the road to Hensington then known as the Wood way. The western boundary followed field boundaries, Rowel brook, Kingsbridge brook and, later, the Oxford canal, and the Oxford–Woodstock road; the

southern boundary followed field boundaries, the Oxford–Banbury road, and streams. A detached part of Water Eaton, bounded partly by the Oxford–Banbury road, lay south and west of Cutteslowe. Until 1256 or later part of Cogges wood between Cogges and North Leigh belonged to Kidlington.³³ The ancient parish achieved its final form in the early 13th century when Water Eaton, itself composed of two or three originally separate units, was added to Kidlington, Thrupp, and Gosford. There was some doubt in 1225 whether Water Eaton was part of Kidlington parish, and although it was said to be so in 1228 and fairly regularly thereafter, as late as 1821 its inhabitants argued that they did not belong to Kidlington parish.³⁴

Kidlington and Thrupp shared a field system, and until inclosure in 1818 there seems to have been no clearly defined boundary between them. Thereafter Kidlington township contained 2,194 a., including two detached areas in Thrupp, while Thrupp contained 813 a., including five detached areas in Kidlington.³⁵ Changes under the Divided Parishes Act of 1882 reduced Kidlington to 2,191 a., including a detached area of 15 a., and increased Thrupp to 816 a., including three detached areas of c. 63 a.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 19; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Hanborough c 7.

¹⁹ Blenheim Mun., misc. family pps. box 10: copy of will; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Hanborough b 7, s.a. 1793; 10th Rep. Com. Char. 405; Char. Don. 1787–8, H.C. 511, pp. 994–5 (1816), xvi B; Char. Com. files, Scheme of 1973.

²⁰ St. John's Coll. Mun. XXXVII. 5, pp. 21, 28, 35, 37, 131; 10th Rep. Com. Char. 405.

²¹ Char. Digest, H.C. 292–II, pp. 28–9 (1871), lv.

²² O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 33/1/30.

²³ 10th Rep. Com. Char. 405; Char. Digest, pp. 28–9.

²⁴ O.R.C.C., Kimber files.

²⁵ O.R.O., Misc. R. III/1; Char. Digest, pp. 28–9.

²⁶ O.R.O., incl. award.

²⁷ Char. Digest, pp. 28–9; O.R.C.C., Kimber files.

²⁸ St. John's Coll. Mun. XXXVII. 4.

²⁹ Char. Com. files; inf. from Mr. J. M. B. Edwards, chairman of Hanborough Welfare Trust; O.R.C.C., Kimber files.

³⁰ O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXVI.NE., SE., XXVII.NW., SE., XXXIII.NW., NE. (1881 edn.). For Cutteslowe, see below, Wolvercote.

³¹ Social Services in Oxf. District, ed. A. F. C. Bourdillon, ii, 449.

³² Grundy, Saxon Oxon. 56–7.

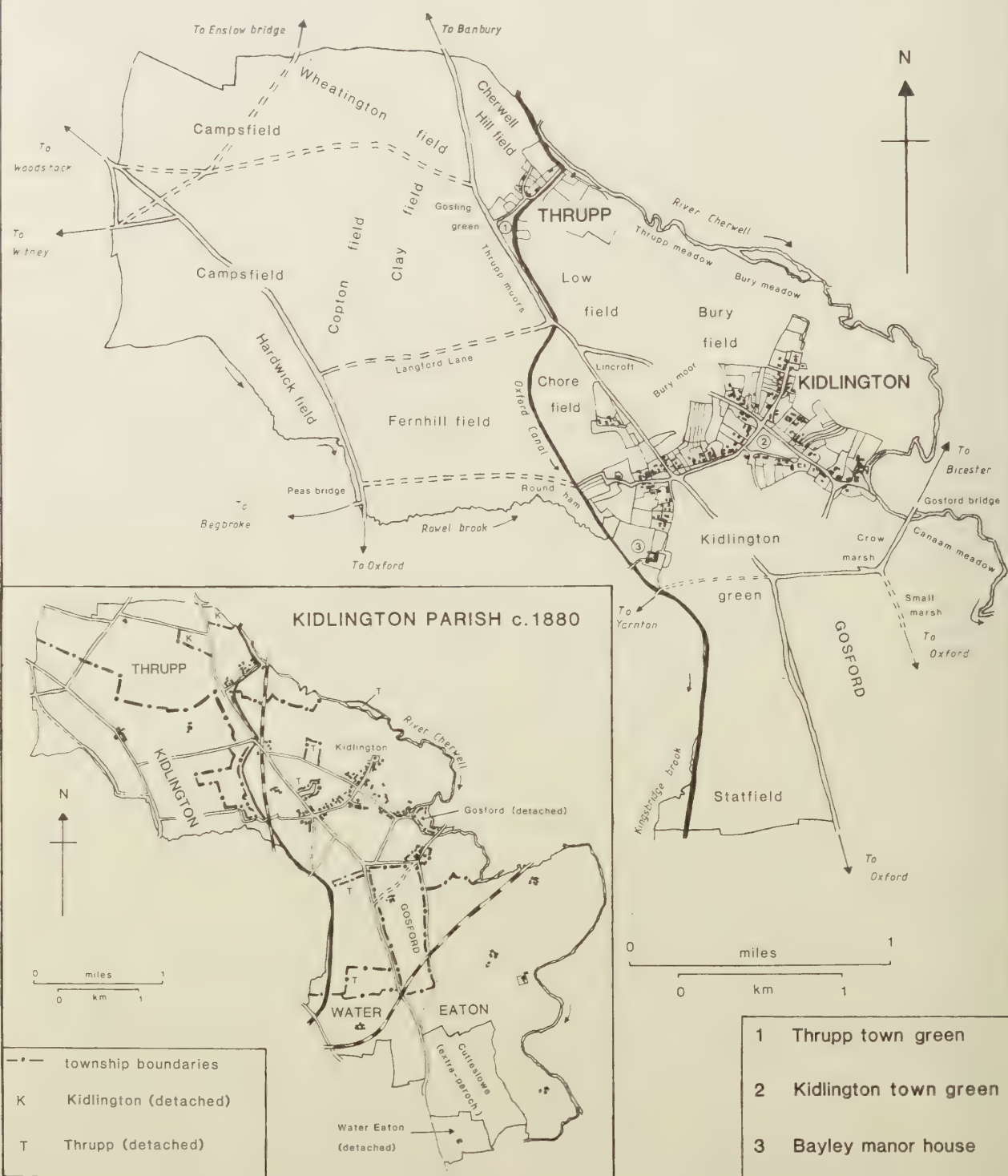
³³ Oseney Cart. iv, p. 136; P.R.O., E 32/251.

³⁴ Cart. St. Frid. ii, pp. 32, 211–12; Oseney Cart. ii, p. 571; B.L. Add. MS. 22190, ff. 111, 118; Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 7.

³⁵ O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXVI.NE., SE., XXVII.NW., SE. (1881 edn.).

KIDLINGTON AND THRUPP

c.1800



in all.³⁶ The Oxfordshire Review Order of 1932 removed the detached areas and made other transfers between the various townships, with the result that Kidlington civil parish was increased to 2,305 a. and Thrupp was reduced to 666 a.³⁷ In 1948 Kidlington lost 144 a. to Begbroke parish, bringing its acreage to 2,161 a. (875 ha.).³⁸ In 1955 Thrupp was united with Shipton-on-Cherwell to form a new civil parish, Shipton-on-Cherwell and Thrupp, of 1,724 a. (698 ha.).³⁹

Gosford seems originally to have been part of Kidlington township, but was separated when it was granted to the Hospitallers in 1142.⁴⁰ By the 16th century it was associated with Water Eaton for some administrative purposes.⁴¹ In the 19th century the township comprised 260 a. and its boundaries followed the Banbury road on the west, the Bicester road on most of the north, Water Eaton Lane on most of the east, and field boundaries on the south; on the north-east the boundary skirted the inclosures of Gosford village. The township included a detached area of 18 a. between two streams of the Cherwell north of Gosford bridge. In 1932 the detached part of Gosford was transferred to Hampton Gay and Hampton Poyle, 1 a. was transferred to Kidlington, and the rest (241 a.) was merged in the new civil parish of Gosford and Water Eaton.⁴²

The township of Water Eaton was formed in the Middle Ages by the union in the hands of Oseney abbey of an estate in Water Eaton, a 3-hide estate in Cutteslowe, and an estate at Fries, later Frieze farm. Bounds of the Water Eaton estate in 904 seem to describe an area east of the Banbury road. The boundary ran from the Cherwell at Wilsey northwards and then westwards along the boundary of the extra-parochial area of Cutteslowe to the spring or stream at Wulfwine's grove, probably near the modern St. Frideswide's Farm where it seems to have turned north and run across cultivated fields to the point later marked by the south-east corner of Gosford; thereafter it followed the later boundary back to the Cherwell.⁴³ In 864 the new owner of the estate was directed to pay 30s. to Eynsham church, suggesting an earlier tenurial or ecclesiastical dependance on Eynsham.⁴⁴

The exact boundaries of Oseney abbey's Cutteslowe estate are not known, but the estate included the detached part of the 19th-century township of Water Eaton and the area west of the Banbury road later known as Jordan Hill.⁴⁵ Minor adjustments were probably made to the Water Eaton boundary c. 1388 when, after a protracted dispute, Oseney abbey gave St. Frideswide's priory 17 a. in Cutteslowe and

North Oxford in exchange for 6 a. in Water Eaton and 8 a. on the south boundary of Cutteslowe.⁴⁶ In 1588 Twisdelowe, an area of c. 40 a. on the Wolvercote boundary, was transferred from Cutteslowe to Water Eaton.⁴⁷

Fries or Frize lies between the Banbury road and the Kingsbridge brook south of Kidlington, but the name, whose meaning is uncertain, seems originally to have been applied to an area which extended into Yarnton and perhaps Wolvercote. Fries was held by Oseney abbey from the earlier 12th century and by c. 1300 was part of the abbey's bailiwick of Water Eaton.⁴⁸ An estate there was said to be in Water Eaton in 1545 but in Kidlington and Wolvercote in 1574; in 1648 it comprised 200 a. in Kidlington and 20 a. in Yarnton.⁴⁹ In 1674–5 there was a dispute over whether the estate was in Water Eaton or Kidlington township, and although Fries was from the 17th century onwards usually treated as part of Water Eaton, in 1738 the vicar of Kidlington, presumably referring to Fries and Cutteslowe, reported that there were 'about four or five estates intermixed ... which do not belong to this or any other parish that we know of'.⁵⁰

Water Eaton in the 19th century comprised 1,501 a. of which 83 a. lay detached to the south.⁵¹ In 1929, under the Oxford Extension Act of 1928, the detached part and a small area at Jordan Hill, a total of 101 a., were transferred to the city of Oxford, and a further 40 a. was transferred to the new civil parish of Cutteslowe. In 1932 the Oxfordshire Review Order united the rest of Water Eaton (1,360 a.) with most of Gosford (241 a.), the whole of the extra-parochial area of Cutteslowe (682 a.), Pixey mead (51 a., formerly common to Yarnton and Begbroke), and 26 a. of Kidlington to form the new civil parish of Gosford and Water Eaton (2,360 a.).⁵²

Much of the ancient parish of Kidlington lies between 60 m. and 65 m. above sea level; only in the north-west does the land rise to between 75 m. and 90 m. The southern part, south of Kidlington village, lies mainly on two wide bands of alluvium along the Cherwell and the Oxford canal; between them is a spine of Oxford clay rising to 74 m. at Frieze Farm and to 75 m. on a deposit of brickearth at Jordan Hill. North of Kidlington village the soil changes to cornbrash with large areas of gravel terrace.⁵³ Until inclosure in 1818 much of the clay and cornbrash was permanent grass, the arable being confined to the gravel and parts of the alluvium.

The Oxford–Banbury road, an ancient route turnpiked in 1755 and disturnpiked in 1875, runs from south to north through the middle of

³⁶ *Census*, 1901; O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXVI.NE., SE., XXVII.NW., SE. (1898 edn.).

³⁷ *Census*, 1931.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 1951.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 1961–71.

⁴⁰ Below, Manors.

⁴¹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 21, ff. 135v., 136v.

⁴² Below.

⁴³ J. Cooper, 'Four Oxon. Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries', *Oxoniensia*, 1. 20–1.

⁴⁴ M. Gelling, *Early Chart. of Thames Valley*, p. 126.

⁴⁵ Sawyer papers: in possession of Mr. R. Sawyer, Water Eaton Manor.

⁴⁶ *Oseney Cart.* ii, pp. 567–71; iv, pp. 102–3; *Cal. Pat.*

1374–7, 357; 1385–9, 125.

⁴⁷ Sawyer papers.

⁴⁸ *Oseney Cart.* iii, pp. 345–6; iv, pp. 105–6; vi, pp. 195–8.

⁴⁹ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 7; O.R.O., Fa/XXI/17; *ibid.* PL XVIII/32.

⁵⁰ B.L. Add. MS. 22190, ff. 126v.–127; Sawyer papers.; O.R.O. land tax; O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXVII. SW., SE., XXXIII. NW., NE. (1881 edn.); *Secker's Visit.* 89.

⁵¹ O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXVII. NW., SW., SE., XXXIII. NW., NE. (1881 edn.).

⁵² *Census*, 1931.

⁵³ O.S. Map 1/10,000, SP 41 SE., NE., SP 51 SW. (1980 edn.); Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid and drift, sheet 236 (1938 edn.).

the parish; the Oxford–Woodstock road, turnpiked in 1719 and disturnpiked in 1878, forms part of the western boundary at Fries and cuts through the north-west corner.⁵⁴ A toll house on the Woodstock road at Campsfield survived as a private house in 1983; another nearby may have been demolished in 1878, as was a toll house on the Banbury road at Langford Lane.⁵⁵ A bridge or causeway on the Woodstock road at Fries, over the Kingsbridge brook and the adjoining marshy ground, was the responsibility of a bridge hermit in the late 12th century and of Oseney abbey in the 13th. An Oxford man left money to the bridge in 1271,⁵⁶ and in 1629 the bridge was a wooden one.⁵⁷ The brook itself was apparently named from the nearby canal bridge.⁵⁸

A third main road, leading to Bicester and so to Cambridge, branches from the Banbury road to cross the Cherwell at Gosford bridge, which had replaced an earlier ford by c. 1250;⁵⁹ the bridge was rebuilt in the later 15th century, and was of stone by 1675.⁶⁰ Its repair was the responsibility of the inhabitants of Gosford and Hampton Poyle until it was taken over by the turnpike trustees in 1755. It became a county bridge on the expiry of the turnpike trust in 1872; it was repaired in 1880 and reconstructed in 1917 and 1938.⁶¹ In the 17th century and perhaps earlier the Bicester road left the Banbury road at the two mile tree, apparently at Jordan Hill near the Cutteslowe boundary, and ran north-east across Water Eaton marsh, partly on the line of the modern Water Eaton Lane, to Gosford village and so to the bridge.⁶² The road was turnpiked with the Banbury road in 1755, but in 1780 was replaced by a new turnpike which left the Banbury road c. 1½ mile farther north and ran east to join the old route, then known as Small Marsh Road, at Gosford.⁶³ By 1881 only 'faint traces' of the pitching of the earlier route across Water Eaton marsh remained,⁶⁴ and by 1983 even the footpath which had replaced the road had disappeared.

The road from Witney through Bladon to Enslow bridge crossed the north of the parish. It was turnpiked as far as Campsfield in 1751 and from Campsfield to Enslow bridge in 1768, and was disturnpiked in 1870.⁶⁵

The main road pattern in the south was significantly altered by the construction in 1959 of the Gosford link road, from the Kidlington

roundabout on the Banbury road to Gosford, and in 1960 of the Oxford north-western by-pass, from the Peartree to the Kidlington roundabout.⁶⁶

Langford Lane, which runs between the Banbury and Woodstock roads just north of Kidlington village, was called Wood way in the 17th century and the earlier 18th,⁶⁷ but it was not connected with the 11th-century Wood way on the northern boundary of the parish.⁶⁸ The modern name was first recorded in 1733, but there was a quarry called Langford pits near Thrupp in the later 17th century.⁶⁹ Until inclosure another road branched north-west from the Banbury road at Thrupp to cross the Enslow bridge road near the northern boundary of the parish. It was called Salt Street in 1589,⁷⁰ and may have been a branch of the salt way from Droitwich (Worcs.) to Prince's Risborough (Bucks.); in 1301 villeins owed salt works to the lord of Kidlington manor.⁷¹ At inclosure in 1818 the road was replaced by the more northerly Campsfield Road. Footpaths to Islip and Hampton Poyle cross the Cherwell by footbridges. Sparsey bridge in Water Eaton, on the Islip path, was considered ancient in 1807,⁷² but there is no evidence for its date.

The Oxford canal was constructed through the parish in 1788, using for much of its course the bed of the Rowel and Kingsbridge brooks. It was opened in 1790. At Thrupp, where the canal leaves the Cherwell, a canal basin was formed and a wharf built. Another wharf at Langford Lane, in existence by 1795, was rebuilt during the Second World War and used for the transport of materials for the nearby airfield.⁷³

The Great Western's railway line from Oxford to Banbury was built through the parish and opened in 1850; a station, designed by I. K. Brunel, was built near the corner of Langford Lane and the Banbury road in 1852. At first called Woodstock Road, it was renamed Kidlington in 1890 and closed in 1964.⁷⁴ The building was still standing in 1983. The Oxford–Bletchley railway, a branch of the London and Birmingham Railway, was built through Water Eaton in 1850 and 1851. A station on the Banbury road at Water Eaton served as a temporary passenger terminus for Oxford in 1851 and remained as a goods depot until 1964.⁷⁵ In 1890 the Woodstock Railway Co. opened its branch line from Kidlington to Woodstock. The line,

⁵⁴ Grundy, *Saxon Oxon.* 95; Turnpike Acts, 5 Geo. I, c. 1 (Priv. Act); 28 Geo. II, c. 46; 38–9 Vic. c. 194; 40–1 Vic. c. 64.

⁵⁵ O.R.O., CH/S/VIII/ii/5, 8.

⁵⁶ *Oseney Cart.* iv, pp. 105–6; ii, p. 563.

⁵⁷ P.R.O., E 134/4 Chas. I/Trin. 6.

⁵⁸ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXIII.2 (1881 edn.); O.R.O., Wolvercote incl. award.

⁵⁹ *Cat. Anct. D.* iv, p. 125; for date see *V.C.H. Oxon.* vi. 161.

⁶⁰ J. C. Blomfield, *Deanery of Bicester*, pt. 2, p. 198; J. Ogilby, *Britannia* (1675), 158–9.

⁶¹ O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. viii, p. 523; *ibid. Oxon. Bridges*, 1878 and later edns.

⁶² Ogilby, *Britannia* (1675), 158–9; Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); B.L. Add. MS. 22190, ff. 81v–83.

⁶³ Turnpike Acts, 28 Geo. II, c. 46; 21 Geo III, c. 87; O.R.O., incl. award.

⁶⁴ W. Wing, *Annals of Kidlington*, 9.

⁶⁵ 24 Geo. II, c. 28; 8 Geo. III, c. 41; 32–3 Vic. c. 90.

⁶⁶ Inf. from Oxon. C.C. Surveyor's dept.

⁶⁷ e.g. O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 41, f. 14; Blenheim Mun., box 100.

⁶⁸ Grundy, *Saxon Oxon.* 57.

⁶⁹ O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. viii, p. 588; Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxon.* (1705), 66.

⁷⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 16, f. 43.

⁷¹ P.R.O., C 133/101, no. 7; cf. *V.C.H. Oxon.* x. 127.

⁷² Bodl. MS. Don. c 90, p. 251.

⁷³ H. J. Compton, *Oxf. Canal*, 37; Exeter Coll. Mun., N. I. 5; Blenheim Mun., box 98; inf. from Dr. R. P. Beckin sale.

⁷⁴ E. T. MacDermot and C. R. Clinker, *Hist. G.W.R.* i. 155; G. Biddle, *Victorian Stations*, 47; County Mus., P.R.N. 2244.

⁷⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* vi. 206; O.R.O., PD/2/55; MacDermot and Clinker, *Hist. G.W.R.* i. 154 n.; C. R. Clinker, *Reg. Closed Passenger Stations and Goods Depots*, i. 17, 37.

which ran beside the G.W.R. line from Kidlington station to Shipton-on-Cherwell, was closed in 1954 and the track lifted in 1958.⁷⁶

Kidlington men attended the Woodstock and Bicester markets in the 16th century; in the 19th century and the early 20th, carriers' carts ran to Oxford several times a week.⁷⁷ Since 1923 Kidlington has been served by Oxford city buses.⁷⁸ There was a penny post station in Gosford in 1838 and a post office by 1847. By 1853 the post office had moved to Kidlington.⁷⁹

Wells and streams provided water for Kidlington and its hamlets until the 20th century. Kidlington, Gosford, and Water Eaton were connected to the Oxford water supply in 1934.⁸⁰ Open drains, blamed for much disease in the early 19th century, were covered in 1843.⁸¹ In 1931 the Thames Conservancy declared Kidlington's drains a nuisance, since they were polluting the Cherwell, but a new main drainage system was not built until after the Second World War.⁸² Kidlington was included in the Oxford and District Gas Co.'s area of supply in 1924.⁸³

Two round barrows survived near the Cutteslowe boundary in 1983, and two others in a field north of the Rowel brook were marked by ring ditches;⁸⁴ there may have been another at Anslowe cross, a name recorded in 1630,⁸⁵ in Kidlington village. In the Roman period there was a villa at Water Eaton whose tessellated pavement survived in 904, and another at Campsfield, known only from cropmarks. A farm or village associated with the Campsfield villa was occupied from the 1st to the 4th or 5th century,⁸⁶ and there was probably another farm north-west of Kidlington church, where pottery and coins were found in the 19th century and a stone-lined well survived in 1983.⁸⁷

KIDLINGTON township, meaning Cydela's farm,⁸⁸ seems to have developed as a number of small, scattered settlements of which the earliest and most important was probably that around the church and the medieval manor house, on a small patch of flood-plain gravel near the Cherwell. Others probably lay at Hardwick ('sheep or dairy farm') in the north-west, at Campsfield which appears as a surname in the early 13th century,⁸⁹ and near the sites of the later Hamp-

den and Bayley manor houses. In 1086 a total of 40 unfree tenants and 2 *servi* were recorded in Kidlington,⁹⁰ and in 1301 there were 22 free and at least 55 unfree tenants on the manor.⁹¹ Although 6 out of 14 villein yardlanders died of the Black Death in 1349, the population seems to have recovered by 1377 when Kidlington, with 215 poll tax payers, was the largest vill in Wootton hundred.⁹² In 1550 there were, on the manor described in 1301, only 10 freeholders, one of them non-resident, and 45 copyholders holding 51 houses or cottages.⁹³ In spite of a serious epidemic in 1593 and a bad fire in 1638,⁹⁴ by 1662 there were c. 96 houses in the township, some of them at Moor End, near the junction of Church Street, High Street, Mill Street, and the Moors, and at Mill End, both recorded in 1544, and at Lines End, the later Lyne Road, recorded in 1635.⁹⁵ Eighteenth-century vicars and curates estimated that there were 120 houses in the township.⁹⁶ Apart from Cotes Farm on the site of a former hamlet, there were no outlying farmhouses until after inclosure when two houses were built in the north of the township at Campsfield and one in the south at Stratfield. In 1801 there were 123 houses and a population of 657; the population rose to 938 in 1821 and to 1,190 in 1861. It then remained fairly steady, being 1,073 in 1921, until the late 1920s when it started to increase rapidly, to 4,121 in 1951, 8,514 in 1961, 9,767 in 1971, and 12,626 in 1981, as new housing estates were built. By 1961 the built-up area extended into Gosford and Water Eaton and accounted for most of the population of that parish: 1,260 in 1961, 1,919 in 1971, and 1,782 in 1981.⁹⁷ The newcomers nearly all worked outside Kidlington, most of them in Oxford.⁹⁸

Until inclosure in 1818 the most prominent feature of Kidlington was its large green, which covered most of the township south of the Bicester road and gave rise to the name Kidlington on the Green, in use from the early 16th century.⁹⁹ There was also a smaller town green at the junction of Church Street, Mill Street, High Street, and the Moors. There were a number of substantial farmhouses in the village in the 17th century, in addition to the three manor houses, the rectory house and the vicarage house.¹ Roger Almont's house in

⁷⁶ R. Lingard, *Woodstock Branch* (1973), *passim*.

⁷⁷ e.g. O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 21, f. 353; P.R.O., SP 12/261, f. 30; P.O. Dir. Oxon. (1847 and later edns.).

⁷⁸ *City of Oxf.: Illustrated Hist. [of the Omnibus Service]* (Omnibus Soc. add. publ. 1966), 5-6: copy in Westgate Libr., Oxf.

⁷⁹ *2nd Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Postage*, H.C. 658, p. 147 (1837-8), xx (2); P.O. Dir. Oxon. (1847); Lascelles, *Dir. Oxon.* (1853), 313-14.

⁸⁰ *Social Services in Oxf. District*, ii, 314.

⁸¹ Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 168.

⁸² *Social Services in Oxf. District*, ii, 328-9; *Kidlington Guide* (1955).

⁸³ *Oxf. and District Gas Co. 1818-1948*, 14: copy in Bodl. 1795 d 308. ⁸⁴ County Mus., P.R.N. 13294-5.

⁸⁵ O.R.O., Misc. Bright I/1.

⁸⁶ T. Hearne, *Hemming's Cart.* i, pp. lxxiii-lxxiv; A. G. Hunter and Joan R. Kirk, 'Excavations at Campsfield', *Oxoniensia*, xvii/xviii, 36-62; County Mus., P.R.N. 9413.

⁸⁷ J. Parker, *Early Hist. Oxf.* (O.H.S. iii), 76; cf. Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* p. xvii, where 'north-east of the church' should probably read 'north-west'; *V.C.H. Oxon.*

i, 340.

⁸⁸ *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii, 273.

⁸⁹ E. Ekwall, *Dict. Eng. P.N.* 219; *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 116.

⁹⁰ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 413.

⁹¹ P.R.O., C 133/101, no. 7. The survey of 1279 is incomplete: *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), 853, 855, 873; below, Econ.

⁹² *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ix, p. 183; P.R.O., E 179/161/42.

⁹³ Bodl. MS. d.d. Tyrwhitt-Drake c 2, no. 3.

⁹⁴ *Oxf. Council Acts 1583-1626*, ed. H. E. Salter, 78; *Three Oxon. Pars.* 258.

⁹⁵ P.R.O., E 179/164/504; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 178, f. 190; 124/3/4.

⁹⁶ *Secker's Visit.* 89; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 12, f. 69.

⁹⁷ *Census, 1801-1981*; the 1981 figures are for total population on census night; 359 of those counted in Kidlington, presumably mainly at the airport, were not normally resident there.

⁹⁸ P. U. Bridle, 'Suburbanization and the Metropolitan Village: Kidlington' (Nottingham Univ. B.A. dissertation, 1979), p. 38.

⁹⁹ Merton Coll. Mun., 3311, 3313.

¹ Below, Manors, Church.

Church Street comprised a hall, parlour, kitchen, buttery, and four chambers in 1640, and was taxed on five hearths in 1662.² The house, called Grove House in 1983, has a T-shaped plan and is substantially of c. 1720, suggesting that it was the work of James Almont (d. 1725). The cross wing contains an early 18th-century staircase and other contemporary fittings including one panelled room. The service range has some re-used timber of the earlier 17th century. Later 19th-century alterations include a two-storeyed bay on the south front and additions behind the kitchen range. A house near the mill, owned by the Blackman family of Eynsham in the later 16th century and by Brasenose College from 1599, was described in 1576 as a mansion house. In 1653 the college reserved several rooms, including the parlour and a range of new buildings, for use during outbreaks of plague in Oxford, and in 1662 the tenant was taxed on only four hearths. The existing house on the site, called Mill End House in 1983, incorporates a small 18th-century house which, following additions to the north end, was divided into two cottages. It has been much remodelled and enlarged since 1935. The extensive gardens are of the mid 20th century but incorporate a rectangular moated platform perhaps made for a 16th- or 17th-century orchard.³

Two houses, later Manor Farm and Village Farm, descended with fractions of the chief manor from the mid 17th century and were held by the duke of Marlborough at inclosure. One, which belonged to the Saunders family, was taxed on seven hearths in 1662; the other was described as a mansion house in 1765.⁴ Manor Farm in Church Street was rebuilt in the early 19th century, but retains in its garden wall an early 18th-century stone gateway with rustic impost, keystone arch, and curved pediment of moulded stone. Village Farm or the Laurels in High Street was demolished in the mid 1930s; it appears to have been an 18th-century building, two storeys high, of coursed rubble.⁵ Burnt Oak in Mill Street and the Mill House in Mill End were built on a screens-passage plan in the later 17th century.⁶ Both have 18th- and 19th-century additions at the back or service end. The parlour wing of the Mill House may have been rebuilt in the 19th century, and the whole house was extensively refurbished c. 1940.

The Miller's House in Mill End incorporates in its two central rooms and the large chimney stack at their eastern end a small, apparently early 17th-century house with a central cross passage. It was extended eastwards in the late 17th century and further enlarged in the 18th; the western room was added in the earlier 20th century. The house by the church, now called the Old Priest's House, which contains two 17th-century fireplaces, may also be of 17th-

century origin; in an upstairs bedroom is an early 16th-century fireplace, probably from the bailiff's house near the church, demolished in the late 18th century.⁷ The cottage, the survivor of a row of three, was extensively renovated in 1955. Several dated 18th-century cottages survive, all built of coursed rubble; they include a cottage off Mill Street (1728), no. 18 the Moors (1742), Rock Cottage, 37 Banbury Road (1772), and no. 76 Church Street (1778). The datestones on no. 78 Church Street (1739) and no. 73 High Street (1733) have been reset.

From the later 18th century Kidlington became something of a suburb of Oxford, chosen by successful citizens who wanted a country house within easy reach of the town. Several large houses were built fronting the town green and Kidlington green, including, presumably, the 'genteel modern stone house' occupied by the lawyer Thomas Paynton (d. 1773) and some of the 'numerous respectable residences' later occupied by Oxford traders.⁸ Hill House and its neighbour no. 95 High Street are both of three storeys, of coursed rubble with ashlar quoins; no. 95 has a stone porch with moulded entablature supported on two columns. Thornbury House in the Moors, occupied from 1948 to 1983 by the Oxfordshire county council Social Services Department, was built in the 1760s by Richard Hanwell, the son of an Oxford brewer, and passed from him to V. J. Shortland, son of a former mayor of Oxford.⁹ The house, which was remodelled soon after 1843, is an imposing three-storeyed building of coursed rubble with prominent ashlar quoins and a stucco front. The south elevation is of five bays with a central doorway which has rustic pilasters and hood on large carved consoles. Beside it, on the road, is a small lodge, built c. 1833.¹⁰ Greystones and its adjoining cottage, on the north side of Lyne Road, incorporate part of a 17th-century house; the neighbouring Lyne Farm is of the 18th century. The 19th-century Exeter House, in Crown Road, on the west side of the former green, has windows with prominent keystone architraves and a moulded cornice surmounted by a grey colour-washed brick parapet. There are four or five substantial early 19th-century houses of coursed rubble with ashlar quoins on either side of the Banbury road, north of its junction with the High Street.

The main surviving later 19th-century additions to the village were terraces of brick or rubble workers' cottages in Lyne Road and Banbury Road and off Mill Street and the High Street. Nos. 62 and 64 Church Street are a pair of model cottages, and nos. 70 and 72 a pair of large semi-detached houses for professional families.

The modern development of Kidlington began in the late 1920s. Between 1928 and 1930 the

² O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 113/1/39; P.R.O., E 179/255/4.

³ B.N.C. Mun., Kidlington 18, 43-4, 63; Ledger 26, p. 45; P.R.O., E 179/255/4; O.R.O. incl. award; H. John, *Skeptical Gardener*, 16; W. Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden* (1623), 13.

⁴ P.R.O., E 179/255/4; Blenheim Mun., box 95.

⁵ R. C. Martin, *High Street, Kidlington* (priv. print. 1983),

9; *Sale Cat.* 1920: copy in O.R.O.

⁶ E. Mercer, *Eng. Vernacular Houses* (R.C.H.M.), 194.

⁷ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 5.

⁸ O.R.O., Misc. Coom. 1/21; W. Wing, *Annals of Kidlington*, 1.

⁹ Deeds in possession of Oxon. County Council; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 168/2/7.

¹⁰ Deeds in possession of Oxon. C.C.; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington d 42: vestry bk. s.a. 1833.

Blenheim estate sold several building plots in the Moors and the Banbury road, and in 1936 and 1937 developed Blenheim Road.¹¹ In 1930 other land in the Moors and the Banbury road was sold as building land 'ripe for immediate development', and in the same period 62 council houses were built.¹² The Garden City, west of the Banbury road and well south of the original village, was begun in the 1930s but not completed until 1961.¹³ In 1953 Ploughley rural district council bought 21 a. between Evans Lane and the Cherwell for building.¹⁴ Exeter College sold land in Banbury Road for building in 1954 and 1957.¹⁵ During the 1960s the area between the old Bicester road and the Gosford link road was developed, the buildings including the Oxfordshire, later the Thames Valley, police headquarters (1965), and in the 1970s and 1980s new estates were built between the Banbury road and the canal.

An inn or alehouse called the Bells was a haunt of highway robbers in 1535, and five alehouses and an inn were recorded in 1587.¹⁶ An alehouse on the east side of the Banbury road was called the Harrow in the late 17th century and the Six Bells in 1709; it had closed by 1735.¹⁷ The Crown inn was recorded in 1677 and 1709, and the Old Crown, on Kidlington green near the Banbury road, in 1727 and 1734.¹⁸ The Dog, on the town green, may have been the scene of a riotous election meeting in 1754: it was certainly a public house by 1766. It changed its name to the Anchor for several years c. 1800. The house was closed in 1935 and the name, the Dog, has since been given to a new public house in the Garden City.¹⁹ The Black Horse, first recorded in 1772, and its neighbour the Bull (1774) or the Black Bull (by 1847) on the east side of the Banbury road²⁰ were both rebuilt on slightly different sites in the 19th century. The Railway Hotel, so called in 1877, was renamed the Wise Alderman in 1967 after Alderman Frank Wise; it was apparently called the Anchor in the mid 19th century.²¹ The late 18th- or early 19th-century buildings seem originally to have been the warehouse and other buildings for the Langford Lane wharf on the canal. The King's Arms, first recorded in 1817, the Britannia, 1869, the Six Bells, 1864, and the Red Lion, 1864, were built on land inclosed from town green and Kidlington green.²² The Red Lion moved to a new site c. 1965.

The shopping area in the High Street was expanded in the 1960s and 1970s with the

construction of purpose-built rows of small shops and two large supermarkets, Tescos in the former cinema and the Co-operative Stores, both opened in 1979. The large, red-brick cinema, the Sterling, had opened in 1938 and closed in 1977. A St. John Ambulance headquarters was built in 1970 and enlarged as a county headquarters in 1975. To the south is the county fire service headquarters opened in 1964. The Kidlington Assembly Room and Foresters' Hall in High Street was built in 1902-3 on land given by the duke of Marlborough with money raised by public subscription and by the Ancient Order of Foresters. Winston, later Sir Winston, Churchill spoke at its opening. It was demolished in 1980 and replaced in 1981 by Marlborough House, containing a new hall, businessmen's club, and offices.²³ In 1977 Exeter Hall on the Banbury road was opened; it contains two halls, kitchens, parish council offices, a Health Centre, and a Youth Centre.

Despite its rapid and initially uncontrolled growth, Kidlington has retained a sense of identity, its inhabitants in 1981 successfully resisting incorporation into Oxford city. Amenity groups have campaigned against building on some of the surviving open land and against the increasingly heavy traffic on the Banbury road through the village. There were in 1983 over 40 local clubs and societies, including sports clubs, political clubs, branches of voluntary organizations, and special interest groups such as photographic and historical societies and the folk dance club.²⁴ The cricket club was founded before 1854.²⁵

There was a small hamlet, Cote or Cotes, on the site of Park Farm, in the mid 12th century. Three men surnamed of Cote lived in Kidlington c. 1225, and a freehold of 2 yardlands was recorded in 1251.²⁶ A hamlet of Over Cote, presumably the same place, contained at least seven villein holdings in the late 13th century²⁷ but was not separately taxed in the early 14th. The settlement had probably been reduced to one or two houses by the 16th century. A house called Cote End recorded in 1591²⁸ may have been in the nearby Kidlington village. A farm house known as Cotes Farm in the 16th century, Cot Green in 1876, and Park Farm or Park House²⁹ from c. 1890 survives. The back wing at the south end has a roof with sharply-kneaded upper-cruck principals, perhaps of the 17th century. The symmetrical front range of five bays is 18th-century, but the fenestration, like most of the interior fittings, has been renewed.

¹¹ Blenheim Mun., modern sales docs.

¹² *Sale Cat.* (1930) microfilm in Westgate Libr., Oxf.; *Social Services in Oxf. District*, ed. A. F. C. Bourdillon, ii.

¹³ *Brochure*, microfilm in Westgate Libr.

¹⁴ B.N.C. Mun., Ledger 27, p. 161.

¹⁵ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. IV. 3, 4.

¹⁶ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, viii, p. 295; P.R.O., SP 12/198, f. 108.

¹⁷ O.R.O., Morrell VI/1/1, 10; *ibid.* incl. award.

¹⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 93; O.R.O., K. II/a/1; *ibid.* vctrls' recogs.

¹⁹ *Kidlington Canvass or the Candidates in the Mud* [1753]: copy in Bodl. G.A. fol. A 248(42), woodcut; O.R.O., vctrls' recogs.; local inf.

²⁰ Deeds of 'Rock Cottage': inf. from Kidlington Hist. Soc.; O.R.O. incl. award.

²¹ *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1869 and later edns.); *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.); *Oxf. Mail*, 15 Nov. 1957.

²² *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847 and later edns.); O.R.O., incl. award.

²³ R. C. Martin, *High Street Kidlington*, 4-10; unpublished paper by R. P. Beckinsale on the Foresters Hall.

²⁴ *Kidlington Mag.* June 1971, 10-14; Kidlington Par. Council Rep. 1980, 1981; *Kidlington Cal.* 1983.

²⁵ *Oxf. Chron.* 24 June, 1854.

²⁶ Salter, *Oxf. Charters*, no. 79; *Oseney Cart.* iv, pp. 115-16; *Oxon. Fines*, 156.

²⁷ P.R.O., E 210/7148.

²⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Hall's Brewery c 14.

²⁹ The name seems to have been taken from W. Wing's *Annals of Kidlington*, 1, but Wing's reference to a Kidlington Park in 1754 is an error for Kirtlington Park: *Oxon. Poll* 1754, 28.

There was formerly a datestone of 1753 on the southern stack, but in 1757 the house was in need of rebuilding.³⁰ The northern back wing is probably 19th-century.

THRUPP was a separate estate in 1066, but no tenants were recorded in 1086.³¹ In 1279 there were probably 5 free and 25 unfree tenants in the vill.³² Only 40 people paid poll tax in 1377, suggesting that the population had fallen by about half since 1279, and only 10 houses in the hamlet were assessed for hearth tax in 1662.³³ The banks and ditches of deserted house sites are still visible south of the village, across the canal.³⁴ Eighteenth-century vicars and curates reported 8 or 10 houses in the hamlet,³⁵ and in 1801 the 56 inhabitants occupied 12 houses. The population rose fairly steadily to 160 in 33 houses in 1841, fell to 106 in 1901, and rose again to 154 people in 48 houses, some of them on Campsfield Road near the northern boundary of the township, in 1951, the last year for which separate figures are available.³⁶

Most of the village houses, of coursed rubble with slate roofs, lie along the north-west side of the single village street, fronting the canal, on a small area of gravel terrace. They include a terrace of nine small houses, built probably in the early 19th century and once occupied by canal and boat people,³⁷ and another row, formerly of three cottages, one of which was converted into a Baptist chapel in 1876. Beyond them is an octagonal late medieval cross shaft on a square base.³⁸ South of the canal is a row of four cottages, probably 19th-century. Lower Farm, on the north side of the lane leading to the Banbury road, incorporates a long 17th-century range, with later additions including an early 19th-century barn. There has been very little modern building in the village.

Thrupp had one or two alehouses in the later 18th century, named in 1774 as the Three Horseshoes and the Axe. The Axe seems to have changed its name to the Unicorn c. 1812 and to the Boat by 1839. The Three Horseshoes, on the Banbury road, had closed by 1924. The Britannia, on the canal just south of Thrupp in Kidlington township, had opened in 1847. The Boat inn, a two-storeyed 18th-century building of coursed rubble, survived in 1983, as did the Britannia, its name changed in 1971 to the Jolly Boatman.³⁹

Campsfield, in the north-west corner of the parish in both Kidlington and Thrupp town-

ships, was regularly used for horse racing in the later 18th century.⁴⁰ In 1936 it became the site of Oxford airport, which, by 1983 had expanded to cover much of the area north of Langford Lane and between the Woodstock and Banbury roads.⁴¹ South of the airport is Campsfield House, a detention centre for young offenders, opened c. 1952.⁴² A site by the Woodstock road, north-west of the airport, was used for c. 35 years from 1948 for the Oxfordshire Show.⁴³

There was probably a settlement at GOSFORD before it was separated from Kidlington since the boundary respects the houses of the old hamlet. Several men from Gosford were recorded in the late 13th century,⁴⁴ and the township was separately assessed for subsidy in 1316 and 1327.⁴⁵ As many as 42 people paid poll tax there in 1377,⁴⁶ but the population declined later, perhaps as a result of early inclosure. In 1553 Gosford manor contained 14 houses or cottages, but some of them may have been in Kidlington; only 4 houses were assessed for hearth tax in 1662.⁴⁷ Vicars and curates reported 3 houses in Gosford in 1738, and 7 in the late 18th century.⁴⁸ In 1801 the 7 houses were occupied by 47 people. During the 19th century and the early 20th the population fluctuated only slightly, reaching a low point of 30 in 1851 and a high point of 75 in 1931, the last year for which separate figures are available.⁴⁹ By 1983 much of the north of the former township had been built up.

In the 13th century the Hospitallers had a house and oratory in Gosford, but there is no evidence to support an 18th-century tradition that it had earlier been occupied by sisters of the order.⁵⁰ It presumably stood on or near the site of the King's Arms where a 14th-century window was found in 1948.⁵¹ The other houses of the village stood on either side of the main road just east of the King's Arms; one much altered rubble cottage survives on the north of the road and a farmhouse, Gosford House, apparently of 18th- or late 17th-century origin, on the south.⁵² The township was inclosed early, and one outlying farmhouse, Gosford Hill Farm, survives as part of the Thames Valley police headquarters. It is an 18th-century house with a plain entrance front of five bays and a short rear service wing; it was extended northwards in the 19th century and greatly enlarged on the east after it was taken over by the police headquarters in 1965. From 1931 to 1937 the farm housed the Oxford

³⁰ Queen's Coll. MS. 482, ff. 58-60; inf. from Mr. C. P. Waring.

³¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 416.

³² *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 853, 855; one third of Thrupp was entered under Yarnton in error.

³³ P.R.O., E 179/161/42; E 179/164/504.

³⁴ County Mus., P.R.N. 1309.

³⁵ *Secker's Visit.* 89; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 12, f. 69.

³⁶ *Census*, 1801-1951.

³⁷ *Oxf. Mail*, 15 Nov. 1957.

³⁸ County Mus., P.R.N. 2421.

³⁹ O.R.O., vctls' recogs.; *ibid.* CH/E/IX/51; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847 and later edns.); *Oxf. Mail*, 11 May 1971.

⁴⁰ *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 8 Nov. 1756; 7 Apr. 1760; 14 Oct. 1763.

⁴¹ Below, Econ.

⁴² M. Henderson, 'Young Thugs: is this the Cure?' *Illustrated*, 17 Jan. 1953.

⁴³ *Oxf. City Arch.*, CC. 1.1, p. 161; *Jnl. R. Agric. Soc. Eng.* cxi, Suppl.

⁴⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1288-96, 386; Bodl. MS. d.d. Ch. Ch. O.R. 127. The hundred rolls for Gosford do not survive.

⁴⁵ P.R.O., E 179/161/8, 9.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* E 179/202/59.

⁴⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1553-4, 350-1; P.R.O., E 179/255/4.

⁴⁸ *Secker's Visit.* 89; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 12, f. 69.

⁴⁹ *Census*, 1801-1931.

⁵⁰ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 853; *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 193; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 802; cf. *Hearne's Colln.* viii (O.H.S. 1), 240.

⁵¹ County Mus., P.R.N. 5387; the window is preserved in the hall of the St. John Ambulance H.Q. in Kidlington.

⁵² Ogilby, *Britannia* (1675), p. 158; Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767). The statement in *Oxf. Mail*, 1 July 1980, that Gosford Ho. is medieval is without foundation.

Zoological Gardens whose animals included a lion, a leopard, an elephant, baboons, and polar bears.⁵³

There was an inn at Gosford in 1587, probably already the house on the north side of the main road, called Louse Hall by 17th-century Oxford scholars, which was 'famous for ale and an old woman that always wore a ruff'.⁵⁴ By 1705 it was divided into two holdings, one called the Falcon inn. Louse Hall, presumably the other half of the holding, was in the mid 18th century used by the Kidlington overseers to house paupers.⁵⁵ By 1763 the inn was the Crown, a name it retained until 1812 or later; in 1816 it was the King's Arms.⁵⁶ The surviving two-storeyed building of coursed rubble was thoroughly remodelled in the later 20th century.

There was an Anglo-Saxon estate and presumably a settlement at WATER EATON by 864, and 33 tenants were recorded there in 1086.⁵⁷ The medieval village lay on the alluvium, roughly in the centre of the township. The site is marked by slight earthworks and a pottery scatter south and west of the early 19th-century Middle Farm.⁵⁸ No account of Water Eaton in 1279 survives, but the names of at least 35 tenants of Oseney abbey, which owned the whole township, appear in court rolls of 1320-1. There was also then a village or hamlet on Oseney abbey's Cutteslowe estate, where at least 9 tenants were recorded,⁵⁹ but it was not separately assessed for subsidy. It was probably near the Cutteslowe border of the township, where a hollow way survived in 1983 east of and parallel to the Banbury road; it seems to have been occupied from the 12th to the later 15th century, but in 1377 its population was apparently included in that of Water Eaton, which had as many as 128 poll tax payers.⁶⁰

There may have been some decline at Water Eaton in the early 16th century, as Oseney's rents fell from c. £44 in 1509-10 to c. £24 in 1535, but there were still 42 houses and cottages on the manor in 1565.⁶¹ The inclosure carried out by William Frere in the 1590s, although claimed at the time to have done no damage, seems in the longer run to have halved the population of the township, for by 1631 there were only 21 customary tenants.⁶² The inclosures allowed some houses to be built south of the medieval village, on drier ground around Frere's manor house, built on a new site in

1586.⁶³ In the 17th and 18th centuries between 17 and 20 houses were reported in the township, including the outlying Fries Farm, on or near a site occupied since the Middle Ages, Southfield Farm, which seems to have been of 17th- or early 18th-century date, and Northfield Farm, built in the 1760s.⁶⁴ There was an alehouse in the township in 1679,⁶⁵ but none was recorded in the 18th century. The population increased from 97 in 1801 to 161 in 1891, but by 1876 the township, which c. 1800 had centred on a recognizable village, contained only the manor house and five scattered farmhouses with their associated labourers' cottages, and other cottages in Water Eaton Lane and in the fields.⁶⁶ The population fell in the 20th century as farm labourers' cottages were abandoned; it was 127 in 1931,⁶⁷ the last year for which separate figures are available. Thereafter, more cottages and one farm house, Southfield Farm, were abandoned, but a few new houses, the southern fringe of the Kidlington development, were built in Water Eaton Lane. The portions of Water Eaton transferred to Oxford in 1929 were built up between 1930 and 1970.⁶⁸

Fries was recorded as a bridge chapel and adjoining house c. 1200. There may have been a small settlement, perhaps on the patch of gravel by the modern Frieze Farm, in 1280 when Oseney abbey received 3s. 4d. rent from Fries and a further 14s. rent was unpaid.⁶⁹ Fries was not separately assessed for subsidy or poll tax. In the late 16th century there were at least two families at Fries, one of which had been recorded there in 1495-6,⁷⁰ but 17th-century disputes over the liability of tenants of Fries to serve offices or repair roads in Water Eaton⁷¹ suggest that there was then only one inhabited house. In the 18th century a house called Fries stood close to the Woodstock road near the bridge over Kingsbridge brook; it was apparently demolished by 1797, and the modern Frieze Farm, c. 500 yd. to the south-east, is of the later 19th century.⁷²

In 1596 a group composed of young, mainly semi-skilled, labourers and servants, among them Edward Hoffer of Kidlington, 'a very dangerous man', planned an uprising against William Frere of Water Eaton and other inclosing landlords, but no supporters appeared at the meeting place, and the leaders were arrested.⁷³ Royalist troops and artillery were quartered in

⁵³ Oxf. Zoological Gdns. Guide (1931-6); Oxf. Monthly, Aug. 1936, p. 15; Oxf. Times, 25 Jan. 1937.

⁵⁴ P.R.O., SP 12/198, ff. 108-109v.; Ogilby, *Britannia* (1675), 159; Hist. MSS. Com. 29, *Portland*, ii, p. 288.

⁵⁵ Blenheim Mun., box 97; *ibid.* E/P/6; O.R.O., K II/a/1.

⁵⁶ Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 1 July 1763; O.R.O. vcltrs' recogs.

⁵⁷ M. Gelling, *Early Charters of the Thames Valley*, 126; *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 413.

⁵⁸ County Mus., P.R.N. 1109.

⁵⁹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Ch. Ch. O.R. 127.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., E 179/161/42; pottery finds in possession of V.C.H. staff.

⁶¹ *Oseney Cart.* vi, p. 230; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 216; P.R.O., C 142/149, no. 93.

⁶² P.R.O., STAC 5/A 11/9; Sawyer papers.

⁶³ P.R.O., STAC 5/A 11/9; Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1794); B.L., O.S.D. 230.

⁶⁴ B.L. Add. MS. 22190, ff. 55v.-56; Sawyer papers.; P.R.O., E 179/164/504; *Secker's Visit.* 89; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 12, f. 69; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 766, pp. 59-61.

⁶⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 29, ff. 16-17; c 107, f. 118.

⁶⁶ *Census*, 1801-1901; Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1794); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVII.14, 15; XXXIII. 2, 3, 7 (1881 edn.).

⁶⁷ *Census* 1931; the figure excludes the areas transferred to Oxford in 1929.

⁶⁸ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 206-7.

⁶⁹ *Oseney Cart.* vi, p. 198.

⁷⁰ Oxf. City Arch., A.5.3, ff. 117, 300v.; *Oseney Cart.* vi, p. 300.

⁷¹ Sawyer papers: in possession of Mr. R. Sawyer, Water Eaton Manor; B.L. Add. MS. 22190, f. 78.

⁷² Woodstock Boro. Mun. 52/3/9; Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797); Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 109. The statement in M. E. Freeborn, *Twixt Cherwell and Glyme*, 301, that the cellar of the modern house was old is incorrect.

⁷³ J. Walter, 'Oxon. Rising of 1596', *Past and Present*, cviii. 90 sqq.

Kidlington several times between 1643 and 1645, and parliamentary troops in 1644; skirmishes took place there in 1644 and 1645.⁷⁴ In June 1644 Charles I held a general muster of his army at Campsfield. Gosford bridge was of strategic importance during the siege of Oxford in 1644 when it was successfully defended by the royalists.⁷⁵ Sir William Morton of Hampden manor fought for Charles I until he was captured and imprisoned in 1644, but the recent 'tradition' that Hampden Manor was the scene of the fictional incident portrayed in the Victorian painting 'And when did you last see your father?' is without foundation.⁷⁶ Roger Brent of Thrupp also fought for the king, and John, Lord Lovelace, of Water Eaton, lost much of his fortune by his support of Charles I. In 1644 parliamentary troops from Banbury abducted Lady Lovelace, taking her to Middleton Stoney and forcing her to walk back to Water Eaton.⁷⁷

In 1753 the New Interest candidates, Thomas Parker, Viscount Parker, and Sir Edward Turner, were roughly handled at Kidlington by a Tory mob, and when the Tory candidates were unseated in 1755 the rejoicing of the minority Whigs caused further violence.⁷⁸ Feelings may have been exacerbated by local opposition to Joseph Smith of Bayley manor, a Whig supporter, and his claims to manorial rights over Kidlington green.⁷⁹ There was another outbreak of mob violence in 1764 when, for unknown reasons, a house was almost destroyed.⁸⁰ About the same date Smith complained about thefts of firewood from his hedges.⁸¹

Some Kidlington men were tempted to join the Swing rioters in 1830 although there were no disturbances in the parish.⁸² J. P. W. Sydenham, probably the natural son of J. P. W. Sydenham of Hampden manor, was imprisoned for taking part in the rescue of the Otmoor rioters at St. Giles's Fair, Oxford, the same year.⁸³ The parish was not greatly affected by the agricultural labourers' strike in 1872, although about 70 men joined the labourers' union. In 1890 the vicar complained of a 'semi-political socialistic spirit' among the poor.⁸⁴

In the 18th century Kidlington and its hamlets, including Fries, apparently had separate feasts, all on the Sunday after 8 September, the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, patron saint of

Kidlington church.⁸⁵ Only the Kidlington feast was recorded in the 19th century, and from 1863 a fruit and flower show was held on the following Monday. In the 1880s the show moved to the last Thursday in August and was expanded to include poultry and pets. The show had ceased by 1952, but in 1960 the old feast and an accompanying small show were revived.⁸⁶

Kidlington Friendly Society, founded in 1839, survived until 1901, despite a great reduction in its capital after a £1,000 'surplus' was shared out among the members in 1878. It held a feast with a small fair on the first Thursday in June. In 1881 there were two other small, and presumably short-lived, friendly societies in Kidlington.⁸⁷

In 1445 Oseney abbey, the impropiator, supplied the vicar with four measures of wheat and four measures of malt at Christmas, presumably for a breakfast for the parishioners after Midnight Mass. In the early 18th century the rector and vicar also provided three quarters of an ox at Christmas, and the rector supplied cakes at Easter. By 1738 the Christmas breakfast was the cause of much drunkenness and disorder, and c. 1800 it and the Easter cake were replaced by a gift of £20 worth of meat and coal from Exeter College to the poor of the parish. The gift was reduced to £10 in 1878 and discontinued soon afterwards.⁸⁸

Thomas Beecham, inventor of Beecham's pills, lived in Kidlington for one or two years from 1840, and is alleged to have made his pills there.⁸⁹ The philosopher Bertrand Russell lived at Greystones in Lyne Road in 1937-8.⁹⁰

MANORS AND OTHER ESTATES. In 1086 Robert d'Oilly held *KIDLINGTON* in demesne,⁹¹ and the manor descended with his barony of Hook Norton to his brother Niel (d. c. 1115), to Niel's son Robert (d. 1142), and to Robert's son (d. 1163), grandson (d. 1196), and great-grandson, all called Henry d'Oilly. The last Henry, who c. 1200 alienated detached woodland in the extraparochial area Osney Hill, died without issue in 1232, and Kidlington was held in dower by his widow Maud (d. 1261) and her second husband William de Cauntelo.⁹² Margaret de Newburgh, countess of Warwick,

⁷⁴ Bodl. MS. Rawl. D 395, f. 19; *Letter Bk. of Sir Sam. Luke* (Beds. Rec. Soc. xlii), p. 98; Hist. MSS. Com. 29, *Portland*, i, p. 214; *ibid.* 55, *Var. Colln.* i, p. 140;

⁷⁵ *Mercurius Aulicus*, 1 June 1644, p. 1003; 21 June 1644, p. 1043.

⁷⁶ G. Jagger, 'And when did you last see your Father?' *Oxon. Life and Countryside*, Sept./Oct. 1968, 21-3; cf. Freeborn, *Twixt Cherwell and Glyme*, 228-55.

⁷⁷ *Cal. Cttee. for Compounding*, iii. 1977; *Mercurius Aulicus*, 1 Sept. 1644, p. 1144.

⁷⁸ *Kidlington Canvass or the Candidates in the Mud* [1753]; *Oxf. Jnl.* 10 May 1755.

⁷⁹ *Oxon. Poll Bk.* 1754, 110; Blenheim Mun., box 98.

⁸⁰ *Oxf. Jnl.* 10 Nov. 1764.

⁸¹ Queen's Coll. MS. 482, f. 141.

⁸² E. Feild, *Address on the State of the Country* (1830): copy in Bodl. 30.90; *Rep. Com. Poor Laws*, H.C. 44, Appendix (B.1) pt. V, p. 376e (1834), xxxiv.

⁸³ *Oxf. Jnl.* 16 July 1831; O.R.O., CPZ 15/5; CH XCV/1; P.R.O., PROB 11/2215, f. 552. There is no evidence that either Sydenham was involved in the Swing riots: cf. M. E.

Freeborn, *Twixt Cherwell and Glyme*, 354.

⁸⁴ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 341, f. 256; c 356, f. 233; *Oxf. Chron.* 10 Aug. 1872.

⁸⁵ *Hearne's Colln.* ix (O.H.S. lxxv), 192.

⁸⁶ Wing, *Annals of Kidlington*, 31; *Kidlington Show* (1926): pamphlet in Oxf. Mail and Times Libr.; *Oxf. Mail*, 27 March 1952, 7 April 1960.

⁸⁷ Kidlington Friendly Soc. *Rules* (1839): copy in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. 8° 942; Wing, *Annals of Kidlington*, 15-17; *Kidlington Cal.* March 1981: copy in Westgate Libr., Oxf.; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 515, ff. 94, 103.

⁸⁸ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 123; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 41, f. 15; *Secker's Visit.* 91-2; Exeter Coll. Mun., A. I. 12, pp. 251, 268; M. III. 5; M. III. 7; Freeborn, *Twixt Cherwell and Glyme*, 111.

⁸⁹ A. Francis, *A Guinea a Box*, 37-40.

⁹⁰ Deeds in possession of Mrs. D. A. B. Hewitt, Greystones, Kidlington. ⁹¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 413.

⁹² Sanders, *Eng. Baronies*, 54; *Cur. Reg. R.* xiv, p. 493; *Bk. of Fees*, ii. 822; *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 136; below, N. Leigh, *Manors*.



WATER EATON: the site of the deserted village from the east in 1953, with Middle Farm in the background (and the aeroplane wing obscuring the foreground)



KIDLINGTON: the Oxford canal at Thrupp



KIDLINGTON: Oxford Road c. 1935



KIDLINGTON: Church Street in 1904

niece of the last Henry d'Oilly and after 1242 his heir, died without issue in 1253,⁹³ but the reversion of Kidlington, which had escheated to the Crown on her death, was granted to her husband John de Plessis, who entered on the manor on Maud de Cauntelo's death.⁹⁴ John de Plessis died in 1263 and was succeeded by his son Hugh who in 1279 held the manor in demesne of the king in chief.⁹⁵ Hugh was succeeded by his son (d. 1301), grandson (d. 1337), and great-grandson (d. 1349), all called Hugh de Plessis.⁹⁶ On the death of the last Hugh, Kidlington passed in dower to his widow Elizabeth and her second husband Roger Elmbridge.⁹⁷ Hugh de Plessis's brother and heir John died without issue in 1354 and the reversion of Kidlington passed to his sister Eleanor, wife of John Lenveysey, and to her son John Lenveysey, who entered on the manor at Elizabeth Elmbridge's death in 1379 but himself died without issue in 1380.⁹⁸ Kidlington was again held in dower, by John Lenveysey's widow Elizabeth who married Philip de la Vache.⁹⁹ In 1381, William Molyns, who held the reversion of Kidlington under a settlement made by the younger John Lenveysey in 1374, conveyed it to four men who seem to have been feoffees for Richard Adderbury, who acquired a life interest in the manor on the death of Elizabeth de la Vache in 1414.¹ By 1428 Thomas Chaucer held 1 knight's fee in Kidlington, formerly held by Hugh de Plessis, which he had presumably acquired from the Adderburies.² He died in 1434, and the manor passed to his wife Maud and then to his daughter Alice, wife of William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk.³ Kidlington was among the manors forfeited by Alice's grandson Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, in 1501.⁴ In 1510 it was granted to Thomas Howard, Lord Howard, and his wife Anne (d. 1511), daughter of Edward IV, in exchange for her share in her father's lands.⁵

The manor was in the king's hands in 1532; it seems later to have been held by Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, but in 1546 the king granted it to Leonard Chamberlain and John Blundell.⁶ It then followed the descent of Steeple Barton,⁷ being divided among Blundell's five daughters, Anne Cordell, Elizabeth Hogan, Mary Croker, Theodora Champneys, and Susan Freston. In 1610 Elizabeth's son Thomas Hogan bought Mary's fifth of the manor from her son John Croker; after that Anne and Susan died without issue and their shares were divided among the issue of the other three sisters. Theodora's son Richard Champneys, who had earlier sold his fifth of the manor, sold his third part of

the two fifths of the manor to Gresham Hogan, brother and successor of Thomas. Gresham thus held two thirds of the manor, which passed, with Steeple Barton, to his daughter Elizabeth and her husband Thomas Waller, who devised it to his youngest daughter Dorothy. Dorothy married John James, and Kidlington passed to their son Hogan who sold it to Thomas Paynton. Paynton died in 1773, devising the manor, then consisting only of quitrents, to trustees for sale.⁸ It seems to have been bought by Joseph Smith of the Bayley manor in Kidlington, and passed with that estate to William Bulley, who in 1810 sold it to the duke of Marlborough.⁹ The dukes were recorded as lords of the manor throughout the 19th century and the early 20th,¹⁰ but by then manorial rights had lapsed.

The medieval manor house probably stood west or south-west of the church on the site of the later Bury or Baylyes House. By 1550 there seems to have been only a bailiff's house on the site. The house, with the adjoining moated Berry orchard, was sold by Thomas Waller in 1664 to Thomas Standard of Shipton-on-Cherwell. It passed to Standard's daughter Alice, wife of Thomas Smith, to her son Humphrey Smith, to Humphrey's son Thomas who came of age in 1728, and to Thomas's son Thomas, whose executors sold it to the duke of Marlborough in 1788.¹¹ The large house, partly of 16th-century date, was demolished in the later 18th century.¹²

In 1606 Richard Champneys sold the fifth of Kidlington manor which he had inherited from his mother Theodora to Edward Street and Anthony Woodhull, from whom it had passed by 1660 to Woodhull Street, owner of the Bayley manor, with which it presumably descended thereafter.¹³

The remaining two fifteenths of the manor, the Croker share in Anne Cordell and Susan Freston's portions, were sold before 1633 to John Saunders and John May.¹⁴ John Saunders's share descended to Thomas Saunders who in 1708 conveyed it, described as a quarter of the manor, to trustees for sale. It was sold to Humphrey Smith owner of Berry Orchard and passed with that estate to the duke of Marlborough in 1788.¹⁵ John May's share descended to Martin May (d. 1707) under whose will it passed successively to his great-nephews Francis Martin May Mann (d. by 1751) and Thomas Martin May Philips. Philips sold it in 1755 to Samuel Touchet who in 1765 sold it to the duke of Marlborough.¹⁶

Two sub manors developed in the 16th

⁹³ *Complete Peerage*, xii (2), 366.

⁹⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1258-66, 184-5; *Close R.* 1261-4, 178.

⁹⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* i, p. 168; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 873.

⁹⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, p. 41; viii, p. 70.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* ix, p. 183; *Cal. Close*, 1349-54, 108.

⁹⁸ *Complete Peerage*, x, 551; *Cal. Pat.* 1358-61, 579; 1370-4, 422; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xv, p. 41.

⁹⁹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xv, pp. 103-4; *Cal. Close*, 1377-81, 299.

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1370-4, 422; 1413-16, 169, 273; *Cal. Close* 1377-81, 492.

² *Feud. Aids*, iv, 195.

³ P.R.O., C 139/70, no. 35; C 139/83, no. 53; *Cal. Pat.* 1436-41, 166.

⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1494-1509, 265.

⁵ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i (1), pp. 311, 357; *Complete Peerage*, ix, 619.

⁶ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, v, p. 457; xxi (2), p. 160.

⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi, 62.

⁸ Bodl. MS. d.d. Tyrwhitt-Drake c 2, *passim*; O.R.O., Morrell VI/a/1, 3-5; *ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 54/1/26.

⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 104.

¹⁰ *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847 and later edns.).

¹¹ Blenheim Mun., box 91.

¹² Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III, 5.

¹³ P.R.O., CP 25(2)/339/4 Jas. I Mich., no. 17; Bodl. MS. d.d. Tyrwhitt-Drake c 2, no. 35.

¹⁴ Bodl. MS. d.d. Tyrwhitt-Drake c 2, no. 15.

¹⁵ Blenheim Mun., box 91.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* boxes 95, 96, 98.

century from medieval freeholds. The *BAYLEY* manor, first so called in 1548,¹⁷ derived from a freehold held by the Croxford family. Walter de Croxford held land in the parish from 1263 or earlier¹⁸ until he was hanged for felony between 1284 and 1288.¹⁹ In 1291 Oseney abbey held land from John Croxford the elder and John Croxford the younger, paying them 13s. 4d. and 20s. respectively,²⁰ but in 1301 John Croxford held only 1 yardland of the Plessis manor.²¹ In 1327 John Croxford the elder settled 4 messuages, 2 ploughlands, and 10 a. of meadow in Kidlington, Yarnton, Begbroke, Hampton Poyle, and Islip on the heirs male of his son John the younger.²² He or other men of the same name were recorded before 1362 and in the late 14th century, and another John Croxford of Kidlington in 1451.²³ It is probable, in view of the later descent of the estate, that the last John was the John or Robert Croxford, lord of the manor of Whitehill in Tackley, whose daughter and heir Isabel married George Gainsford.²⁴ In 1531 Isabel's son Austin Gainsford settled on himself and his son Edward his capital messuage or farm called le Bally and 3 yardlands and a close in Kidlington, and in 1548 Edward sold the estate, then described as a manor, to Thomas Tipping of Draycot (Bucks.).²⁵ In 1550 Tipping held 'Baylis and Redes lands' of John Blundell of Kidlington manor,²⁶ but in 1553 he conveyed the estate, again described as a manor, to Thomas Gadbury,²⁷ who died in 1586 leaving the manor to his son John.²⁸

In 1598 the manor, comprising land in Kidlington, Yarnton, and Begbroke, was settled on Joan Gadbury widow of Thomas Gadbury²⁹ for life, with remainder to her son John Gadbury.³⁰ John sold the manor in 1603 to Edward Street of Thrupp who was succeeded by his son Woodhull Street (d. 1680) and by Woodhull's son Henry.³¹ Henry died without issue in 1686, leaving his estate to his widow Mary who in 1687 married John Conant, formerly fellow of Merton College, to whom she left the manor at her death in 1717.³² Conant died in 1723 having devised all his lands to his brother Robert, and in 1726 Robert and his brother Edward sold the manor to Thomas Paynton who c. 1727 sold it to Joseph Smith of Queen's College, Oxford.³³ Smith settled it in 1750 on his son Joseph Smith the younger (d. 1776) whose son Joseph Bouchier Smith sold it in 1789 to Charles Henry

Mordaunt, earl of Peterborough. The earl sold it in 1802 to William Bulley, an Oxford inn-keeper.³⁴ Bulley died in 1828 and in 1829 the estate, no longer described as a manor, was sold to Thomas Robinson whose executors sold it in 1849 to the duke of Marlborough.³⁵

Excavation at Moat Cottage, the site of the Bayley manor house, has revealed a series of medieval buildings, of stone with slate or tile roofs and apparently moated; the earliest appears to date from the late 13th century. The medieval house was replaced, perhaps in the 17th century, by a new house slightly further west. It was L-shaped with a projecting staircase and showed some elements of a screens-passage plan. That house was remodelled c. 1750 by Joseph Smith, who also laid out a new garden, altering the shape of the moat and dumping earth over the site of the medieval house. Before 1818 the house was extended by the addition of a north-west wing. It was demolished by Thomas Robinson c. 1839, but some of the materials, probably including parts of the walls, were re-used in a small house, Moat Cottage, on part of the site.³⁶

A second sub-manor, known by 1554 as *HAMPDEN* manor, derived from 3 yardlands held freely in 1301 by John son of Thomas by service of 1 lb. pepper and 2 barbed arrows.³⁷ The estate, including a fishery in the Cherwell, passed from John to his daughter Agnes, to Agnes's son John Waleys, to John's daughter Joan and to Joan's son Edmund Hampden of Great Hampden (Bucks.), who held it in 1395.³⁸ The estate then descended with Great Hampden manor from Edmund (d. 1457–8) to Thomas Hampden (d. c. 1485), to John Hampden (d. 1496), to Sir John Hampden who in 1550 held of John Blundell by service of 1 lb. of pepper and 3 broad arrowheads.³⁹ On Sir John's death in 1553 the Kidlington estate passed to his granddaughter Anne and her husband William Paulet, to whom Sir John's widow Philippa and her second husband Sir Thomas Smith quitclaimed a manor of Kidlington in 1554.⁴⁰ They were succeeded by their son William who held in 1578 and by William's daughter and heir Elizabeth who married Oliver St. John, later earl of Bolingbroke.⁴¹

In 1608 Elizabeth and Oliver St. John sold the manor to Robert Waller, who at his death in 1616 was said to have held of Edward Frere

¹⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 170, f. 10.

¹⁸ P.R.O., C 132/28, no. 13; *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 130; cf. *ibid.* p. 106 which should probably be dated 1254–67.

¹⁹ *Cal. Close* 1279–88, 258; *Cal. Inq. Misc.* i, p. 407.

²⁰ Bodl. MS. d.d. Ch. Ch. O.R. 96.

²¹ P.R.O., C 133/101, no. 7.

²² *Ibid.* C 260/151, no. 19.

²³ *Black Prince's Reg.* iv, 415; Bodl. MS. Rolls Oseney 14; *Cal. Fine R.* 1445–52, 216.

²⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi, 199.

²⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 170, ff. 12, 14, 19.

²⁶ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Tyrwhitt-Drake c 2, no. 3.

²⁷ *Ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. d 170, f. 22.

²⁸ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 129/1/18.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 25/3/13.

³⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 113, ff. 20, 30.

³¹ O.R.O., Misc. Pe. III/29; *Kidlington Par. Reg.* (Kidl. Hist. Soc. 1981), 252.

³² Wood, *Life and Times*, iii (O.H.S. xxvi), 225; Bodl. MS.

Top. Oxon. c 113, f. 43; *Kidlington Par. Reg.* 255; Queen's Coll. MS. 482, f. 57v.: abstract of title.

³³ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. IV. 1; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 113, ff. 11, 82; *Kidlington Par. Reg.* 264.

³⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 98; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 86.

³⁵ Blenheim Mun., boxes 28, 29; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 82.

³⁶ Queen's Coll. MS. 482, f. 214v.; O.R.O., incl. award; C.B.A. Group 9, *Newsletter* viii, 114–16; x, 177–9; xi, 126.

³⁷ P.R.O., C 133/101, no. 7.

³⁸ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 145.

³⁹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* ii, 288; Bodl. MS. d.d. Tyrwhitt-Drake c 2, no. 3.

⁴⁰ *V.C.H. Bucks.* ii, 305; P.R.O., PROB 11/37 (P.C.C. 11 Moore); *ibid.* CP 25(2)/76/650, no. 2; CP 25(2)/83/710, no. 43.

⁴¹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Tyrwhitt-Drake c 2, no. 14; *Complete Peerage*, ii, 203–4; *Visit. Bucks.* (Harl. Soc. lvi), 70.

who held of Gresham Hogan for three broad arrowheads or 6d. and 1 lb. of pepper.⁴² In 1626 Robert's widow, Anne Waller, and his sons Edmund and Griffin sold the manor to John Smith of Oxford.⁴³ Smith's daughter and heir Anne married Sir William Morton (d. 1672) and their son Sir James Morton sold the manor in 1677 to William Pudsey. Pudsey died before 1709 and was succeeded by his son William (d. 1729) whose daughter and heir Anne married the Revd. John Sydenham (d. 1788).⁴⁴ Their son John Pudsey Sydenham was succeeded in 1810 by his son John Pudsey Welchman Sydenham who held the estate but made no claim to a manor, at inclosure. He was succeeded in 1854 by his sister Amy, wife of Richard Burgoyne. At her death in 1870 Amy devised Hampden manor to her stepsons Richard Wild Burgoyne and Richard Dodd Burgoyne. R. D. Burgoyne sold his share to his brother R. W. Burgoyne who sold the estate in 1899 to William Margetts. Margetts devised it in 1916 to his nephew Thomas Welford who in 1919 sold it to E. A. Salter, who broke up the estate in 1954 and 1955.⁴⁵

John son of Thomas of Kidlington was given four oaks from Woodstock park in 1281, perhaps for a house on the Hampden Manor site; in 1986-7 building work under the north wing of the existing house revealed stone walls, roof tiles, and pottery sherds apparently of the later 13th century, and a possibly late 14th-century dividing wall.⁴⁶ The nucleus of the surviving house is a small, ostensibly early 18th-century farmhouse which was refenestrated and extended southwards in two stages later in that century. Adjacent outbuildings on the north-east were incorporated into the house in the 20th century when an outshot was built out along the east side of the house. A short distance to the south an ornate early 18th-century gazebo sits astride the original boundary wall and the ditch which marked the edge of the town green. North-east of the house is a gate of similar date and pretensions; the rusticated piers have ball finials, and the original wrought-iron gates survive.

An estate of 3 hides in *THRUPP* held in 1066 by Leofwig, Archbishop Stigand's man, had passed by 1086 to Wadard's son who held of Roger d'Ivri.⁴⁷ The overlordship passed with the rest of Roger d'Ivri's lands to the honor of St. Valery and so to the honor of Ewelme, for which courts were held at Thrupp until 1847.⁴⁸

The demesne tenancy followed the descent of Wadard's second Cassington manor, passing by

the mid 12th century to Walkelin Wadard's elder daughter Helewise.⁴⁹ As at Cassington a mesne lordship was created which passed to Helewise's son by her first marriage, Walkelin Hareng, and to his nieces Maud, daughter of his sister Isabel, and Millicent of Fritwell and Isabel Brown, daughters of his sister Denise. In 1221 Maud Hareng, Isabel Brown, and Millicent's son Stephen of Fritwell were lords; Maud's son Fulk died without issue and in 1247 the mesne lords were Stephen of Fritwell and Isabel's son John Brown.⁵⁰ In 1279 the vill was held of John Brown and Richard Fritwell,⁵¹ and in 1308 a third of the manor was held of John Brown's daughter Mary and her husband Henry Spigurnel,⁵² but the mesne lordship was not recorded thereafter.

The demesne tenancy seems to have been divided in the 12th century; part apparently passed with Cassington to Helewise's daughter Avic and her husband Richard de Vernon. About 1245 William Bagot, who had acquired the Vernon estate, sold land in Cassington and 4 villein yardlands in Thrupp to Peter Ashridge, who granted the land to Godstow abbey; c. 1268 Jordan of Aldswelle granted the abbey further lands in Thrupp and Cassington. The abbey retained the estate, later 4 yardlands and 2 messuages, until the Dissolution,⁵³ when it reverted to the Crown, then holding the main manor; Elizabeth I later granted it to Sir William Petre, who in 1566 conveyed it to William Babington, lord of the remainder of Thrupp.⁵⁴

Most of Thrupp was held in 1221 by Ralph Hareng, perhaps a relation of Walkelin Hareng and possibly the Ralph son of Geoffrey who disputed possession of land in Thrupp with Stephen of Fritwell in 1219.⁵⁵ He was succeeded by his son Ralph who granted part of the estate to Nicholas of Haversham before 1241.⁵⁶ Nicholas died in 1251 seized of 5½ yardlands in Thrupp, held of Simon de St. Liz, husband of Ralph Hareng's daughter Joan,⁵⁷ a mesne lordship not recorded thereafter. Nicholas's son and heir Nicholas held no Oxfordshire land at his death in 1274, and in 1279 John of Haversham held one third of Thrupp.⁵⁸ In 1293, however, the estate was held by the younger Nicholas's daughter Maud and her husband James de la Planche.⁵⁹ James died in 1306, and in 1308 Maud and her second husband John of Olney granted a lease of the property, then 6 yardlands, to Adam de le Fenne and his wife Alice.⁶⁰

Another third of the estate was held in 1279 by the Oxford burgess Nicholas of Kingston who died before 1288 and was succeeded by

⁴² P.R.O., C 142/359, no. 136; *ibid.* CP 25(2)/385/6 Jas. I Trin., no. 15.

⁴³ Blenheim Mun., box 92; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 90-2. No evidence has been found to support the descent.

⁴⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 93.

⁴⁵ Deeds in possession of Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Wilkins, Hampden Farm, Kidlington.

⁴⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1279-88, 100; *Oxon. Local Hist.* vol. 2, no. vii. 255-65.

⁴⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 416.

⁴⁸ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 853; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, p. 479; iv, p. 242; *Earldom of Cornwall Accts.* 1296-7, i (Camd. 3rd. Ser. lxvi), 143; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Ewelme Honor 1/8, 2/9, 10/2; *ibid.* CH/E/1/ii/2, 11; CH/E/IX/1-54; CH/E/XXII/i/5-6, 12.

⁴⁹ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 114.

⁵⁰ P.R.O., JUST 1/273, m. 31; *Oxon. Fines*, 63.

⁵¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 853.

⁵² P.R.O., C 143/72, no. 21.

⁵³ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 263-5, 280-1; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 192; P.R.O., E 310/3/21, no. 13; above, Cassington, Manors.

⁵⁴ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 4.

⁵⁵ *Oxon. Fines*, 57-8, 63; cf. *Red Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 70.

⁵⁶ P.R.O., JUST 1/695, rot. 14d.; *Oxon. Fines*, 138.

⁵⁷ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* i, p. 57; *Oseney Cart.* v, p. 232.

⁵⁸ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii, p. 54; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 853.

⁵⁹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, p. 84; *V.C.H. Bucks.* iv. 368.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iv, p. 242; P.R.O., C 143/721, no. 21.

John of Kingston, who held in 1293.⁶¹ In 1298 Nicholas of Kingston's daughter Alice and her husband Richard the spicer conveyed their manor of Thrupp to William of Spratton and his wife Joan.⁶² The remaining third of the manor was held in 1279 by Richard de Amundeville,⁶³ but its earlier and later descent has not been traced.

In 1316 Thrupp, or the major part of it, was held by John of Mimms in right of his wife Joan,⁶⁴ whose relationship to earlier lords has not been established. From John and Joan the manor passed to their sons William, who died without issue, and Hugh, and to Hugh's son Nicholas who held in 1360 and 1376.⁶⁵ In 1364, however, Thomas of Compeworth and his wife Agnes recovered land in Thrupp as Agnes's right, and he or another Thomas of Compeworth was called the lord of Thrupp in 1384.⁶⁶ Thomas Compeworth the younger was pardoned for a robbery and murder in Thrupp in 1395.⁶⁷

Before 1389 the manor was acquired by Richard Adderbury, who held in 1394 and 1399 when he gave land at Thrupp to the Crutched Friars of Donnington (Berks.),⁶⁸ a grant which did not take effect. He was succeeded by his nephew, another Richard Adderbury who in 1448 sold Thrupp to William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk.⁶⁹ Thrupp then descended with Kidlington to successive dukes or earls of Suffolk, being given to Henry VIII by Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.⁷⁰ In 1555 Philip and Mary granted Thrupp to William Babington (d. 1577), who was succeeded by his son Philip (d. 1606).⁷¹ Philip's son Henry sold the manor in 1610 to Roger Brent,⁷² who was succeeded by his son Robert (d. 1616), by Robert's son Roger (d. 1680) and by Roger's son Roger (d. by 1696) whose trustees sold it in 1699 to John Bush.⁷³ John Bush was succeeded by his brother Thomas and by Thomas's son Jonathan who before 1740 sold Thrupp to Sir Francis Page.⁷⁴ The manor then descended with Page's other land in the hundred⁷⁵ to his great-nephew Sir Francis Page (d. 1803) and to Sir John Thomas Wheate. In 1804 it was sold to Richard Bourne Charlett, who was lord of the manor at inclosure in 1811; he was succeeded by his nephew William Sturges-Bourne (d. 1845) whose executors sold the manor to William Hutt. Hutt died in 1864, and in 1868 Thrupp was sold to Joseph Hutt who in 1873 sold it to John Hutt. John Hutt sold it in 1876 to Exeter College, Oxford.⁷⁶

Thrupp Manor Farm, the former manor house, dates from the 17th century. The large internal chimney stack and the rooms on either

side of it are from an early 17th-century house which had an entrance against the stack on the west side. Later in the 17th century a room was added to the north and a cross passage made across the end of the adjacent older room. Early in the 18th century a staircase was put into the west side of that room and a small block, with panelled rooms on each floor, was added at the north end of the west side of the main range. Most of the windows were renewed in the 19th century and a single-storeyed kitchen wing, entered from the original front door, was added or rebuilt. A fragment of early 17th-century strapwork decoration in plaster survives on the east front. An inclosure north of the house was called the Warren in 1699 and 1818.⁷⁷

In 864 King Burgred of Mercia sold to Bishop Eahlhun of Worcester an estate of 5 *cassati* at *WATER EATON*. Eahlhun's successor Bishop Waerfrith (873–915) sold it back to King Ceolwulf (874–c. 882), who gave it to Hungith; Hungith sold it to Wigfrith, to whom Edward the Elder confirmed it in 904.⁷⁸ In 1086 Robert d'Oilly held the manor in demesne, and it descended with Kidlington until the younger Robert d'Oilly gave it to Oseney abbey before 1140.⁷⁹ Oseney was granted free warren in Water Eaton in 1268, and retained the manor until the Dissolution.⁸⁰ In 1542 Henry VIII granted it to the new bishopric of Oxford, but in 1545 after Bishop King's surrender of his endowments it was granted to William Bury. Doubts as to the validity of these transactions led to unsuccessful attempts by the Crown in 1552 and 1613 to recover the manor.⁸¹ William Bury died in 1563, before he had completed a settlement of the manor on his younger sons, and was therefore succeeded by his eldest son John Bury, who retained the lordship of the manor but in 1570 sold the manor house and the demesne land to Gerard Croker of Steeple Barton. In 1585 Gerard's son John sold one moiety of the property to John Temple of Stowe (Bucks.), and the other moiety to William Frere of Oxford who in 1590 bought the lordship of the manor from John Bury's son Thomas.⁸²

William Frere died in 1612 and was succeeded by his son Edward who in 1624 sold the manor to Sir Richard Lovelace, later Lord Lovelace; Sir Richard also bought the Temple moiety of the demesne from John Temple's son Sir Thomas Temple,⁸³ and thus acquired the whole of Water Eaton. Lord Lovelace died in 1634 and was succeeded by his son John, a prominent royalist, who died in 1670 and was succeeded by his son, another John who died in 1693. Water Eaton, however, was held in dower by the

⁶¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 853; Salter, *Survey of Oxf.* i. (O.H.S. N.S. xiv), 7.

⁶² P.R.O., CP 25(1)/188/12, no. 50.

⁶³ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 855.

⁶⁴ *Feud. Aids*, iv. 163; *Cal. Pat.* 1313–17, 479.

⁶⁵ *Black Prince's Reg.* iv. 366; P.R.O., CP 40/461, m. 33.

⁶⁶ *Black Prince's Reg.* iv. 521; *Oseney Cart.* iv. 141.

⁶⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1391–6, 600.

⁶⁸ *Chart. R.* 1341–1417, 319; *Cal. Pat.* 1391–6, 369; 1396–9, 469.

⁶⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1446–52, 169.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 1494–1509, 265; P.R.O., LR 2/189, f. 167.

⁷¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1554–5, 144; P.R.O., C 142/182, no. 41; C 142/295, no. 74.

⁷² P.R.O., CP 25(2)/339/8 Jas. I Trin., no. 16.

⁷³ *Ibid.* C 142/355, no. 71; *Kidlington Par. Reg.* 252; O.R.O., B/VIII a/6; Exeter Coll. Mun., N. I. 5.

⁷⁴ Exeter Coll. Mun., N. I. 5.

⁷⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 29, 63.

⁷⁶ Exeter Coll. Mun., N. I. 4.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*; O.R.O., incl. award.

⁷⁸ *Cart. Sax.* ed. Birch, ii, pp. 119–20, 264–5; M. Gelling, *Early Chart. of Thames Valley*, pp. 126–8.

⁷⁹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 413; *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 12.

⁸⁰ *Oseney Cart.* vi, p. 65; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 216.

⁸¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xx (2), p. 222; B.L. Add. MS. 22190, ff. 13v.–14; Sawyer papers, in possession of Mr. R. Sawyer, Water Eaton Manor.

⁸² Sawyer papers.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

widow of the first John, Anne, dowager Lady Lovelace and from 1686 Baroness Wentworth, until her death in 1697.⁸⁴ In 1692 the younger John, Lord Lovelace, had sold the reversion of the manor to Sir Henry Johnson, who in 1693 married his daughter Martha.⁸⁵ Sir Henry died in 1719⁸⁶ and under the terms of his will Water Eaton passed to his widow Martha for life and then to his granddaughters Anne, Henrietta, and Lucy Wentworth, children of his daughter Anne and her husband Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford. Martha Johnson died in 1745 and Anne and her husband William Conolly, Lucy Wentworth, and Henrietta and her husband Henry Vernon conveyed Water Eaton to trustees for sale.⁸⁷ No sale took place until 1767 when the manor was sold to Anthony Sawyer of Heywood (Berks.), in whose family it has remained, passing from Anthony (d. 1784) to his son John (d. 1845), to John's son Charles (d. 1876), and to Charles's son Charles (d. 1892). The younger Charles was succeeded by his nephew Edmund Charles Sawyer (d. 1920) and the latter's sons Charles Anthony (d. 1924) and John Edmund (d. 1974), who was succeeded in 1969 by his nephew Robert Sawyer.⁸⁸

Water Eaton Manor was built by William Frere in 1586 on the site of a cottage, the earlier manor house having been assigned to John Temple's moiety of the estate.⁸⁹ The surviving building is almost square, facing east towards the Cherwell, with a kitchen wing projecting at the back. At least one bay of the 17th-century house, at the south end, was demolished before 1785.⁹⁰ The house, which was taxed on 15 hearths in 1662, was reorganized and perhaps enlarged by the dowager Lady Lovelace in the 1670s and 1680s. In 1681 it contained a great hall, parlour, drawing room, dining room, and 6 chambers including 'my lady's chamber' with a chamber over it and the best chamber, as well as several inner chambers and closets, a kitchen and other service rooms and 2 servants' halls.⁹¹ Further alterations were made in 1688.⁹² In the 18th century and earlier 19th the house was used as a farmhouse; it was restored in 1881–2 by T. G. Jackson for Gen. Charles Sawyer, and some further work may have been done by the architect G. F. Bodley, the tenant 1906–7.⁹³

Land in *GOSFORD*, later described as 2 ploughlands, was given by the younger Robert d'Oilly and his son Henry in 1142 to the Hospitallers who retained it until the Dissolution.⁹⁴ In

1543 the Crown granted the land, described as a manor, to Sir John Williams and Anthony Stringer, who at once conveyed it to Owen Whitton and his wife Joan.⁹⁵ Owen and Joan made a settlement of the manor in 1553, but in 1562 their son George Whitton of Woodstock Park and Hensington sold Gosford to Edward Frere.⁹⁶ Edward was succeeded by his son William, who held the manor at his death in 1612.⁹⁷ William's son Edward sold the manor in 1623 to Benedict Hall of High Meadow in Staunton (Glos.), lord of Noke manor;⁹⁸ from Benedict (d. 1668) it passed to his son Henry Benedict (d. 1687) and to Henry Benedict's son Benedict, who in 1713 conveyed it to trustees to provide a dowry for his daughter Benedicta Maria Teresa. In 1716 it was sold to John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, whose successors retained it until 1920.⁹⁹

In 1086 Alfred the clerk held a 3-hide estate in *CUTTESLOWE* of Roger d'Ivri.¹ The land was given to St. George's in the Castle, Oxford, before 1149 and so passed to Oseney abbey² and was absorbed into the abbey's Water Eaton manor.

Henry d'Oilly, probably the second of that name (d. 1196), gave a chapel at *FRIES* to Oseney abbey, and c. 1200 Thomas of St. Valery added the adjoining house, a grant confirmed by Richard, earl of Cornwall, before 1235.³ That house, which lay in Yarnton parish, apparently passed from Oseney to Rewley abbey and descended thereafter with Rewley's Yarnton lands.⁴ Oseney abbey retained its Fries estate until the Dissolution when it was granted, with Water Eaton, to the bishopric of Oxford and then to William Bury.⁵ A later grant, by Elizabeth I in 1574 to Christopher Fenton and Bernard Gilpin of London,⁶ does not seem to have taken effect. Bury sold Fries in 1551–2 to George Owen of Godstow,⁷ but before 1570 the estate had passed to John Keate of Hagbourne (Berks.), who died that year; he was succeeded by his son John (d. 1618) and then by Leonard Keate (d. 1623). Leonard's heir was his daughter Mary who with her husband Anthony Libbe in 1648 surrendered Fries to Leonard's brother John Keate of Checkendon.⁸

The descent of the estate in the next 120 years is obscure. Thomas Stapler was recorded at Fries in 1665 and, with Richard Hall, in 1674, but both may have been tenants. John Rowland seems to have owned the estate in 1760,⁹ but in

⁸⁴ *Complete Peerage*, viii. 229–34; B.L. Add. MS. 22190, f. 66; Sawyer papers.

⁸⁵ Sawyer papers; Hist. MSS. Com. 17, *H.L.*, n.s. vi, pp. 258–9.

⁸⁶ *Complete Peerage*, xii (2), 502.

⁸⁷ Sawyer papers.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*; O.R.O., Colvin IV/i/1; *Landed Gent.* (1937 edn.); *Twixt Cherwell and Glyme*, 297.

⁸⁹ Sawyer papers; P.R.O., E 134/9 Jas. I/ Mich. 6.

⁹⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 282, f. 252.

⁹¹ B.L. Add. MS. 22190, f. 101 and v.; P.R.O., E 179/164/504.

⁹² *Three Oxon. Pars.* 119; record of datestone.

⁹³ Inf. from Mr. R. Sawyer from letters in his possession; *Country Life*, xx. 666; *D.N.B.* s.v. Bodley.

⁹⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii. 106; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 834; *Knights Hospitallers in Eng.* (Camd. Soc. [1st ser.], lxxv), 26.

⁹⁵ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xviii, pp. 130, 133.

⁹⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1553–4, 360–1; 1560–3, 424.

⁹⁷ P.R.O., C 142/326, no. 64.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* CP 25(2)/340/21 Jas. I Mich., no. 20; *V.C.H. Oxon.* vi. 270–1.

⁹⁹ Blenheim Mun., boxes 59, 60; O.R.O., Misc. Far. XIV/1; *Sale Cat.* (1920): copy in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b 92*(3).

¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 416.

² *Oseney Cart.* iv, pp. 36, 38.

³ *Ibid.* iii, pp. 345–6; iv, pp. 105–6.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv, p. 106 n.

⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 216; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, p. 482; xx (2), p. 222; P.R.O., E 41/446.

⁶ O.R.O., Fa/XXI/17; *Cal. Pat.* 1572–5, p. 367.

⁷ P.R.O., WARD 2/28B, nos. 1, 10.

⁸ *Ibid.* SP 12/75, no. 91; *ibid.* WARD 2/28B, no. 5; *ibid.* C 142/370, no. 89; C 142/399, no. 144; O.R.O., PL XVIII/31–2.

⁹ B.L. Add. MS. 22190, ff. 61, 78–9; O.R.O. land tax assess.

1783 Fries was among the lands settled on William Fuller of Salisbury and his wife Mary.¹⁰ He or another William Fuller held it in 1826, but by 1849 it had passed to Francis Fuller, who sold it in 1863 to Exeter College, the owners in 1983.¹¹

Before 1164 Ralph Breton gave Oseney abbey 1 hide in Cote in Kidlington,¹² but there is no later record of the abbey's holding in the hamlet, and the property may have been absorbed into the main Kidlington manor. In the late 13th century Hugh de Plessis gave his holding in COTE, 7 villein tenements, to his daughter Alice and her husband John Gernun,¹³ but Alice's granddaughters Elizabeth, wife of John Rycote, and Joan, wife of John de Vernon, were unable to make good their claim to the property against Thomas Adderbury, whose uncle, another Thomas Adderbury, was said to have acquired it from John, son of Henry Dimmock.¹⁴ Cote descended with Kidlington to Thomas Chaucer and his wife Maud,¹⁵ but later descended with Thrupp, for in 1667 Roger Brent of Thrupp owned 4 yardlands called Cotes farm. Roger Brent's son Roger sold Cotes farm in 1681 to Thomas Bouchier of Oxford¹⁶ who before 1697 had built up an estate in Kidlington of more than 7 yardlands. It passed to his son James and to James's son Thomas, who in 1757 sold it to Joseph Smith of the Bayley manor.¹⁷ Smith's son Joseph Bouchier Smith in 1779 devised the estate to trustees who in 1786 sold it to James Morrell. Morrell died in 1807 and was succeeded by his widow Ann who held at inclosure and then by his son Baker Morrell and Baker's son F. J. Morrell. Cotes Farm with the whole Kidlington estate acquired from Joseph Bouchier Smith passed to F. J. Morrell's son Baker Morrell, who seems to have sold it in the 1880s.¹⁸ F. J. Morrell, however, bought other Kidlington lands, notably, in 1854, c. 50 a. allotted to John Wild at inclosure, and this estate passed at his death in 1883 to his son F. P. Morrell (d. 1908) whose executors seem to have sold the property.¹⁹

Brasenose College, Oxford, bought 1 yardland from John Baldwin in 1521 and another from Robert Milward in 1599. The estate was sold in 3 lots in 1935, 1946, and 1952.²⁰ In 1596 James Kidder conveyed to Queen's College, Oxford, 1 yardland in Kidlington. The estate was sold in 1878.²¹ Merton College, Oxford, owned rights of common which were exchanged

for c. 8 a. at inclosure, and in 1818 acquired the adjoining 7 a. by exchange with Henry Knapp for land in Hampton Poyle. The college retained part of the land in 1983.²² The trustees of Stone's Hospital in St. Clement's, Oxford, acquired a 12-a. close in Gosford before 1762; they still held it in 1830.²³

The rectory, composed of glebe and tithe, was held by Oseney abbey and descended with the abbey's other land in the parish to the bishopric of Oxford and then to Exeter College, which leased it to a succession of tenants.²⁴ The rectory house, presumably already on its later site in Mill Street, was repaired and a dovecot built in 1290–1.²⁵ Timbers from a 13th- or early 14th-century house, probably from a hall roof, have been re-used in the surviving house. The house was ruinous c. 1520, but had been rebuilt by 1687 when it comprised a hall with adjoining buttery, a parlour and kitchen with chambers over them, and a study, as well as larders and storehouses.²⁶ The west end of that house, a 16th-century parlour wing, survived in 1983. It has two rooms with moulded ceilings on each floor, and a projecting turret, probably for a garderobe, on the north-east; the date 1578 is moulded above a fireplace. One room contains 16th-century panelling, at least some of it reset, but the interior was otherwise remodelled c. 1700 when a staircase was inserted into the northern room. The house was 'improved' by its tenant, William Hall the Oxford brewer, between 1811 and 1813, and the hall and service ranges to the east were rebuilt in 16th-century style c. 1840.²⁷

At inclosure in 1818 Exeter College was allotted 49 a. for rectorial glebe and 282 a. for rectorial tithe in Kidlington and Thrupp.²⁸ In 1820, after a protracted dispute, the college enforced payment in kind for both rectorial and vicarial tithes in Gosford, but efforts to obtain tithe from Water Eaton and Cutteslowe failed. The rectorial tithe of Gosford was commuted in 1850 for a rent charge of £66 19s. 6d.²⁹ The land was sold in 1932.³⁰

ECONOMIC HISTORY. Kidlington and Thrupp shared a single set of open fields until inclosure in 1818. Gosford, of whose open-field agriculture there is no record and which seems to have been inclosed during the Middle Ages, may earlier have shared the same fields,³¹ as

¹⁰ O.R.O., Misc. Lem. II/1.

¹¹ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 2; O.R.O., PD 2/55; *Three Oxon. Pars.* 49.

¹² Salter, *Oxf. Charters*, no. 79.

¹³ P.R.O., E 210/7148.

¹⁴ G. Wrottesley, *Pedigrees from the Plea Rolls*, 58; cf. *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 266.

¹⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1429–35, 335–6.

¹⁶ For him see *Wood's Life and Times*, iii (O.H.S. xxvi), 488.

¹⁷ O.R.O., Misc. Bod. XII/1; Morrell VI/a/5, 7–9; VI/b/2; VI/c/7–8; VI/e/14–15; VI/f/1–10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Morrell VI/f/18–19, 21–2; X/c/1; X/h/2; X/h/11; Queen's Coll. MS. 482, ff. 58–60; P. Nicholson, *Family Album*, 2.

¹⁹ O.R.O., Morrell VI/s/1; VI/t/2, 15; X/h/11; X/p/7; *ibid.* incl. award; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1912–13).

²⁰ *B.N.C. Quatercentenary Monographs*, i (O.H.S. lii), no.

vi, p. 20; B.N.C. Mun., Kidlington nos. 4, 6, 45–7, 50; *ibid.* ledger 26, pp. 45, 264, 266; ledger 27, p. 161.

²¹ Queen's Coll. Mun., C.

²² O.R.O., incl. award; Merton Coll. Mun., uncat. estate plans; *V.C.H. Oxon.* vi. 163.

²³ O.R.O., land tax; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 224, ff. 3–5v.

²⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 223; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, p. 490; *Cal. Pat.* 1563–6, p. 25; *Three Oxon. Pars.* 46.

²⁵ Bodl. MS. d.d. Ch. Ch. O.R. 96.

²⁶ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* i (L.R.S. xxxiii), 128; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 300/2/18.

²⁷ Exeter Coll. Mun., A. I. 11, p. 179; M. IV. 3.

²⁸ O.R.O., incl. award.

²⁹ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 2, 7; O.R.O., tithe map 184.

³⁰ Auction cat. map, in possession of Mr. C. Rowles, 87 High St., Kidlington.

³¹ Blenheim Mun., box 60.

presumably did the small settlement of Cote. An early 13th-century estate of 12 a. was divided between two arable fields north of Kidlington village, one near Campsfield, the other at Hardwick.³² About 1270 another estate, of 1 a., lay in a field north of Kidlington called Thordone and in le Heching, presumably a hitch field.³³ In 1337 a three-course rotation of crops was in use, but in 1349 it was stated that only half the demesne was cultivated each year.³⁴ A large arable field called Statfield (later Stratfield) in the south had been brought into cultivation by the later 13th century; its medieval form 'stodfold' (stud fold) suggests that it was once pasture.³⁵

By the mid 17th century the arable was usually divided into nine fields of uneven size, grouped together and farmed on a three-course rotation: Statfield in the south, Bury field (former demesne) and Low field east of the Banbury road between Kidlington and Thrupp, Chore field and Fernhill field between the Banbury and Woodstock roads south of Langford Lane, Hardwick field or Old Hardwick west of the Woodstock road, Copton field and Clay field between the Banbury and Woodstock roads north of Langford Lane, and Wheatington field in the extreme north.³⁶ In 1571, however, a 2-acre estate was divided between Wheatington field and an otherwise unknown Hoggs Hill field;³⁷ Low field seems to have been called Home field in 1634, and a High field, apparently in the north, was recorded in 1681 and 1708.³⁸ There were in addition several smaller pieces of arable around Kidlington village: Alsecroft or Aylscroft north-west of Gosford bridge, Lynge croft in the angle between the Banbury road and the Moors, and some arable in Caneham meadow south of Gosford bridge.³⁹

By the early 19th century a four-course rotation of crops was in use,⁴⁰ but less than a fifth of the arable seems to have been left fallow each year. The rotation was (1) fallow (2) wheat (3) beans, peas, oats (4) barley, and 16th- and 17th-century probate inventories suggest that such a rotation was already in use then, though oats were recorded rarely. In 1769 Fernhill field (c. 303 a.) was fallow, and the following year Linicroft, Oathill and Wheatington field (c. 325 a.).⁴¹ One large, unidentified, field was excluded from the rotation, and there 'every man sows just what he pleases, which occasions such a confusion of headlands and abutments in tillage, etc. as can hardly be conceived.'⁴²

In 1086 the meadow land in Kidlington was 2 furlongs by 3 furlongs, and in Thrupp 30 a.⁴³

Most of it lay along the Cherwell, but some Kidlington meadow lay along the Rowel brook. In the 1220s Oseney abbey consolidated and increased its demesne meadow in Horsepool, by the Cherwell, and in 'Rawenhurfle' by giving the tenants of 23 yardlands their hay tithe in exchange for their land in those meadows.⁴⁴ About the same date a freeholder had 3 half-acres of meadow in 'Ruwenhame', probably the later Roundham by the Rowel brook.⁴⁵ Horsepool, Caneham, and Bury mead along the Cherwell were all lot meadow in the 17th century.⁴⁶

In 1086 the permanent pasture in Kidlington was reported as 4 furlongs long by 3 furlongs wide, and that in Thrupp as c. 30 a.⁴⁷ The Kidlington pasture was presumably the later Kidlington green (c. 280 a.), described in the 13th century as the common pasture of Kidlington,⁴⁸ which with the adjoining Small marsh and Crow marsh covered much of the area south of the village. The Thrupp pasture was probably at Campsfield (c. 425 a.) in the north, although part of the later pasture there may have been arable in the early Middle Ages.⁴⁹ By the 17th century there were also smaller areas of pasture in Bury moor, the former Kidlington demesne, and probably in Thrupp moors. Woodland in the extraparochial Osney Hill belonged to Kidlington manor until c. 1200.⁵⁰

In 1553 the stint for a yardland in Thrupp was 8 beasts or horses and 60 sheep; that for Kidlington in 1613 was slightly greater, 12 beasts and horses on Kidlington green and 60 sheep on the green from 30 November to 25 April, then on Campsfield and the fallow field, and from 1 November on Low field.⁵¹ The stint was steadily reduced during the 18th century; about the middle of the century it was 4 cow commons on the green, 2 opentide commons, and 20 sheep commons to the yardland, but the 28 yardlands which had been copyhold of the chief manor also had rights of common on Bury moor.⁵² By c. 1800 the cow commons on the green had been reduced to 3 per yardland. In 1794 the green carried 200 cows which were looked after by a cowkeeper,⁵³ but in the early 19th century 'a very large common', presumably the green, was reported to feed 300 cows from 16 May to Michaelmas, stinted at 3 cows for a yardland. Campsfield was a sheep common with agistment shepherds; most men leased their common rights there. Both sheep and cows were put into the meadows and on the arable after harvest. The vicar supplied a boar for the parish.⁵⁴

There were 53 or more newly made closes in

³² New Coll. Mun., 13978.

³³ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 138.

³⁴ P.R.O., C 135/51, no. 3; C 135/96, no. 10.

³⁵ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 138.

³⁶ B.N.C. Mun., Kidlington 55; *ibid.* underground arch. rm. envelope 573; Blenheim Mun., boxes 92, 98, 100.

³⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Hall's Brewery c 14.

³⁸ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 41, f. 14; MS. Wills Oxon. 56/4/25; Blenheim Mun., box 93.

³⁹ B.N.C. Mun., Kidlington 55; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 39/3/13.

⁴⁰ Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 128.

⁴¹ Blenheim Mun., box 100; Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 5.

⁴² Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 128.

⁴³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 413, 416.

⁴⁴ *Oseney Cart.* iv, pp. 115-16.

⁴⁵ New Coll. Arch., 13978.

⁴⁶ B.N.C. Mun., underground arch. rm. envelope no. 573; Blenheim Mun., box 95.

⁴⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 413, 416.

⁴⁸ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 139.

⁴⁹ New Coll. Arch., 13978.

⁵⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 170, f. 24; Blenheim Mun., boxes 25, 98; for woodland, *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 136; below, N. Leigh, *Manors*.

⁵¹ P.R.O., LR 2/189, f. 170; B.N.C. Mun., Kidlington 55.

⁵² Blenheim Mun., box 98.

⁵³ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 5.

⁵⁴ Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 231; Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 5.

Kidlington in 1445, only one of which, Bladon's close, can be identified; it lay on the eastern edge of the village near Ham meadow, and contained c. 4 a. in the 16th century.⁵⁵ Rutter's close, near Bayley manor house, was recorded in 1546, Phelps's closes in the same area in 1616, and Pepper close east of the village in 1605.⁵⁶ Most of the land between Lyne Road and Bayley manor house was inclosed by 1726, and part of the 'common', presumably the green, was inclosed by agreement before 1728.⁵⁷ In 1752 Joseph Smith of Bayley manor was accused of inclosing land from Kidlington green but that may have been to enlarge his garden.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, in 1810 there were only c. 296 a. of old inclosure in Kidlington and Thrupp, compared with c. 2,500 a. of open field land. Gosford (260 a.) was presumably inclosed during the Middle Ages; it had certainly been inclosed by 1699⁵⁹ and the absence of any reference to the township during the anti-inclosure disturbances of 1596 suggests that it had been inclosed well before then.

Although Kidlington was said to contain land for 12 ploughteams in 1086, only 7 were recorded, 3 on the demesne worked by 2 *servi*, and 4 on the land held by the 32 villeins and 8 bordars; in Thrupp there was land for 6 ploughteams, but only 2 were recorded, both worked by 1 *servus* on the demesne.⁶⁰ In 1279,⁶¹ there were 29½ yardlands or c. 7½ ploughlands in Thrupp. The description of Kidlington in 1279 records only 2 ploughlands of demesne and 27½ villein yardlands, to which should be added 11½ free yardlands recorded on the de Plessis manor in 1301, 2 yardlands of glebe, another yardland belonging to Oseney abbey, and 2 ploughlands in Gosford,⁶² making a total of 58 yardlands or 14½ ploughlands. The number of ploughlands in Kidlington and Thrupp, compared with those implied by the Domesday survey, may reflect an increase in the area under cultivation. The total of c. 87 yardlands in Kidlington, Thrupp, and Gosford is slightly greater than the total of 82½ yardlands (60 in Kidlington, 15 in Thrupp and 7½ in Gosford), on which 17th-century taxes were assessed.⁶³ Amounts actually received from levies on the yardland in the late 17th century indicate that there were in fact 70 yardlands in Kidlington and Thrupp, excluding the 3 yardlands of glebe, and at inclosure in 1818 there seems to have been a total of c. 74 yardlands, including the glebe.⁶⁴

Measurements of the demesne in 1337 and 1349 suggest a small yardland of c. 18 a.,⁶⁵

similar to the 17½-a. yardland of vicarial glebe in 1634.⁶⁶ Eighteenth-century yardlands ranged from c. 17 a. to c. 28 a., the larger yardlands apparently being those in which the meadow had been exchanged for arable and leys.⁶⁷

The d'Oillys and their successors kept a large demesne. In 1279 Hugh de Plessis had 2 ploughlands, and in 1301 the demesne comprised 116 a. of arable, 21 a. of meadow, and 12 a. of pasture.⁶⁸ In 1337 the 2 ploughlands contained 146 a. of arable, scattered in the common fields, pasture called 'le Reve Gore', and 24 a. of meadow.⁶⁹ A demesne of comparable size was recorded in 1349 and 1379; in 1437 demesne land comprising 191 a. of arable, 60 a. of pasture, and 40 a. of meadow was reported.⁷⁰ In Thrupp in 1279 each of the three lords among whom the manor was divided held 3 yardlands in demesne.⁷¹ In 1450 William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, who had acquired almost the whole of the original manor, held 18 yardlands, 40 a. of meadow, and 100 a. of pasture in Thrupp,⁷² but that probably included the tenants' land. No demesne was recorded in 1553 when there were 30½ copyhold yardlands, but in 1606 Philip Babington held 180 a., presumably in demesne, in Thrupp and Kidlington.⁷³

In 1279 the 41 villeins on Hugh de Plessis's manor paid money rents of 5s. a yardland and worked, were tallaged, and redeemed their sons at the lord's will. The 23 villeins in Thrupp held on similar terms, though at slightly higher money rents.⁷⁴ In 1301 the villeins on the de Plessis manor weeded for 2 days, mowed for 3 days, spread and made hay for 4 days, carried with their own carts for 2 days, reaped for 2 days with 2 men, cut down stubble for ½ day with one man, and ploughed for 3 days; they also carried wood at Christmas, and most of them owed 2 salt works at Martinmas.⁷⁵ The villeins owed similar hoeing, ploughing, mowing, haymaking, and carrying services in 1337; in addition they gave 100s. 'gyldegift' at Michaelmas, and 8 cocks and 102 hens at Christmas.⁷⁶ No works were recorded in 1349, when the villeins paid 14s. for all services.⁷⁷ Services were being exacted from Oseney abbey's tenants as late as 1357 when a man was amerced for defaulting on his mowing, haymaking, and reaping services,⁷⁸ but much of the work on the abbey's land was done by paid labourers. In 1290-1 the abbey paid 3 ploughmen, a carter, a driver, a dairyman, a swineherd, 5 forkers (harvest workers), a boy to drive the plough when the ploughmen did their autumn works, and extra reapers and

⁵⁵ B.N.C. Mun., Kidlington 1, 12, 15; *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 124.

⁵⁶ B.N.C. Mun., Kidlington 9; P.R.O., C 142/470, no. 39; Queen's Coll. Mun., C 14.

⁵⁷ *Hearne's Colln.* x (O.H.S. lxxvii), 46.

⁵⁸ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. IV. 1; Blenheim Mun., box 98.

⁵⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 60.

⁶⁰ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 413, 416.

⁶¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.) ii. 853, 855, 873.

⁶² P.R.O., C 133/101, no. 7; *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 132; *Knights Hospitallers in Eng.* (Camden Soc. [1st ser.] lxxv), 26.

⁶³ B.L. Add. MS. 22190, f. 118.

⁶⁴ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 5; O.R.O., incl. award.

⁶⁵ P.R.O., C 135/51, no. 3; C 135/96, no. 10.

⁶⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 41, f. 14.

⁶⁷ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. IV. 1; B.N.C. Mun., Kidlington 55; underground arch. rm. envelope 573.

⁶⁸ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 873; P.R.O., C 133/101, no. 7.

⁶⁹ P.R.O., C 135/51, no. 3.

⁷⁰ Ibid. C 135/96, no. 10; C 136/4, no. 15; C 139/83, no. 53.

⁷¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 853, 855. One third of the manor was entered under Yarnnton in error.

⁷² P.R.O., C 139/139, no. 25.

⁷³ Ibid. LR 2/189, ff. 167-70; ibid. C 142/295, no. 74.

⁷⁴ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 853, 855, 873.

⁷⁵ P.R.O., C 133/101, no. 7.

⁷⁶ Ibid. C 135/51, no. 3.

⁷⁷ Ibid. C 135/96, no. 10.

⁷⁸ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 445A.

hoers. Customary work carried out by the tenants included building a dovecot.⁷⁹

In 1290–1 the sales from Oseney's Kidlington bailiwick, two-thirds of which lay in Hensington, included small quantities of wheat, beans, and corn as well as flax, hemp, and nettles from the garden. That year the chief crops sown were barley and dredge (160 qr.), hard corn (107 qr.), wheat (92 qr.), and peas and beans (69 qr.); a small quantity of maslin was also sown. The livestock included 54 pigs which produced 36 piglets, and the keeper of the manor sent to the abbey 140 doves as well as geese and hens and 800 eggs. Oseney received 34 tithe lambs from Kidlington that year, suggesting a large flock of breeding ewes in the township.⁸⁰ The possessions of Elizabeth Elmbridge on Kidlington manor in 1379 included 16 oxen and a bull; a press called an 'appelquarne' was presumably used on the produce of the orchard.⁸¹

The field name Lin or Lynge croft, recorded in 1554,⁸² suggests that flax was grown in some quantity. Enough vetch was being grown in 1589 for it to be the subject of a tithe dispute, and a quartern of vetch was bequeathed in 1594.⁸³ Two men, in 1608 and 1640, left hemp, some of it growing, some of it spun into yarn, and there were hemp grounds on the Hampden manor estate in 1627.⁸⁴ The same manor also contained hop yards, as did a smaller estate in 1593, and in 1616 another farm had an outhouse in which to store hop poles.⁸⁵ Many houses had orchards, and apples, usually in small quantities, were recorded in 1640, 1642, and 1684.⁸⁶ Elaborate arrangements were made in 1615 and 1633 for the division of orchards and their produce.⁸⁷

Although most men in the 16th and 17th centuries kept some sheep and cattle, few large flocks or herds were recorded, and much of the pasture was probably leased to graziers and butchers from outside the parish. The proximity to Oxford may have been influential: in the 1550s a dispute arose over 30 mares and their colts being grazed, apparently in Kidlington, by two Welshmen;⁸⁸ from 1600 to 1610 Richard Kenner, an Oxford butcher, leased meadow and pasture in Gosford from William Frere, and another Oxford butcher leased 12 a. of inclosed arable in Kidlington in 1787.⁸⁹ A 20-a. close in Gosford was leased to one Oxford butcher in the later 17th century and sold to another in 1699.⁹⁰

One Kidlington man was alleged to have sold 160 sheep c. 1565; Thomas Standard, lessee of the rectory, left 164 sheep in 1687 and another

man left 101 sheep and lambs and 17 cattle in 1723.⁹¹ The largest flock of sheep was probably that left by Ethelbert Dodd in 1669 which was valued at £60 and perhaps numbered c. 400; Dodd also left 16 cattle.⁹² Most of the horses kept by local men were presumably working horses, but the prosperous Vincent Shurle, whose 5 mares, 2 geldings, and a colt were carefully distinguished from his working horses in 1608, and Christopher Dodd (d. 1628), who had a total of 6 horses, 10 mares and 3 yearlings,⁹³ seem to have been breeding them or raising them for sale. Almost all the villagers kept poultry; one man in 1608 left turkeys,⁹⁴ and several men kept bees. In the late 18th century there were c. 1,100 sheep in Kidlington and Thrupp.⁹⁵ The tenant of part of Gosford in 1728 was a dairy farmer. In 1748 the farm there owned by Joseph Smith of Bayley manor included some arable and an apple orchard as well as pasture for cattle.⁹⁶ In 1812 Exeter College claimed in Gosford tithe of rye, barley, oats, peas and beans, hay, rye-grass, clover, sainfoin, lucerne, tares, turnips, potatoes, apples, pears, plums, and cherries, as well as of sheep, cattle, and poultry.⁹⁷ In the early 19th century apricots were grown commercially in Kidlington, 'thousands of dozens' being sold in 1838 to dealers who sent them to Covent Garden.⁹⁸

In 1306 the abbot of Oseney was assessed for subsidy in Kidlington at 11s. and another man at 6s.; the remaining 41 people were assessed at between 1s. 10d. and 6d. In 1316 the 29 assessments in Kidlington and 18 in Thrupp ranged fairly steadily from 14s. for Hugh de Plessis, (who had not been assessed in 1306) down to 1s. The 44 people in Kidlington and 22 in Thrupp liable to subsidy in 1327 were assessed at from 9s. 6d. down to 9d., with Hugh de Plessis assessed at 7s. and John of Croxford at 6s. 8d. In Gosford 9 people were assessed for subsidy in 1316 at between 8s. 4d. and 10d., only 7 in 1327 at between 8s. and 4s. 2d.⁹⁹ For the subsidy in 1523–4 only Austin Gainsford of Bayley manor in Kidlington was assessed on lands. In Kidlington a total of 40 people in 1523 and 42 in 1524 were assessed on goods worth between £16 and £2, but only 23 were assessed in both years. In 1523 as many as 38 men were assessed on wages, in 1524 only 11. Only 6 or 7 men were assessed in Thrupp and 5 in Gosford.¹

In 1543–4 the highest assessments in Kidlington township were those of John Andrews and Richard Saunders.² Andrews was a member of a

⁷⁹ Ibid. MS. d.d Ch. Ch. O.R. 96.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ *Cat. Anct. D.* iii, p. 484.

⁸² O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 184, f. 138v.

⁸³ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 16, ff. 40 and v., 43; *ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 17/1/66.

⁸⁴ Ibid. MSS. Wills Oxon. 85/4/6; 297/3/55; Blenheim Mun., box 92.

⁸⁵ Blenheim Mun., box 92; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 17/1/65; 39/2/29.

⁸⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 72/2/27; 113/1/39; 148/4/23.

⁸⁷ Ibid. MS. Wills Oxon. 39/2/29; P.R.O., C 142/557, no.

47.

⁸⁸ P.R.O., C 1/1344, no. 58.

⁸⁹ Ibid. C 2/Jas. 1/K 5, no. 30; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 224, ff. 3–5v.

⁹⁰ Blenheim Mun., box 60.

⁹¹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 21, ff. 253–254v.; MSS. Wills Oxon. 63/3/14; 300/2/18.

⁹² Ibid. MSS. Wills Oxon. 18/3/34; 166/2/7.

⁹³ Ibid. 85/4/6; 17/4/30.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 85/4/6.

⁹⁵ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 5: a tithe valuation, Water Eaton being tithe free and Gosford paying a fixed modus.

⁹⁶ *Hearne's Colln.* x (O.H.S. lxvii), 46; Queen's Coll. MS. 482, f. 257.

⁹⁷ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 2.

⁹⁸ Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 169; *Oxf. Jnl.* 8 Sept. 1838.

⁹⁹ P.R.O., E 179/161/8–10. The roll for 1306 is damaged so that only the list for Kidlington township is complete.

¹ P.R.O., E 179/161/175, 198.

² Ibid. E 179/162/235: the lists for the other townships are fragmentary.

family recorded in the parish in 1445; a William Andrew was lessee of the rectory in 1510, and John Andrews himself held 2 yardlands copyhold of John Blundell's Kidlington manor in 1550.³ Other members of the family were buried in the parish in 1607 and christened in 1624⁴ but there is no further record of them. Richard Saunders's son Ambrose and Ambrose's son Samuel bought from Gresham Hogan in 1617 the freehold of 2 yardlands, part of which Samuel's son Christopher sold to Woodhull Street in 1648.⁵ Robert Saunders (d. 1557) was assessed for subsidy in Kidlington in 1523–4, leased the rectory from Oseney abbey and later from Exeter College, and also held other property in the parish.⁶ His son Nicholas was farmer of the vicarage in 1517.⁷ The family, who occasionally described themselves as gentry, remained in the parish until 1781.⁸

The Almonts were one of the wealthiest families in 17th-century Kidlington, and several described themselves as gentlemen. They seem to have descended from Thomas Almond, an Oxford tailor, but owed their prominence to Ursula, wife of James Almont and daughter of Roger Taylor, an Oxford grazier who had built up a large estate, including former monastic land, in Oxford, Kidlington, and Maidenhead (Berks.).⁹ Roger Almont (d. 1640) of Kidlington, presumably Ursula's son, held 2½ yardlands in Kidlington as well as land in Oxford. His son Edward married Anne Standard of Shipton-on-Cherwell, a member of an important local family one branch of which leased Kidlington rectory.¹⁰ The Almonts died out in the male line in 1725 and the estate passed to the Austins, who occupied the family house in Church Street in the later 18th century but sold their land to the duke of Marlborough c. 1803.¹¹ Another family which seems to have benefited from the break-up of the chief manor in the 17th century was the Dodds, who first appeared in Kidlington in 1523 and continued as substantial yeomen until William Dodd sold his land to Adam Bellenger in 1775.¹² Ethelbert Dodd had goods and chattels valued at £406 at his death in 1669.¹³

In the later 18th century Joseph Smith of Bayley manor was the largest landowner in Kidlington township,¹⁴ although his land, most of it leased in two farms, comprised less than a ninth of the township. By 1785 the duke of Marlborough and John Sydenham of Hampden manor, each with two farms, were the next largest landowners, each paying about a tenth of the land tax in the township. The largest single farm was Bouchier's farm, owned by Joseph Smith, which comprised 7 yardlands; the unrelated Richard Smith held a farm of 4 yardlands, 3 of which had been acquired from the Dodd

family, and the duke of Marlborough's farms were probably also large. Thrupp was dominated by two estates formed from the original manor, the manor farm itself of 7 yardlands and John Bush's 10 yardlands, each let to a single tenant. From the late 18th century the dukes of Marlborough steadily enlarged their estate in Kidlington and Thrupp, buying, among other properties, 3 yardlands in Thrupp and 1 in Kidlington from Thomas Smith in 1788 and 4½ yardlands of John Sydenham's estate in 1789.¹⁵ At inclosure the Marlborough estate comprised 19½ yardlands in Kidlington and 3 in Thrupp, nearly a third of the townships. Two local men, Adam Bellenger and William Wild, built up estates of 4½ yardlands each in the years before inclosure.

The process of inclosure, which started in 1810, ended in 1818 when c. 2,466 a. of former open field land, including Kidlington green, the town green, and Campsfield, and c. 19 a. of old inclosure, were divided among 42 landowners. William Bulley, by agreement with the duke of Marlborough, received c. 21 a. in compensation for loss of manorial rights in Kidlington, and Richard Bourne Charlett 7 a. for manorial rights in Thrupp. Exeter College was allotted c. 49 a. for rectorial glebe and 282 a. for rectorial tithes, and the rector of the college, as vicar, 29½ a. for glebe and 177 a. for tithes. The largest allotment, 681 a., was made to the duke of Marlborough; John Bush received 218 a., Anne Morrell c. 160 a., Richard Bourne Charlett 157½ a., and Adam Bellenger 117 a. Apart from two allotments of 95 a. and 93 a. each, all the other allotments were under 50 a., and 10 were of less than 1 a., most of them in Kidlington green or town green, adjoining their owners' cottages.¹⁶

Inclosure created large compact farms in the outlying parts of the parish, although the largest landowners, the duke of Marlborough and Exeter College, had three and two farms respectively. Some allotments were made for the convenience of tenants; the Queen's College allotment, of which John Bellenger was lessee, adjoined Bellenger's own allotment, and Exeter's allotment for the mill property was close to one of the miller's own allotments. Brasenose College's 40 a. lay in three separate blocks, but the College's tenants may have leased adjoining land from other landowners. The effect of inclosure in Kidlington was to increase the total number of properties by greatly increasing the number of those assessed for land tax at 5s. or less, from 10–12 between 1785 and 1805 to 26 in 1815 and 40 in 1825. The number of occupiers, which had fallen from 65 in 1785 to 50 in 1805, also rose, to 72 in 1815 and 1825. In Thrupp, however, while the number of owners remained

³ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 124; vi, p. 230; Bodl. MS. d.d. Tyrwhitt-Drake c 2, no. 3.

⁴ *Kidlington Par. Reg.* 39, 231.

⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 113, f. 6.

⁶ P.R.O., E 179/161/198; Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 4; B.N.C. Mun., Kidlington 12; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 181, f. 71 and v.

⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 21, f. 124v.

⁸ Ibid. MSS. Wills Oxon. 64/3/1; 62/2/18.

⁹ B.N.C. Mun., Kidlington 16; Oxf. Univ. Arch., Chancellor's Ct. Wills T–V Hyp. 3/34; W. H. Turner, *Oxf. City*

Rec. 1509–83, 431; V.C.H. Oxon. iv. 113.

¹⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 2/3/13; 113/1/39; P.R.O., C 142/606, no. 31.

¹¹ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 25, f. 130; Blenheim Mun., box 97.

¹² P.R.O., E 179/161/198; Blenheim Mun., box 23.

¹³ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 18/3/34.

¹⁴ Except where otherwise indicated this paragraph is based on O.R.O., land tax assess. and incl. award.

¹⁵ Blenheim Mun., boxes 91 and 93. By 1863 the duke owned 1,156 a.: *ibid.* E/P/58. ¹⁶ O.R.O., incl. award.

steady at 12 between 1801 and 1824, the number of occupiers fell from 12 to 9 or 10.¹⁷

The new large farms made possible the improvement of the land by extensive drainage schemes and the conversion to arable of former pasture at Campsfield and on Kidlington green. In 1840 the tenant of part of the rectory was draining land at Campsfield, and further major work was undertaken there in 1860 and at the Moors in 1879.¹⁸ Draining was recommended in 1847 for the part of the Morrell land inclosed from Kidlington green, and land in Thrupp was being drained in 1881.¹⁹ The rectory farm at Campsfield was mainly arable by 1821 when the chief crop was barley; beans, oats, and wheat were also grown and there were c. 140 sheep and some cattle.²⁰ In 1847 the Morrell allotment on the green was cultivated on a rotation of (1) oats (2) wheat (3) turnips (4) barley (5) seeds (6) wheat.²¹ Thrupp Manor farm, too, was mainly arable in 1886, although the farmer kept some sheep, cattle, and poultry.²² In 1820 the chief farm in Gosford comprised 134 a. of arable and 46 a. of pasture.²³ Exeter College's tenants in Kidlington and Thrupp experienced difficulties and losses in 1821 and 1830 and again in 1886 from low prices and poor seasons. Gosford farmers, too, were in difficulties in 1821.²⁴

During the 19th century Kidlington and Thrupp comprised between 10 and 18 farms, the number gradually declining. The chief farms were the two Campsfield farms, the Rectory farm, Stratfield farm, and Thrupp Manor farm. In 1851 farms ranged from 245 a. (probably one of the Campsfield farms) down to 13 a., and in 1881 from 496 a. for one of the Campsfield farms down to 38 a. for Hill farm. A farm of 915 a. recorded in 1871 probably included land outside the parish.²⁵ In the early 20th century much of Campsfield was farmed from the Blenheim estate Home farm at Bladon.²⁶ Throughout the century agriculture was the main employment in Kidlington and Thrupp, although the proportion of farm workers declined fairly steadily from 73 per cent of the working population in 1801 to only 29 per cent in 1881. Actual numbers employed varied less, rising from 169 in 1801 to 186 in 1851 and falling to 153 in 1881; numbers employed on farms in the townships rose from c. 61 in 1851 to 117, including 3 women, in 1881. Gosford was farmed as two farms, Gosford Hill farm (c. 200 a.) and another

of 40–50 a.; 7 labourers were employed out of the 7–11 who lived in the township.²⁷

In the 20th century the pattern of mainly arable farming continued, but the area available was greatly reduced by building development. Poultry were particularly important in the 1930s, and in the 1970s one farm specialized in pigs.²⁸ In 1983 there was still arable land north and south of the built-up area, and some meadow and pasture along the Cherwell; in the north-west was a fruit farm.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY. Occupational surnames recorded in Kidlington in the late 13th century and the early 14th included smith, carpenter, cooper, fisher, cook, and tailor; none was recorded in Thrupp, and only a shepherd in Gosford.²⁹ Among those compensated in 1342 for wool taken for the king's use were one man from Kidlington and a man and woman from Thrupp.³⁰ In 1443–4 a Kidlington man carried wool to Southampton and returned with 7 bales of woad for John Dyer of Kidlington, and two Kidlington men who ordered wine for an Oxford vintner in Southampton in 1447 may have gone to the port with wool or cloth.³¹ A weaver was recorded in 1415, an alien born in Gelderland who had permission to live in Kidlington in 1437 was perhaps a Flemish weaver, and a woolman surnamed Dyer was recorded in the village in 1482.³²

From the 16th century there were many references to the usual village craftsmen such as blacksmiths, wheelwrights, ploughwrights, and carpenters. There was a butchers' shambles in 1550 and a butcher's shop in 1571, and butchers were recorded in 1692 and 1828. Bakers were recorded in 1565, 1700, 1743, and 1770.³³ Weavers were recorded in 1571, 1603, and 1637, the last a man who died possessed of a loom and other equipment; a fuller died in 1688, tailors were recorded in 1555 and 1729,³⁴ another weaver in 1739, and a hemp dresser in 1763.³⁵ A roper seems to have lived in Kidlington in 1700.³⁶ There was a woolstapler in the parish in 1801.³⁷ There were also a few traders: mercers in 1641 and 1660 and a tallow Chandler in 1687.³⁸ In 1795 the duke of Marlborough owned a coal wharf by the canal at Langford Lane. Cordwainers, one in Gosford, were recorded in 1705 and 1711, and masons in 1794 and 1830.³⁹

During the 19th century⁴⁰ the numbers in

¹⁷ O.R.O., land tax assess.

¹⁸ Exeter Coll. Mun., A. I. 11, p. 180; A. I. 12, pp. 68, 282, 286.

¹⁹ O.R.O., Morrell VI/aa/3; Exeter Coll. Mun., N. I. 5.

²⁰ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 5.

²¹ O.R.O., Morrell VI/aa/3.

²² Exeter Coll. Mun., N. I. 5.

²³ Ibid. M. III. 2.

²⁴ Ibid. A. I. 10, p. 131; M. III. 5; N. I. 5.

²⁵ P.R.O., HO 107/890, 1730; ibid. RG 10/1448–9; RG 11/1511–12.

²⁶ O.R.O., D.V. I/44, VIII/279.

²⁷ Census, 1801; P.R.O., HO 107/890, 1730; ibid. RG 10/1448–9; RG 11/1511–12.

²⁸ *Sale Cats*, 1930, 1937, on microfilm in Westgate Libr., Oxf.; *Social Services in Oxf. District*, 1, 129.

²⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.) ii. 873; P.R.O., E 179/161/8–10; E 210/3016.

³⁰ *Southampton Brokage Bk.* ii (Southampton Rec. Soc. vi), 312; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 392, ff. 26–30.

³² *Cal. Pat.* 1429–36, 577; 1476–85, 323; *Reg. Repingdon*, iii (L.R.S. lxxiv), p. 73 n.

³³ Bodl. MS. d.d. Tyrwhitt-Drake c 2, no. 3; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 21, f. 133; MS. d.d. Hall's brewery c 15; ibid. Morrell VI/j/17; VI/k/1; VI/l/1; *Oxon. Inventories*, 52.

³⁴ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Hall's Brewery c 14; ibid. Morrell VI/p/1; MSS. Wills Oxon. 296/2/74; 78/3/24; Blenheim Mun., box 100.

³⁵ Woodstock Boro. Mun. 42/1/6; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 141/3/4; cf. below, Local Govt.

³⁶ O.R.O., Woot. P.C. IX/iii/7. ³⁷ Ibid. Morrell VI/j/2–3.

³⁸ Ibid. MS. Wills Oxon. 169/3/11; ibid. Morrell VI/h/1; P.R.O., PROB 11/299 (P.C.C. 131 Nabbs).

³⁹ Blenheim Mun., boxes 97–98; O.R.O., Morrell VI/l/3;

Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 5183; Exeter Coll. Mun., A. I. 11, p. 12.

⁴⁰ Except where otherwise indicated, paragraph based on P.R.O., HO 107/890, 1730; ibid. RG 10/1448–9; RG 11/1511–12.

non-agricultural employment steadily increased as professional men and prosperous tradesmen from Oxford settled in the village. Throughout the period 1841–81 the next largest employer after agriculture was domestic service, although there were few large households and many of the servants lived out, perhaps working in Oxford. The professional or independent people, who formed the third or fourth largest group in the village, ranged from humble annuitants to, in 1881, Bryan Stapleton, deputy lieutenant of Oxfordshire, and included teachers, physicians, and surgeons, as well as a 'professor in flower painting' in 1851, and the architect S. L. Seckham, who was living with his father, a grazier, in the parish in 1851. The canal provided employment for four or five people, most of them in Thrupp, and was presumably responsible for the presence of a coal merchant by 1841. In 1851 the railway, then being built, employed 22 men, most of them labourers from outside the parish, and there were 11 railway workers in 1871 and 1881. Apart from some boot- and shoe-making and tailoring, there was no industry in Kidlington itself; the two paper workers recorded in 1851 presumably worked in Hampton Gay or Wolvercote, the printer's assistant recorded in 1881 in Oxford. From c. 1887, however, there was a printer in Kidlington; other late 19th- and early 20th-century businesses included a saw mill, Webb and Bennett, bell-hangers, and in 1891 Henry Gilbert, ironmonger and cycle agent, refiner of the celebrated Gilbert's machine and cycle oils.⁴¹ There was very little gloving, despite the proximity of the centre of that industry at Woodstock.⁴² Thrupp remained almost completely agricultural, except that the canal attracted one or two boatmen or barge-men, and in 1851 a sloop-maker and a lighter-man. At least 22 boats owned by Thrupp men worked on the canal between 1879 and 1920.⁴³ Almost all the few people living in Gosford were agricultural workers.

Kidlington's 20th-century expansion was as a dormitory village for Oxford, and although services, including shops of all kinds, expanded to meet increasing demand, there was little local industry until after the Second World War. The building boom of the 1930s led to a great increase in the numbers engaged in building and related trades. After a fall during the war numbers rose again to a peak of seven builders and contractors in 1954. The main road attracted garages and car dealers, rising from one in 1925 to as many as seven in 1983.⁴⁴ In 1923 a farmers' co-operative established the Oxfordshire Farmers' Bacon Factory Ltd. on a site opposite the railway station; the factory became the Kidling-

ton Bacon Factory c. 1930 and production continued until c. 1960.⁴⁵

In 1935 Oxford city council bought 580 a. at Campsfield for a municipal airport which opened in 1938 as an airforce landing ground and in 1939 as a civil airport leased to General Aircraft Ltd. The airport was requisitioned by the Air Ministry in 1939 and 1940, and a flying school established. Civil aviation, mainly charter flying, began again in 1946.⁴⁶ In 1957 the site was leased to Goodhew Aviation Ltd. and in 1960 to Pressed Steel Ltd. A pilot training school was established in 1960 and by 1969 the airport, leased to C.S.E. (Aviation) Ltd., housed the largest civil pilot training school in Europe as well as facilities for sales and servicing of aircraft. In 1976 the school trained as many as 400 pilots for many of the world's major airlines and employed a ground staff of 500.⁴⁷

Plans for a small industrial zone by the airport, first mooted in 1938, were delayed by the Second World War,⁴⁸ although a concrete manufacturer was established there by 1940.⁴⁹ A milk processing plant was erected in Langford Lane in 1952⁵⁰ and by 1956 Pressed Steel Ltd. was using part of the airport premises for storing, sorting, and packing components. Aircraft manufacturing companies were established by 1963.⁵¹ In 1960 a local firm, Robert Moss Ltd., makers of plastic mouldings, which had started in 1951 in a garden shed in Kidlington and moved in 1953 to a disused garage, moved to a new factory in Langford Lane.⁵² Other factories were built on the station approach, including Pressed Steel Commercial Refrigeration Ltd. and Puragene Products (liquid detergent manufacturers) by 1966 and Canada Dry (mineral waters) by 1970; all had closed by 1983.⁵³ In 1968 a small industrial estate was established on the old station site; 16 small factories were built and the old bacon factory converted.⁵⁴ The estate was occupied mainly by light engineering works and warehouses.⁵⁵ In 1983 the largest factory was occupied by a medical engineering firm.

MILLS. There was a mill worth 30s. on Robert d'Oilly's Kidlington manor in 1086,⁵⁶ and it descended with the manor until Henry d'Oilly granted it, with the service of Ellis the miller, to Oseney abbey between 1219 and 1223. Ellis's son Warin granted his interest in the mill to Oseney between 1236 and 1239, and c. 1240 his brother William added the associated fishery.⁵⁷ After the Dissolution its mills passed, with the rest of Oseney's estate in the parish, to Oxford cathedral and then to Exeter College.⁵⁸ The college leased the mills, in the 17th century to

⁴¹ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1887 and later edns.).

⁴² *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202-I], pp. 342–3, H.C. (1868–9), xiii.

⁴³ M. Prior, *Fisher Row*, 316–18.

⁴⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1920 and later edns.).

⁴⁵ *Oxf. Times*, 27 Apr. 1923; *Oxf. Shoppers' Monthly*, ii, nos. 7, 11; copy in Westgate Libr., Oxf.; *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1960, 1962).

⁴⁶ *Oxf. City Arch.*, CC. 1. 1, aerodrome cttee. min. bk. *passim*.

⁴⁷ *Oxf. City Council Rep.* 1957–8, p. 484; 1959–60, p. 825; 1963–4, pp. 263, 1209; 1965–6, p. 1028; 1967–8, p. 249; inf.

from C.S.E. (Aviation) Ltd.

⁴⁸ *Oxf. City Arch.*, CC. 1. 1, pp. 65, 85, 103.

⁴⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1940).

⁵⁰ *Oxf. Mail*, 27 Mar. 1952.

⁵¹ *Oxf. City Council Rep.* 1956–7, p. 71; 1963–4, p. 263.

⁵² *Oxf. Mail*, 17 June 1960.

⁵³ *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1966, 1970); *Oxf. Mail*, 13 June 1981.

⁵⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1975).

⁵⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 413.

⁵⁶ *Oseney Cart.* iv, pp. 132–4.

⁵⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1566–9, p. 210.

local yeomen and gentlemen some of whom presumably sublet them, for most of the 18th and 19th centuries to a succession of millers.⁵⁹

Between 1268 and 1285 Oseney built a new mill, presumably a second wheel, next to the old one, with its own sluices and mill leet.⁶⁰ The abbey made a new weir and brought a new millstone from Henley in 1290–1.⁶¹ In 1544 the property comprised two water mills, a cottage, and a stable. About 1680 the mill was destroyed by lightning and rebuilt, still as a double mill, by the lessee, Martin May;⁶² part of that work survived in 1983. The mills were repaired or partially rebuilt in 1791.⁶³ Exeter College made further repairs to the mill in 1826–7 and installed a new wheel in 1896.⁶⁴ The mill ceased to be used c. 1918, was sold by Exeter College in 1922, and was converted into a private house 1978–81.⁶⁵

There was a mill on Wadard's son's manor in Thrupp in 1086, worth 6s. and 125 eels a year.⁶⁶ The mill descended with the manor to John Bush in 1699, but was not sold to Sir Francis Page, descending instead to John's son Thomas Bush, to Thomas's son Jonathan, and to Jonathan's sons Thomas and John. In 1788 John sold it to the Oxford Canal Co. which demolished the mill and converted the pond into the canal basin. The mill was a double grist mill with two sets of stones under the same roof in 1692 and 1788.⁶⁷ There was a horse mill at Gosford in the 15th century, the property of Oseney abbey.⁶⁸

WATER EATON. By the early 16th century the main part of Water Eaton was divided into two large arable fields north and south of the village; the detached part of the township was a separate field, Cutteslowe field, perhaps cultivated with St. Frideswide's estate in Cutteslowe, and the area south of Fries and west of the Banbury road was a separate furlong, Jordan Hill.⁶⁹ In 1601 a tenant's land was divided between Water Eaton field and Oxford field. Fries was inclosed pasture, but Hill field close, recorded in 1674, may preserve an old field name.⁷⁰ Nothing is known of the medieval grouping of these fields for cropping. Water Eaton was well supplied with meadow and pasture, each estimated to be 10 furlongs long by 10 furlongs wide in 1086. The meadow presumably lay along the Cherwell, the pasture in the north and east, in the later Water Eaton green and marsh. No meadow or pasture was recorded at Cutteslowe.⁷¹

Water Eaton was inclosed early. There was inclosed demesne at Henslade, on the southern boundary of the township by 1424.⁷² In 1508 the abbot of Oseney was accused of inclosing 107 a.

of arable, and the arrangement seems to have been confirmed in 1511 when, by agreement with its tenants, the abbey inclosed the South field and extinguished rights of common in eight of the adjoining meadows along the Cherwell, giving the tenants in exchange arable in Cutteslowe field, Jordan Hill, and Henslade Close, rights of common in South field mead and Cutteslowe marsh, pasture in the west part of Cutteslowe leys and Rowcroft close, and the hay tithes of Northam mead. The effect of the agreement seems to have been to concentrate the tenants' land in the west and north, and to enable Oseney to inclose an area between the extra-parochial part of Cutteslowe and the Cherwell. Sparsey and the rest of the demesne had been inclosed by 1570.⁷³ In the 1560s, perhaps as a result of inclosures in North field, there was a dispute between John Bury and his tenants over their rights under the agreement of 1511.⁷⁴ Two open fields, North field and the Breach, were recorded in the 1570s, but the Breach seems to have been inclosed by 1585 and c. 100 a. in Low or North field was inclosed, drained, and converted to pasture c. 1592 by William Frere. In exchange Frere divided among his tenants c. 40 a. of arable in Twisdelowe, west of Jordan Hill furlong, which he had acquired from William Lenthall of Cutteslowe.⁷⁵ In 1601 one tenant held land in Oxford field,⁷⁶ perhaps St. Giles's field in Oxford.

Inclosure was accompanied by extension of the demesne, which in 1585 had comprised little more than the area inclosed by Oseney abbey in 1511. By 1659 it included the Holt, Low field, New Lease, and the Breach in the north, as well as parts of Cutteslowe field and Rough close in the south, and was estimated to contain 928 a. out of a total of 1,252 a. in the manor. Of the remaining 183 a., c. 12 a. held by 8 tenants were inclosed or consolidated in Cutteslowe field and c. 52 a. were scattered in Jordan Hill field. Half of the green had been inclosed, drained, and divided among the tenants by 1590, and more of it was being inclosed in 1622, but in 1659 Little green (c. 11 a.), Great green (96 a.), and the marsh (33 a.) were still common pasture. Although some land was still in the open fields in 1675, all the tenants' land seems to have been inclosed by 1684.⁷⁷

No demesne ploughteams were recorded in Water Eaton in 1086, but the 26 villeins and 7 bordars had 9 teams, and as the manor was said to have land for only 5 teams, presumably some were used on the 3½ hides of inland. Roger d'Ivri's Cutteslowe manor had land for 3 teams; there were 2 teams on the demesne, but no details were given of the tenants' land.⁷⁸ There

⁵⁹ *Three Oxon. Pars.* 50; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 32/3/15.

⁶⁰ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 142.

⁶¹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Ch. Ch. O.R. 96.

⁶² Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 5.

⁶³ Datestone on building.

⁶⁴ Exeter Coll. Mun., A. I. 11, p. 15; A. I. 13, p. 120; M. III. 5.

⁶⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1918 and later edns.); inf. from Mr. and Mrs. P. Emerson.

⁶⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 416.

⁶⁷ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 853; Exeter Coll. Mun., N. I. 3, 5.

⁶⁸ Bodl. MS. Rolls Oseney 14.

⁶⁹ Sawyer papers, in possession of Mr. R. Sawyer, Water Eaton Manor; below, Wolvercote, Econ.

⁷⁰ P.R.O., E 41/446; Sawyer papers.

⁷¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 413, 416.

⁷² Bodl. MS. d.d. Ch. Ch. O.R. 128.

⁷³ Sawyer papers.

⁷⁴ P.R.O., C 3/10, no. 38; *ibid.* STAC 5/A 11/9.

⁷⁵ Sawyer papers; P.R.O., STAC 5/A 11/9.

⁷⁶ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 43/2/49.

⁷⁷ Sawyer papers; P.R.O., STAC 5/A 11/9; B.L. Add. MS. 22190, f. 112.

⁷⁸ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 413, 416.

are no later medieval surveys of Oseney's Water Eaton manor, but c. 1590, after the inclosure of the South field, there were 17½ tenant yardlands on Frere's manor.⁷⁹ In 1675 Water Eaton was assessed for taxation at 25 yardlands and Fries at a further 5 yardlands, making a total of 30 yardlands in the township.⁸⁰ Sixteenth- and 17th-century yardlands in Water Eaton were smaller than those in Kidlington, only c. 18 a. of arable in 1590 and between 14 a. and 16 a. in 1670, but the small size was claimed to be the result of inclosure.⁸¹

Water Eaton was throughout the Middle Ages the administrative centre for one of Oseney abbey's bailiwicks, which included land in Cassington, Worton, Wood Eaton, and Hanborough. Until the mid 14th century or later most of the estate was kept in demesne and used to supply the abbey. Only one free tenant was recorded in 1280. The produce sent to Oseney that year from the bailiwick included 173 qr. of wheat, 74 qr. of hard corn, 220 qr. of summer corn, 58 qr. of oats, 511 fleeces and 66 wool fells, as well as 7 oxen, 9 cows, 2 bullocks, 10 calves, and numbers of geese, capons, hens, doves, eggs, cheese, and butter.⁸² Water Eaton manor was still producing corn for the abbey in 1344–5.⁸³ Works from Cuttleslowe were commuted in 1280, but the abbey was still exacting labour services from some of its tenants in 1321 when two men were amerced for default on two days' carrying service and one day's labour and in 1357 when one man was amerced for delaying his mowing, hay-making, and reaping services.⁸⁴ In 1424 a man was ordered to bring his two sons back into the liberty.⁸⁵

Water Eaton appears to have been prosperous in the early 14th century, with a fairly even distribution of wealth, although in 1306 the abbot of Oseney's assessment for subsidy, 11s., was much the highest in the township. The abbot was exempt in 1316 when of the 18 people taxed 9 were assessed at 5s. or 6s. and only 1 at less than 2s.; in 1327 of the 22 people taxed, 6 were assessed at between 5s. and 7s., the rest at between 4s. and 1s. Although Water Eaton's assessment in 1316 and 1327 was nearly three quarters that of Kidlington, in 1334 the township was assessed at £2 11s. 6d., only a third of Kidlington's assessment.⁸⁶ Some of the wealthier men may have been wool producers: two Water Eaton men had 1 and 2 stone of wool taken from them for the king's use in 1342.⁸⁷ By 1523, when 32 men were assessed for subsidy, there were two comparatively wealthy men, Richard Andrews, probably lessee of the manor, assessed at £3 6s. 8d., and John Dennet, prob-

ably lessee of Cuttleslowe pasture, assessed at £1 3s.; 17 men were assessed at the labourers' rate of 4d. Only 25 men were assessed in 1524, 15 of them on wages. Most were presumably customary tenants of the manor; no freeholders were recorded in 1535.⁸⁸

The field names Bean acre, recorded in the mid 12th century, and Bean hill, Rye croft, and Hemp croft recorded in the 16th and 17th centuries, indicate medieval crops, and Wyni-yard, Wineyard, or Wymyard was presumably once a vineyard.⁸⁹ Hemp and flax were recorded in 1588,⁹⁰ and 17th-century probate inventories show that the chief crops were wheat, barley, pulse, and vetches; oats were also grown.⁹¹ In 1290–1 Oseney abbey received 39 tithe lambs from Water Eaton, suggesting that there were at least 400 breeding ewes in the township.⁹² Some tenants' flocks trespassing in Oseney's corn and meadows in 1359 and 1360 numbered as many as 60, 80, or 100 sheep, and several tenants had 1 or 2 cows, some as many as 4; in 1360 one man was amerced for a trespass with 31 cattle.⁹³ In 1511 it was agreed that Oseney should have common for 300 sheep in Cuttleslowe field and Jordan Hill, and the tenants agreed to wash and shear 400 of the abbey's sheep each year.⁹⁴ Bequests of sheep and cattle were common in the 16th century and several people were amerced for putting too many sheep on the commons. One man in 1607 left 152 sheep and 12 cattle, and another in 1696 a total of 289 sheep and 48 cattle, all in inclosed grounds. In the later 17th century the township was known for its good pasture.⁹⁵ In the 17th century the stint for a yardland was 8 cattle and 5 horses, and only 20 sheep, but inclosure destroyed the relationship between commons and yardlands, and in 1659 the total commons enjoyed by the tenants were for 73 cattle, 31 horses, and 190 sheep.⁹⁶

Fries presumably contained some arable in the early Middle Ages, but in the late 15th century its chief value seems to have been as woodland which produced several hundred faggots a year for Oseney abbey. By the early 16th century it was almost entirely pasture.⁹⁷

In 1501 Broadgates Hall, Oxford, bought dairy produce from Agnes Warren of Water Eaton, probably farmer or lessee of the demesne.⁹⁸ In 1509 John Warren was lessee of the demesne, but Oseney had retained Cuttleslowe pasture for its own cattle.⁹⁹ The abbey's immediate successors presumably continued to lease the demesne, but from the late 16th century William and Edward Frere kept much of the demesne in hand. In 1631, however, almost the whole demesne was leased to Anthony Findall of

⁷⁹ P.R.O., STAC 5/A 11/9.

⁸⁰ B.L. Add. MS. 22190, f. 92.

⁸¹ P.R.O., STAC 5/A 11/9; Sawyer papers.

⁸² *Oseney Cart.* vi, pp. 195, 197–8.

⁸³ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. c 444.

⁸⁴ *Oseney Cart.* vi, p. 197; Bodl. MS. d.d. Ch. Ch. O.R. 127; MS. Ch. Oseney 445⁴.

⁸⁵ Bodl. MS. d.d. Ch. Ch. O.R. 128.

⁸⁶ P.R.O., E 179/161/8–10; R. E. Glasscock, *Subsidy 1334*, 242.

⁸⁷ *Cal. Close*, 1341–3, 334.

⁸⁸ P.R.O., E 179/161/175; E 179/162/198; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 216.

⁸⁹ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 99; Sawyer papers.

⁹⁰ Sawyer papers.

⁹¹ e.g. O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 29/4/48; 55/4/31; 115/3/28; 167/2/32.

⁹² Bodl. MS. d.d. Ch. Ch. O.R. 96.

⁹³ *Ibid.* MS. Ch. Oseney 446.

⁹⁴ Sawyer papers.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 178, f. 149; 55/2/14; 61/3/34; unpublished paper by Kidlington Hist. Soc.; *Wood's City of Oxf.* i (O.H.S. xv), 53.

⁹⁶ Sawyer papers.

⁹⁷ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 106; vi, pp. 230, 259, 298, 302.

⁹⁸ *Reg. Canc.* 1498–1506 (O.H.S. N.S. xxvii), 111.

⁹⁹ *Oseney Cart.* vi, p. 230.

Oxford and Richard Winch, and in 1641 and 1652 Lord Lovelace kept only the manor house and gardens and a small amount of meadow and pasture in hand.¹ In the late 17th century the Lovelaces and Sir Henry Johnson seem to have managed Water Eaton through agents, keeping some land in hand. In 1694 the agents were reported to be ploughing the oat ground and selling oats; in 1697 Johnson's agent supplied poultry, including turkeys and geese, and a basket of pears from the estate, and early in 1698 was buying oats and barley and preparing to plough some land.² Much of the pasture in the township was leased out, some of it to Oxford butchers, but most of it in 1691 to a grazier.³

In the 17th century most of the tenants of the manor were tenants for life, although the demesne was usually leased for years in two or more parcels. In 1631 there were 21 tenants for life, in 1641 and 1659 only 19, in 1670 only 18.⁴ Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries Water Eaton was predominantly pasture, and was let out in three or four farms.⁵ In the early 19th century one farmer, Mr. Rowland, had two teams of oxen for ploughing, and dairy herds of short horned Yorkshires and long horned Herefords. Mr. Wyatt had 60–70 cattle, both long and short horns, and bred bulls for sale. He also bred Leicester sheep 'with attention and success', but Rowland bought sheep to fatten. On his arable Rowland used a rotation of (1) turnips (2) barley (3) clover (4) wheat (5) beans (6) wheat; he also grew swedes to feed sheep. He had grown flax for animal feed, but had found it less good than oil cake. Mr. Knapp, tenant of the manor house, grew apples commercially.⁶

In 1730 and 1783 Fries farm comprised the Mead (10 a.), two coppices (1½ a.), and 6 grounds and 2 closes (c. 186 a.), at least one of which, Wheat close (11 a.), may have been arable.⁷ By 1863 the farm had been reduced to 160 a., of which c. 120 were arable, c. 37 a. grass or meadow, and 1½ a. wood.⁸

There were five farms in the township in 1841, 1871, and 1881, but in 1851, perhaps in error, only four were reported. Acreages varied; in 1851 William Rowland at the manor house farmed 380 a., as did the tenant of Poverty Hall, and the other farms reported were 190 a. and 160 a. In 1871 the two largest farms were unchanged, a third was 370 a., and the two others were c. 150 a.; in 1881 the largest farm had been increased to 410 a. at the expense of the third farm which had been reduced to 340 a. Nearly half the working population of the township were agricultural labourers in 1841, and just over a quarter were servants in farmhouses; in 1851 there were 19 agricultural and 9 general

labourers, 9 servants, and 6 men employed on the railway. In 1871 two thirds of the working population were agricultural labourers, and in 1881 just over half. Most of the remainder were domestic and farm servants; the railway provided employment for two or three men. The brickmaker recorded in 1881 presumably worked at the brickworks at Peartree Hill which were in production from 1876 or earlier until the early 20th century.⁹ Water Eaton, unlike Kidlington, remained completely agricultural; the number of farms remained at five: Northfield, Middle, Manor, Southfield, and Fries;¹⁰ from the late 1960s Northfield and Manor farms were farmed together. The land was almost entirely pasture until the mid 20th century when much of it was converted to arable. Northfield farm was sold in the 1960s, but Middle, Manor, and Southfield (c. 750 a.) remained part of the Sawyer estate in 1983. The detached part of the township was cultivated as a market garden until its sale to the city of Oxford in 1925.¹¹ A grain silo, built near the railway by the Ministry of Food in 1940, was still in use in 1983.¹²

There was a mill on the manor worth 15s. in 1086.¹³ In the mid 12th century the younger Robert d'Oilly granted it to St. Frideswide's priory. About 1220, after a dispute over suit to the mill and over tithe, the priory quitclaimed to Oseney abbey the suit of the abbey's men to the mill, as long as Oseney's servants milled there.¹⁴ The mill, called Hulk's mill after its tenant Walter Hulk, was confirmed to St. Frideswide's in 1227 and was in the priory's hands in 1388.¹⁵ It descended with the manor as part of the demesne, and was held of Lord Lovelace in 1631. It had certainly gone by 1659, although the associated fishery survived into the 17th century.¹⁶

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. In Kidlington in 1279 Hugh de Plessis had view of frankpledge, held without the sheriff or other royal bailiff, and gallows.¹⁷ His 17th-century successors held courts leet and baron at which constables and tithingmen were elected and transfers of copyhold recorded. The courts seem to have ceased after 1680, probably as a result of the break-up of the manor.¹⁸ The lords of the manor of Thrupp in 1279 held courts for their tenants, but in 1296–7 amercements totalling 4s. 8d. were paid to the honor court of St. Valery at North Osney, including 3s. 4d. from the tithing of Thrupp for a false presentation.¹⁹ The manor granted to William Babington in 1555 included court leet and view of frankpledge, and a lease of 1667 required suit to the manor court,²⁰ but

¹ Sawyer papers; B.L. Add. Ch. 13708.

² Sawyer papers; B.L. Add. MS. 22190, f. 148.

³ Sawyer papers.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ e.g. O.R.O., Colvin IV/i/1; Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 20 Mar., 1 Apr. 1784.

⁶ Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 126, 179, 204, 220, 277–9, 309.

⁷ O.R.O., Misc. Lem. II/1; Woodstock Boro. Mun. 52/3/9.

⁸ *Sale Cat.* in Bodl. G.A. fol. B 71(64).

⁹ P.R.O., HO 107/890, 1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512; O.S. Maps 25", Oxon. XXXIII.2 (1881, 1899, and 1939 edns.).

¹⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1895 and later edns.).

¹¹ Inf. from Oxf. City Solicitor.

¹² *Oxf. Mail*, 19 Aug. 1982.

¹³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 413.

¹⁴ *Cart. St. Frid.* i, pp. 209–10; ii, pp. 32, 208.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* i, pp. 210–11; *Oseney Cart.* iv, pp. 100–2.

¹⁶ Sawyer papers.

¹⁷ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 873.

¹⁸ Bodl. MS. d.d. Tyrwhitt-Drake c 2, no. 35.

¹⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 853, 855; *Earldom of Cornwall Accts.* 1296–7, i (Camd. 3rd ser. lxvi), 147.

²⁰ P.R.O., C 142/182, no. 41; O.R.O., Misc. Bod. XII/1.

there is no later record of the court. Courts for the honor of St. Valery were held in Thrupp in the later Middle Ages, and for the honor of Ewelme until 1847. Eighteenth-century courts made orders for the maintenance of watercourses; all courts elected constables, tithingmen, and haywards.²¹ The Hospitallers held a court at Gosford for the tenants of their neighbouring estates.²² William Frere held a court with view of frankpledge for a manor which included land in Cassington and Brize Norton as well as Gosford; the court appointed a constable and tithingman and amerced suitors for agricultural offences.²³

Oseney abbey held courts, with view of frankpledge, for its manor of Water Eaton, including its estates in Cutteslowe and Fries; the court seems to have dealt chiefly with agricultural matters.²⁴ William Frere held similar courts, which regulated the agriculture of the township, ordered the maintenance of watercourses and roads, elected the constable, hayward, and tithingman, and witnessed transfers of copyhold or leasehold land. In 1596 several men were amerced for not wearing woollen caps on Sundays. The court was last recorded in 1622.²⁵

Kidlington and its hamlets were separate units for vestry government and poor-law administration. In the 16th century the four churchwardens, two for Kidlington and Thrupp and two for Water Eaton and Gosford, presented their accounts to the whole parish in December, but each township made its own levies for the church.²⁶ Other taxes were levied on the whole parish and divided among the townships, Kidlington paying 53 per cent of the total, Water Eaton 27 per cent, Thrupp 13 per cent, and Gosford 7 per cent, except for a period after the Civil War when Kidlington and Water Eaton each paid 39 per cent and Gosford and Thrupp 11 per cent each.²⁷

In the 17th and 18th centuries there seem usually to have been two churchwardens for Kidlington, who were also responsible for Thrupp, and one each for Water Eaton and Gosford. Kidlington township normally had two overseers of the poor, the other townships one each.²⁸ At Kidlington in the mid 18th century the vestry elected 2 tithingmen, a greensman, 2 fieldsmen, 2 surveyors of the highways, a field keeper, and a herdsman.²⁹ By the early 19th century the Kidlington vestry met monthly, in public houses except for the annual meeting for the election of officers which was held in the church vestry.³⁰

In 1684, when the surviving accounts begin, Kidlington township spent £23 on poor relief,

but by 1696 the total had risen to £70, largely because of increased expenditure on items like clothing and repairs to cottages. A reduction in the early 18th century was followed by a steep rise to £134 in 1728, and continued high expenditure presumably encouraged the establishment of a workhouse in 1735. For the next two years expenditure was almost halved, but the workhouse does not seem to have lasted long, and expenditure rose again.³¹ In 1776 the township spent c. £158 on poor relief, and between 1783 and 1785 an average of c. £205. By 1803 the total had risen to £414, but the expense per head of population, 12s. was one of the lowest in the area. Although the rate per head rose to c. £1 6s. in 1813, when total expenditure was £1,206, and was still c. £1 1s. in 1818, when the total expenditure for a larger population was £976, it remained low for the area. Low corn prices in the mid 1820s reduced the capitation rate to 10s. in 1824, and in 1832, when £721 in all was spent, it was c. 15s., a moderate rate for the area.³²

In the late 17th century out-relief was usually given to about 6 people, the number rising to over a dozen at times in the early 18th century. In 1730 there were 15 adults, most of them women, on regular out-relief, and the figure was much the same in 1778. Over 20 adults were getting regular help in the late 1790s, and the overseers' accounts suggest a similar figure in 1803 although only 14 were officially reported that year. The accounts for 1801–10 also show that, unusually, only about a third of those on regular relief were women. In 1813 as many as 90 people were officially reported to be on regular relief although the accounts suggest a total of only 40–50, and a further 110 received occasional help; by 1814 the latter figure had risen to 166.³³ In 1817 the cost of weekly pay varied from £10 to £19, amounting in all to £372, over half the total poor-relief expenditure. In 1832 relief was being given to 25 aged and widows, 6 families, and 4 bastards; 3 casual sick and 2 labourers were also getting help.³⁴ There seem to have been few problems over settlement.³⁵

The overseers rented a stonepit at Hardwick in 1712, and from the late 1770s until 1833 stone digging and roadmaking provided work for the unemployed, who received between 1½d. and 8d. a day from the overseers. At least 32 adults were so employed in 1825, and road making tools were bought in 1807 and 1832. Stone was sometimes sold to other parishes. By 1868 the stonepits were exhausted, and the vestry decided to lease the land. Roundsmen and women were not

²¹ *Oseney Cart.* vi, p. 89; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Ewelme honor 1/8, 2/9, 6/9, 10/2; *ibid.* CH/E/I/ii/2, 11; CH/E/IX/1–54; CH/E/XXII/i/5–6, 12.

²² *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 838, 853.

²³ Sawyer papers: ct. roll 1608.

²⁴ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oseney 445^a, 446; MS. Rolls Oseney 106; MSS. d.d. Ch. O.R. 127–8.

²⁵ Sawyer papers: ct. rolls.

²⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 21, f. 135v.

²⁷ B.L. Add. MS. 22190, ff. 111, 118, 120–1.

²⁸ O.R.O., K. II/a/1: overseers' accts. 1684–1740; K II/b/1b/5, 11; MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington b 14: chwdns' accts. 1754–1882; MS. d.d. Par. Oxf. St. Giles c 26, f. 105; St.

Aldate c 22, f. 78; St. Mary Magdalen b 56, f. 59.

²⁹ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington b 14, s.a. 1756, 1757.

³⁰ *Ibid.* K. II/a/2 3.

³¹ *Ibid.* K. II/a/1; below.

³² *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406–7; *ibid.* 1818, 360–1; *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 556, p. 138 (1822), v; H.C. 334, p. 174 (1825), iv; H.C. 83, p. 161 (1830–1), xi; H.C. 444, p. 157 (1835), xlvii. The earlier figures, taken from the overseers' accts., include items omitted from the parliamentary returns.

³³ O.R.O., K. II/a/1, 2; *Poor Abstract*, 1804, p. 407; *ibid.* 1818, pp. 360–1.

³⁴ *Rep. Com. Poor Laws*, H.C. 44, p. 367b (1834), xxxi.

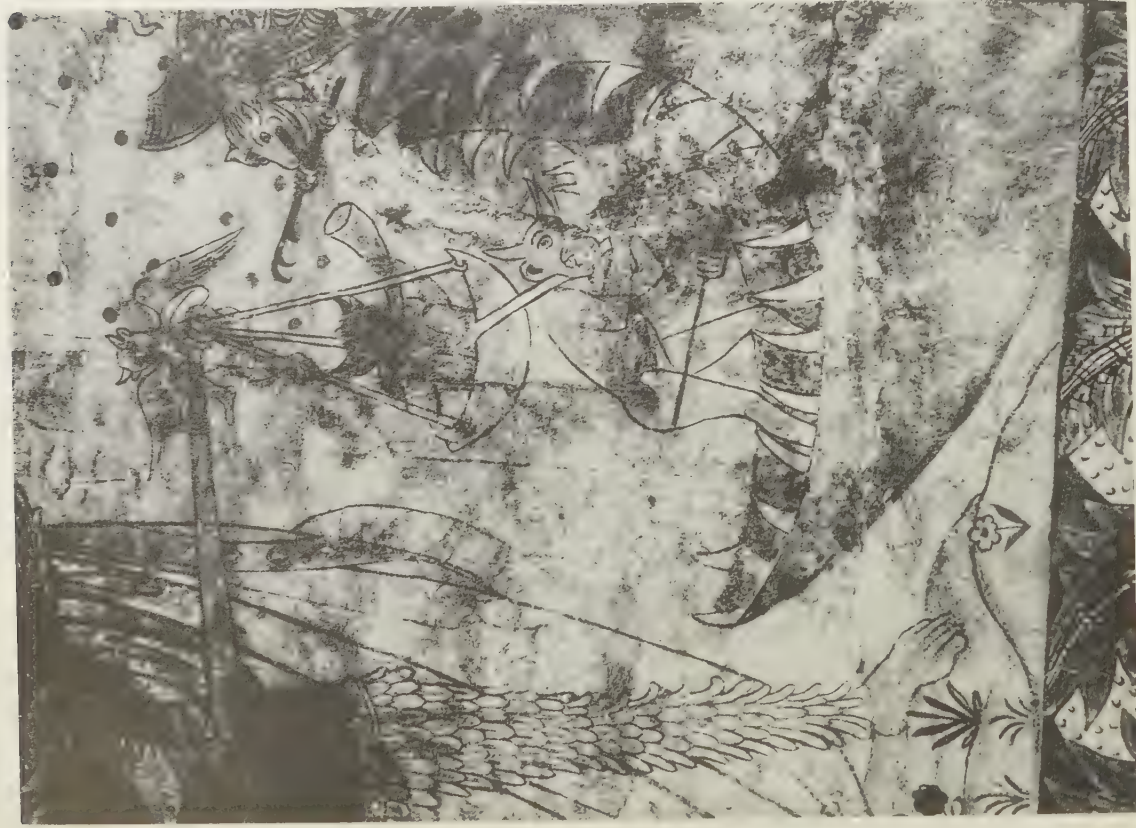
³⁵ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406; 1818, 360.



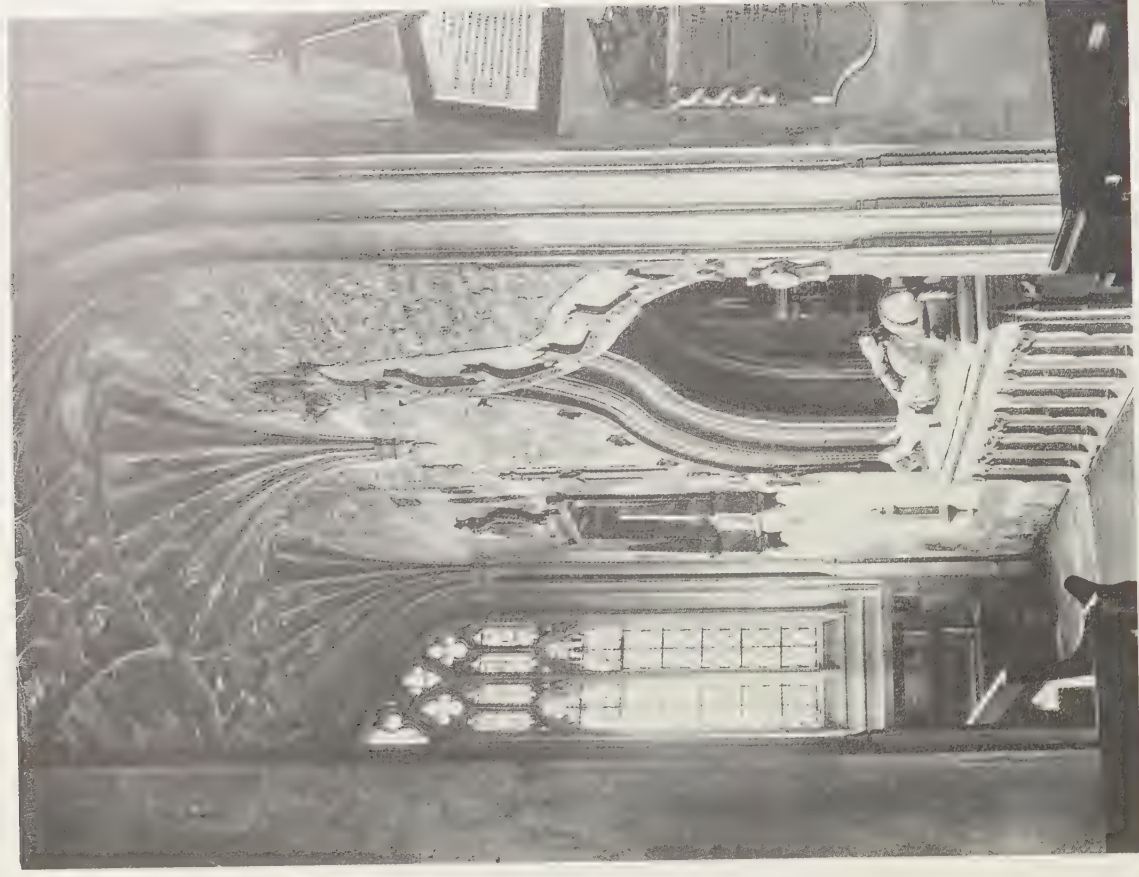
LONG HANBOROUGH: Lay's quarry in 1890



LONG HANBOROUGH c. 1900, looking west



SOUTH LEIGH CHURCH: the wall painting of St. Michael weighing souls, redrawn at twice the original size c. 1872, showing traces of the 15th-century original



NORTH LEIGH: the Wilcote chapel c. 1930, with the tomb of Sir William and Lady Elizabeth Wilcotes

mentioned until the 19th century, and then only in small numbers; from June to October 1814 the last payments 'by the yardland' amounted to under £7. Work in 1805 included cutting thistles on the green, and in 1806 looking after cows on the Ham.³⁶

The overseers were putting the poor to work spinning and weaving hemp by 1701, 18 ells of linen being produced in 1709. In 1711 they bought a wheel, and wool as well as hemp was spun. The purchase of equipment suggests a workhouse of some sort, but none was recorded until 1735, although in 1738 the vicar reported that within the last 20 years the parish had taken over the old schoolhouse.³⁷ The poor opposed the move to the workhouse in 1735, protesting to the justices of the peace at Woodstock about the stopping of their weekly pay, and it was only after being given a week's pay beforehand and compensation for 'loss of time in fetching their work' that they moved in. The workhouse was still in existence in 1740, although weekly out-relief had started again in 1737, but it seems to have closed soon afterwards. In 1754 the vestry agreed to convert the old schoolhouse into a workhouse and appointed a superintendant.³⁸ That workhouse too had apparently closed by 1776. In 1778 the overseers bought cards for carding wool, but those, like other wool-carding equipment bought in 1784, may have been for an individual pauper. In 1789 and 1790, however, repairs were made to a workhouse, and from 1791 to 1795 regular payments were made to it. An inventory taken in 1793 shows that it comprised 5 rooms, a garret, and a cellar, contained 9 bedsteads, and was equipped for spinning and carding wool or flax. No payments seem to have been made to the workhouse after 1795. In the early 19th century the overseers several times paid for flax and worsted and for spinning wheels, probably for paupers employed outside the workhouse, like the six girls at Ellis's for whom flax was bought in 1812, and in 1819 nearly £7 was earned from 'stockings and thread'. The workhouse is said to have been enlarged in the 1820s, but was probably then being used to lodge the poor.³⁹

In 1614 the town was renting the poor's houses from the lord of the manor for 10d.,⁴⁰ and in 1722-3 there was some business with John Conant of Bayley manor, or his executors, about the 'town houses'.⁴¹ In 1729 the overseers repaired Louse Hall in Gosford, and in 1734 they sent a pauper there; they were still renting the house in 1759, presumably to lodge the poor.⁴² Housing for the poor, apart from the workhouse, is not recorded again until 1808 when the vestry borrowed money to build 10 cottages whose rents were to be used to service or pay off the loans. In 1810 a builder was paid for five parish houses. In 1831 land in the gravel

pits was let to poor people on building leases at 1s. a year.⁴³ After the establishment of the Woodstock union, in 1836, Kidlington sold the workhouse, 6 cottages and the coal-house known as the Crescent, 4 houses in Moor End, 2 cottages in Black Horse Lane, and 5 cottages adjoining the workhouse; part of the money was used to pay off the debt incurred for building the houses in 1810 and part was put towards the parish quota for building the union workhouse.⁴⁴

There are few records of vestry government in the hamlets. Gosford spent c. £2 on poor relief in 1776, an average of c. £12 between 1783 and 1785, and £27, c. 14s. a head of population, in 1803. In 1813 the capitation rate rose to c. £1 10s., but in 1820 it was only 13s. The figures, like those for Kidlington, were low for the area. In 1832 a total of £36 was spent, 16s. a head. Only 2 people were on out-relief in 1803, but in 1811-12 there were 11 or 12, over a quarter of the population of the hamlet. Thrupp spent c. £32 on poor relief in 1776, nearly half of it on rents, an average of c. £11 between 1783 and 1785, and £56, £1 2s. a head of population, in 1803. In 1813 the capitation rate was c. 18s., and in 1819 it rose to a peak of c. £1 4s, but in 1832 when a total of £57 was spent, it was only c. 14s., a low rate for the area. In 1803 only 4 people, all of them infirm, were on out-relief, and between 1813 and 1815 only occasional relief was given, to between 16 and 26 people. At Water Eaton average expenditure between 1783 and 1785 was c. £49, and in 1803 £88 or c. 16s. a head of population. In 1813 the capitation rate had risen to c. £2 16s. and in 1819 to £3 4s.; it remained over £2 for most of the 1820s and in 1832, when total expenditure was £226, it was c. £2 4s., much the highest figure not only in the parish but also, for the second time, in the area. In 1803 there were 3 adults on regular out-relief. Between 1813 and 1815 between 22 and 24 people were on permanent out-relief and between 5 and 7 people received occasional relief. The sums spent on overseers' journeys and legal costs between 1783 and 1785 and again between 1813 and 1815 suggest that the hamlet had many more problems with settlement than the rest of the parish.⁴⁵

After 1894 the vestry's remaining functions were taken over by a parish council in Kidlington and by parish meetings in Thrupp, Gosford, and Water Eaton. A joint parish council for Shipton-on-Cherwell and Thrupp was established in 1946, and for Gosford and Water Eaton in 1947. In 1960 the Kidlington parish council was enlarged from 9 to 16 members and the parish was divided into 4 wards, North, Central, South and East, each of which elected 4 councillors.⁴⁶ A full-time parish clerk was appointed in 1968.⁴⁷

³⁶ O.R.O., K. II/a/1-2; *Oxf. Chron.* 2 May 1868.

³⁷ *Secker's Visit.* 92.

³⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington b 14, end folio.

³⁹ *Three Oxon. Pars.* 168; *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406-7; 1818, 360-1; *Rep. Com. Poor Laws*, H.C. 44, p. 376b (1834), xxxi.

⁴⁰ Bodl. MS. d.d. Tyrwhitt-Drake c 2, no. 5a.

⁴¹ O.R.O., K. II/a/1.

⁴² *Ibid.*; *Blenheim Mun.*, E/P/6.

⁴³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington d 42: vestry min. bk. 1828-66, s.a. 1831.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington d 42, s.a. 1836.

⁴⁵ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406-7; 1818, 360-1; *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 556, p. 138 (1822), v; H.C. 334, p. 174 (1825), iv; H.C. 83, p. 161 (1830-1), xi; H.C. 444, p. 157 (1835), xlvii.

⁴⁶ O.R.O., RO 137, 229, 604, 1083.

⁴⁷ *Oxf. Mail*, 18 Jan. 1968.

Kidlington, Thrupp, Gosford, and Water Eaton were all included in the Woodstock poor law union in 1834, the Woodstock rural district in 1894, Ploughley rural district in 1932, and Cherwell district in 1974.⁴⁸

CHURCHES. Kidlington church was in existence by the early 12th century.⁴⁹ The ecclesiastical parish covered the same area as the ancient parish until 1932 when the detached part of Water Eaton was divided between the parishes of Wolvercote and St. Michael's Summertown, Oxford. In 1952 the area north and west of the Oxford canal was transferred to Shipton-on-Cherwell and Begbroke parishes.⁵⁰ There was some doubt in the mid 20th century as to the status of Water Eaton.⁵¹ From 1958 the living was held in plurality with Hampton Poyle.

Robert d'Oilly granted Kidlington church to Oseney abbey at its foundation. The abbey had appropriated the church by 1226, presenting vicars from then until the early 16th century except in 1474 when the archdeacon of Oxford presented. The vicarage was appropriated to the abbey c. 1513.⁵² The church, including the appropriated vicarage, was granted to the bishopric of Oxford in 1542, surrendered in 1546, and sold to Sir William Petre for Exeter College in 1565.⁵³ The vicarage was annexed to the rectorship of the college until 1880 and held without presentation, but from 1887 to 1977 the college presented to the vicarage. In 1977 a team ministry of a rector and a vicar was established, the rector being presented by a patronage board made up of the bishop of Oxford, the team vicar, Exeter College, and a representative of the parochial church council; the vicar is chosen by the bishop and the rector.⁵⁴

The first vicarage, a standard one for Oseney abbey's appropriated churches, was ordained between 1209 and 1235; it comprised 2 marks a year, mortuaries to the value of 6d., oblations and altar offerings, mass pennies, and a canon's food allowance. The abbey supplied a clerk, a servant, and a horse, and bore all the burdens of the church. The vicarage was valued at 15 marks in 1254.⁵⁵ At the institution of a new vicar in 1260–1 the bishop of Lincoln reserved the right to augment the vicarage, and may have done so, as in 1290–1 Oseney paid the vicar a fixed sum of £12 a year and at least 2 qr. of wheat while taking some of the oblations.⁵⁶ The church was assessed at 40 marks in 1291, presumably the value of the rectory.⁵⁷ A new vicarage ordained in 1445 comprised a house, garden and close, a yardland of glebe, all offerings and inanimate

mortuaries, tithe of the mills (except the abbey's mills), 7s. from the hay tithe, tithe of 53 new closes, and an offering of ½d. from each parishioner at the four major festivals. Oseney was to supply 4 measures each of wheat and malt at Christmas, but that was probably for the parishioners.⁵⁸ It was recorded in the 17th century that the vicar had given the collegiate church of St. George in the Castle, Oxford, 4 lb. wax each year at Candlemas.⁵⁹

After the annexation of the vicarage Oseney, and later Exeter College, paid a curate to serve the church. His stipend, £6 13s. 4d. in 1526 and 1542 but only £5 6s. 8d. in 1535, had risen to £10 by 1565.⁶⁰ In 1738 it was £20, and it rose to £30 in 1802, £45 in 1811, £75 in 1817 and £100 in 1820 and 1832.⁶¹ John Tustian the younger, by will dated 1677, left 10s. a year for a sermon on St. Mark's day by the rector of Exeter or his substitute;⁶² Mary Conant, by will dated 1713, left £3 a year for three sermons 'to put the parishioners in mind of their mortality', and Isaac Shard of Kennington (Surr.), by a codicil to his will dated 1739, left 10s. a year for a sermon on Michaelmas day.⁶³ Shard's benefaction was discontinued by his heirs in 1819, but Tustian's and Conant's survived. By a Charity Commission Scheme of 1978 they were united to form the Kidlington Ecclesiastical Charity. Part of the income was to be paid to the parish clerk, as long as there was one, and the remainder was to be used for religious and charitable purposes of the Church of England.⁶⁴

A house west of the rectory gate was assigned to the vicar in 1445. Part apparently survives in the vicarage house, where a room in the northern corner has ceiling beams of 14th-century character. The house was ruinous c. 1520,⁶⁵ but was presumably partially rebuilt soon afterwards: the room south-west of the medieval one was added in the earlier 16th century and the roof of that date continues across the older block which was probably the cross wing of a hall house. In the 17th and 18th centuries the house was leased to successive farmers of the vicarage, the rectors of Exeter retaining a few rooms, in 1622 a chamber and a study, for themselves or their curates.⁶⁶ In 1809 part of the southern wing, which had been occupied as a separate dwelling, was demolished and the remainder of the house repaired.⁶⁷ In 1853–4 G. E. Street added a new south wing in 16th-century style on the site of the medieval hall.⁶⁸

The 13th- and 14th-century vicars were, on the whole, undistinguished, and many exchanged the living after only a few years.⁶⁹

⁴⁸ *Census*, 1851; O.R.O., RO 15, 263.

⁴⁹ *Oseney Cart.* i, p. 1.

⁵⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1874, 1973–4.

⁵¹ Below.

⁵² *Oseney Cart.* i, p. 1; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 460.

⁵³ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, p. 490; *Cal. Pat.* 1563–5, p. 251.

⁵⁴ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 5; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1874; *Three Oxon. Pars.* 356–7.

⁵⁵ *Rot. Welles*, i (L.R.S. iii), 179–80; Lunt, *Val. Norw.* 307.

⁵⁶ *Rot. Graves.* (L.R.S. xx), 214; Bodl. MS. d.d. Ch. Ch. O.R. 96.

⁵⁷ *Tax Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 31.

⁵⁸ *Oseney Cart.* iv, pp. 121–9; Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 5; above, Intro.

⁵⁹ *Wood's City of Oxf.* ii (O.H.S. xvii), 64.

⁶⁰ *Subsidy* 1526, 50; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 223; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, p. 490; *Cal. Pat.* 1563–6, p. 251.

⁶¹ *Secker's Visit.* 90; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 570, f. 182; d 572, f. 186; d 576, f. 173; d 578, f. 154; b 39, f. 243; Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 7.

⁶² Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 7.

⁶³ *Three Oxon. Pars.* 140; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 342.

⁶⁴ O.R.C.C., Kimber files.

⁶⁵ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* i. 128.

⁶⁶ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 5.

⁶⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 25, ff. 80–82v.

⁶⁸ Exeter Coll. Mun., A. I. 11; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 672.

⁶⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 460.

Oseney abbey supplied vestments and ornaments, buying two stoles in 1290–1.⁷⁰ A graduate was instituted in 1407; he and his successors may have spent much of their time in Oxford; two Lollards were reported in Kidlington in 1415, and in 1445 the parishioners complained that the vicar, Lewis Neath, had not administered the sacraments regularly. Neath replied that he was not bound to supply an assistant chaplain, nor could he afford to do so. The new vicarage then ordained may have secured the parishioners an assistant priest, but most vicars thereafter were Oxford scholars using the living mainly as a source of income. Neath himself in 1459 obtained a licence to hold a second, incompatible, benefice, although there is no evidence that he actually acquired one; in 1472 he was living in an academic hall in Oxford.⁷¹ His successors, mostly pluralists, all seem to have lived in Oxford, where two of them were principals of academic halls.⁷²

After the abbey's annexation of the vicarage c. 1513⁷³ the curate was paid, and sometimes appointed, by the farmers of the vicarage. About 1520 the 'vicar', presumably the curate, did not reside, and the clerk was married although he was in holy orders. In 1526 all seems to have been in order, with a curate and a stipendiary.⁷⁴ In 1543 the farmer, Henry Lawrence, himself a priest, hired a poor scholar from Oxford to serve the church for a year.⁷⁵ Lawrence may later have served the church himself; in his will, dated 1545, he described himself as vicar of Kidlington and asked to be buried there.⁷⁶

A lamp to burn for Henry d'Oilly's soul before the crucifix was endowed c. 1270.⁷⁷ In 1548 land worth 4d. for a light, a payment of 4s. for an obit, and 15 sheep given to the rood light were reported.⁷⁸ Several parishioners in the earlier 16th century left money to a mass in the Jesus chapel whose endowments included a cottage called the Jesus House on the town green, later the Dog public house.⁷⁹

The Hospitallers had an oratory in their house at Gosford in the 13th century, but agreed in 1235 not to admit parishioners to their services.⁸⁰ There was a chapel of St. Leonard associated with the bridge at Fries by the 12th century. In the later 15th century it seems to have been the centre of a cult of St. Leonard, for substantial offerings were made there on the two feasts of the saint and indulgences given. Oseney abbey maintained the chapel and its fittings.⁸¹ There is no later record of the chapel, which had

completely disappeared by the later 17th century.⁸²

The curate of Kidlington from 1547 to 1552, Andrew Adam, appears to have held protestant views; he may have been a local man, and was rich enough to make several bequests of money, including 4d. to each poor person in the parish.⁸³ During Mary's reign several parishioners left money to repair the church ornaments, but John Barre, curate 1557–8, was a *volens subscripsi* signatory, and in 1559 a parishioner left money 'to buy books for the maintenance of God's service'.⁸⁴ In 1593 the curate, although a non-graduate, was 'sufficient'.⁸⁵ In 1571 a dispute over Gosford's contribution to the church expenses and a churchwarden's failure to restore a chalice and paten in his possession reached the bishop's court.⁸⁶

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries Kidlington was served mainly by curates, many of them fellows of Exeter College, who spent most of their time in Oxford, but nevertheless the cure was comparatively well served. The rectors of Exeter occasionally served the church themselves: John Conybeare, rector 1730–3, preached at Kidlington at least twice while he was rector, and at least three times after his resignation.⁸⁷ In the 1750s John Sydenham of Hampden manor acted as curate.⁸⁸ In 1738 the vicar, the college rector James Edgecumbe, displayed an intimate knowledge of the parish, and stated that the parishioners had never complained of being ill served. Then, and for most of the 18th century, there were two services with one sermon on Sundays, prayers on the greater festivals, and five or six Communion services a year. The number of communicants fell from 30–40 in 1738 to 12–20 in 1771 but rose to c. 30 in 1793.⁸⁹ In the early 19th century curates complained of non-attendance, blamed partly on the distance of parts of the parish from the church (Thrupp people sometimes attended Shipton-on-Cherwell church, Water Eaton people Islip) and partly on indifference, but communicants increased to 80–100 in 1820.⁹⁰

Edward Feild, fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and later bishop of Newfoundland, was curate from 1827 to 1832. He lived in the parish for much of the time, built schools, and seems to have been genuinely concerned for the welfare of his parishioners.⁹¹ His successors maintained his standards. Matthew Anstis (1843–51), 'sober-minded, hardworking, and valued by his parishioners', conducted full services with ser-

⁷⁰ Bodl. MS. d.d. Ch. Ch. O.R. 96.

⁷¹ *Reg. Repington*, iii (L.R.S. lxxiv), p. 73 n.; *Oseney Cart.* iv, pp. 121–9; *Cal. Papal Reg.* xi. 532; Emden, *O.U. Reg. to 1500*, 1340.

⁷² Emden, *O.U. Reg. to 1500*, 522 (Edmund Croxton), 1638 (Roger Sandford).

⁷³ *Oseney Cart.* iii, pp. 357–8; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i (1), p. 631.

⁷⁴ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* i. 128; *Subsidy 1526*, 50.

⁷⁵ P.R.O., C 1/1115, no. 34.

⁷⁶ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 179, f. 65.

⁷⁷ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 135.

⁷⁸ *Chant. Cert.* 28.

⁷⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1548–9, 326; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 178, f. 190; 179, f. 65; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Hall's Brewery c 16; *ibid.* vctrls' recog.

⁸⁰ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 143.

⁸¹ *Oseney Cart.* iii, p. 346; iv, p. 105; vi, pp. 297, 300. Bodl. MS. Wood E 1, f. 76.

⁸² O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 180, f. 147v.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 181, f. 71; 182, ff. 20, 169; O.A.S. *Rep.* (1912), 92.

⁸⁴ O.A.S. *Rep.* (1913), 158.

⁸⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 231, ff. 132, 135v. – 136v.

⁸⁶ Bodl. MS. Eng. Th. e 49.

⁸⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington b 14.

⁸⁸ *Secker's Visit.* 90; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 559, f. 77; d 562, f. 89; d 564, f. 251; b 12, f. 69.

⁸⁹ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 566, f. 200; d 570, f. 182; d 549, p. 122; b 12, f. 72; b 39, f. 243; d 578, f. 148.

⁹⁰ *D.N.B.*; E. Feild, *Address on the State of the Country* (1830); *idem*, *Effects of Drunkenness* (1831).

mons on major saints' days as well as twice on Sundays and celebrated Communion once a month. The rectors of Exeter usually took at least one service a month.⁹² Attendance on Census Sunday in 1851 was *c.* 290 adults and *c.* 94 Sunday School children in the morning and 254 adults and 86 children in the afternoon.⁹³ In 1854 the curate calculated that nearly half the parish came to church but complained of the indifference and 'careless and ungodly lives' of the farmers.⁹⁴ Congregations increased, averaging 450 in 1866, but a decline in the 1870s and early 1880s was variously attributed to the labourers' strike, to a regular alms collection, and to the extreme coldness of the church in winter. It may also have been affected by a rapid turnover of curates, most of whom stayed only two or three years, and when in 1868 a curate appointed to take the service expounded Puseyite views most of the congregation left the church in protest.⁹⁵ By 1872 there was a Communion service once a week and 100–150 communicants at great festivals.⁹⁶ A mission room was opened in Thrupp by 1884; it seems to have closed *c.* 1900.⁹⁷

A. C. R. Freeborn, curate 1886–7 and vicar 1887–1925 after the vicarage had been severed from the rectorship of Exeter College, reported increased congregations in the first years of his incumbency. In the early 20th century, however, Kidlington shared the national trend to falling church attendances. The situation may have been slightly aggravated by Freeborn himself, 'a hardworking, kindly man; clumsy ... and often giving offence where none was meant'.⁹⁸ After his retirement he remained in the parish, serving the private chapel at Water Eaton, an arrangement which led to friction with his successor. Iorwerth Lloyd-Jones, vicar 1925–44, was a high churchman, introducing the reservation of the Sacrament before 1928; his erection of a third, nave, altar in the church in 1927 was opposed by a substantial number of parishioners who seem to have objected as much to the churchmanship it symbolized as to the removal of appropriated pews on which they based their complaint.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, his successors continued a tradition of moderate high churchmanship.

The church of *ST. MARY*¹ comprises an aisled chancel, central tower with spire, transepts, and clerestoried nave with south aisle and porch. The only surviving piece from the 12th-century church is the plain, tub-shaped font, set on an early 14th-century octagonal base. The 13th-century church had an aisleless nave and chancel, central tower, and transepts. Much of

the west and north walls of the nave, the transept walls, and the lower stages of the tower survive; in the west wall of the north transept are two lancet windows, and jambs of others are visible in the west walls of the nave and south transept. The church was extensively remodelled in the earlier 14th century, possibly under the orders of Thomas of Kidlington, abbot of Oseney 1330–73. A south aisle of five bays and a south porch were added to the nave, and chapels of two bays each north and south of the chancel. The workmanship of the south chapel is of a particularly high standard; fragments of the glass from its east window survived in the chancel windows in 1983. In the 15th century the tower was heightened and the spire added and clerestories were built in the nave and north transept. Of the same date are six carved wooden screens placed around the chancel and its chapels. Some of the screens have been moved since 1848 when they enclosed only the eastern bay of each chapel.² In the 16th century a new west window and door were inserted in the west wall. In 1545 a parishioner requested burial in an otherwise unrecorded west porch.³

The church was repaired regularly in the 17th and 18th centuries, notably in 1618 when a special rate was levied for the church and the bells, in 1756–7 when the steeple and a gallery were repaired, and in 1789 when the church was repaved.⁴ There were galleries on the north, east, and west sides of the nave, for Gosford, Water Eaton, and the choir; the choir gallery was built in 1760.⁵

Despite opposition from some parishioners, extensive repairs and alterations were made in 1829 and 1830, on the initiative of the curate Edward Feild. The eastern gallery was removed and replaced by a smaller one in part of the south aisle, the pews were renewed and rearranged to face the pulpit in the middle of the north wall, and 20 carved 15th-century bench ends were made into desks and placed in the chancel in front of the misericords of the same date. Exeter College restored the chancel, refixing in the east window the medieval glass, which had been 'daily dilapidating' in 1789, and two shields brought from the college.⁶ In 1846 H. J. Underwood repaired the south chancel chapel, which had been used as a private mortuary chapel by Sir William Morton and his successors, and the south transept; the following year G. G. Scott restored the chancel for Exeter College, presumably removing the flat boarded ceiling which still cut off the head of the east window in 1846.⁷ The chancel floor was repaired, re-using some medieval tiles, in 1851.

⁹² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 550, f. 49; MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington e 4: register of services 1849–61.

⁹³ *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 246.

⁹⁴ *Wilb. Visit.* 83.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 252; c 341, f. 256; c 347, f. 241; *Oxf. Chron.* 28 Mar. 1868.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* c 338, f. 234.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* c 350, f. 229; c 365, f. 228.

⁹⁸ P. Nicholson, *Family Album*, 14.

⁹⁹ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 388, f. 399; c 394, f. 352; c 1874.

¹ Dedication recorded in 1542: O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 178, f. 149.

² *Archit. Antiq.* 61.

³ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon 179, f. 38.

⁴ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 118, f. 241; MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington b 14: chwdns' accts.

⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington b 14; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 139, 361–2.

⁶ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 5; M. IV. 3; A. I. 11, pp. 41, 59, 63; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 434, f. ii; *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, G.B. i. 125; *Gent. Mag.* lix (1), 302.

⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington d 42, 28 May and 7 June 1846; MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 40, f. 211v.; Exeter Coll. Mun., A. I. 11, pp. 248, 250, 263; *Archit. Antiq.* 59; cf. *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 246.

The bad condition of the north transept was reported in 1869 and again in 1875, and it seems to have been repaired soon afterwards.⁸

In 1880 the church was 'partially restored', the nave and south aisle were reroofed, and the wall of the south aisle rebuilt.⁹ Work on cleaning the church in 1892 revealed late medieval wall-paintings; an 'indescribably accurate' series of the seven deadly sins was covered up at once, but pictures of the Virgin Mary and St. Margaret were allowed to remain. The paintings, on the east wall of the north transept, survived, together with fragments on the north and east walls, in 1983.¹⁰ The spire was repaired in 1907-8.¹¹ In 1970 a modern statue of the Virgin was placed in the niche over the door in the south porch.¹² The Victorian pews in the nave and south aisle were replaced c. 1973 by blue chairs, and in 1981 a Sunday school room in wood and glass was built in the north transept.¹³

The east and south windows of the chancel contain medieval glass from elsewhere in the church, including a late 13th-century panel from a tree of Jesse, showing a king grasping a vine flanked by two prophets, a Crucifixion of c. 1300, and a composite 15th-century panel of the Trinity. A 15th-century panel tentatively identified as a miracle of St. Frideswide seems to have come from Christ Church. There are four 14th-century shields (Fiennes, Elmbridge, Le Strange, and the township of Kidlington) and one early 16th-century shield, that of John de la Pole duke of Suffolk (d. 1491-2); two early 15th-century shields of bishops Stapledon and Stafford of Exeter came from Exeter College.¹⁴

The monuments¹⁵ in the chancel include several floor slabs to members of the Standard family, lessees of the rectory in the 17th century, and wall plaques to their successors the Smiths. In the north chapel or vestry are wall plaques to John Conant (d. 1723) and his wife Mary, of Bayley manor, and to Joseph Smith (d. 1756) of Bayley manor; on the north wall of the nave is a plaque to A. C. R. Freeborn, vicar 1887-1925, and funeral hatchments of Joseph Smith (d. 1776) and his wives Lydia Barney (d. 1745) and Elizabeth Bouchier (d. 1777). Many brasses were destroyed when the church was repaved in 1789.¹⁶

The plate includes a silver chalice and paten cover of 1612, a silver tankard flagon of 1702 given by John and Mary Conant of Bayley manor in 1703, another chalice of 1710 given to the church that year, and a 17th-century Dutch

or Low German brass almsdish. All but the second chalice were listed among the church goods in 1754.¹⁷

There are eight bells, the earliest of 1700; the treble and second were added to the ring in 1897 when the third, fourth, and sixth, originally of 1661, 1621, and 1610, were recast.¹⁸

The churchyard was enlarged in 1853, 1900, 1944, and 1965.¹⁹ In 1956 a curate's house was bought in the Garden City, and the chapel and church hall of St. John the Baptist was consecrated there in 1959.²⁰ The plain rectangular structure of red brick was designed by J. M. Surman. A new chapel in the building was dedicated in 1978.²¹

The private chapel of Water Eaton Manor was used in the early 18th century for public services for the hamlet, but in 1738 it was no longer available.²² In 1756 the tenant of the manor farm held the key, and in 1768 the chapel was unused, but in 1778 the inhabitants were paying for prayers and a sermon there on Sundays, and the arrangement continued throughout the 19th century. The curate's stipend was £20 in 1832; from 1847 to 1955 the inhabitants contributed £9 10s. a year, the balance apparently being made up by the Sawyers or their tenants.²³ On Census Sunday in 1851 attendance was 41 adults and 11 children.²⁴ In 1834 the chapel was said to be independent of Kidlington, and in 1851 and later it was described as a private chapel used by permission of the proprietor. When Gen. Charles Sawyer restored the chapel in 1884 the diocesan authorities doubted whether the chapel was his private property, but did not press the matter.²⁵ A. C. R. Freeborn, on his retirement from the vicarage in 1925, became curate of Water Eaton,²⁶ and from that time the chapel seems to have been treated as independent of Kidlington. In 1982 services were held once a month in summer and at Christmas.²⁷

The chapel, which stands north of the manor house, comprises a simple chancel and nave in early 16th-century style; it was probably built soon after the house. The original screen and pulpit remain, and the modern choir stalls incorporate Jacobean woodwork. The chapel was restored in 1884 by W. Wilkinson and H. W. Moore.²⁸

ROMAN CATHOLICISM. Only four recusants were recorded in Kidlington in the later

⁸ Exeter Coll. Mun., A. I. 11, p. 309; A. I. 12, p. 215; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 40, f. 215; MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 335, f. 216; c 341, f. 256; c 347, f. 241; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 111, f. 217v.

⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 347, f. 241; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 54.

¹⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 515, pp. 94-5; E. T. Long, 'Wall Paintings in Oxon. Churches', *Oxoniensia*, xxxvii. 98.

¹¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 515, pp. 105, 109.

¹² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1874.

¹³ *Kidlington Mag.* Oct. 1971; *Kidlington Cal.* April 1981.

¹⁴ *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, G.B. i. 125-33.

¹⁵ The monuments are fully described in Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 143-57.

¹⁶ *Gent. Mag.* lix (1), 302.

¹⁷ Evans, *Ch. Plate*, 93-4; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington b 14.

¹⁸ *Ch. Bells Oxon.* 186-7.

¹⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1875/1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; *Oxf. Mail*, 28 Oct. 1957; *Oxf. Times*, 23 Oct. 1959.

²¹ *Oxf. Mail*, 15 Dec. 1978.

²² *Secker's Visit.* 90.

²³ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 559, f. 77; c 327, p. 167; d 576, f. 173; MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington, f 1: Water Eaton acct. bk.; *Wilb. Visit.* 82; Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 7; C. Stephenson, *Merrily on High*, 156.

²⁴ *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 464.

²⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 252; c 341, f. 256; c 1875/1; *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 464.

²⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 515, p. 3.

²⁷ *Kidlington Cal.* Sept. 1981.

²⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1875/1; A. Saint, 'Three Oxf. Archts.' *Oxoniensia* xxxv. 78.

16th century and the 17th. Among them were, in 1577, John Chamberlain, son-in-law of George Owen of Godstow and tenant of lands in Thrupp, and, in 1603, Dorothy wife of John Gadbury of Hampden manor.²⁹ There seem to have been two or three recusant families in the parish in the early 18th century, including that of Richard Hudson, a schoolmaster who settled in Kidlington c. 1714.³⁰ In 1738 the two popish householders, the Gosford innkeeper and his son, were visited once a month by Peter Ingleby, a Jesuit from Culham or Sandford.³¹ The two or three Roman Catholics still met occasionally at the Gosford inn in 1759, but usually attended a private chapel outside the parish, perhaps in Kiddington.³² Among the one or two Roman Catholics reported in the parish in the later 18th century and the early 19th was a Corsican, Giuseppe Giacomorsi, alleged to have been Napoleon's valet.³³ In 1905 some French Sisters of Providence stayed briefly in the parish, but Roman Catholic numbers remained low until the mid 20th century. A church hall of St. Thomas More was built in 1935, although most worshippers continued to attend the Catholic church in Woodstock; a presbytery was built in 1955, and a new church, also dedicated to St. Thomas More, in 1968.³⁴

PROTESTANT NONCONFORMITY. In 1662 and until 1728 or later there was a small Quaker community, never more than two or three families, in the parish. Its most prominent member was Nathaniel Faulkner (d. 1728), for many years overseer in the Oxford monthly meeting.³⁵ No further protestant nonconformity was reported in Kidlington parish until the early 19th century.

Methodists licensed a house for worship in 1809 and their meetings were reported in 1810, 1811, and 1815. Another house, licensed in 1823 by Joseph Hall, was still in use in 1826.³⁶ By 1824 the Kidlington church was contributing to the funds of the Oxford circuit, and by 1826 it had five members.³⁷ An Oxford man, probably a Methodist, occasionally preached in a barn in 1834, and in 1846 a former malthouse in Mill End was registered for worship and converted into a chapel.³⁸ In the 1840s there were appar-

ently nine members of the church at Water Eaton, and on Census Sunday 1851 the chapel at Mill End, which had accommodation for 100, was attended by 25 people in the morning and 40 in the evening.³⁹ The church seems to have declined thereafter; 12 members were recorded in the early 1860s but only 2 in 1868; there is no record of it after 1869, and the congregation may have seceded to the Wesleyan Reformers.⁴⁰ The prominent Wesleyan Reformer G. G. Banbury of Woodstock was apparently instrumental in the acquisition of a new chapel, built in 1861 in School Road, which by 1863 had c. 24 members and was said to be already too small for the numbers attending.⁴¹ It was described in 1876 as Methodist 'free connexion'. The building was used until 1936 when a new church was built on the Oxford road; the old chapel was demolished in 1962.⁴² The new church was refurbished in 1967 and a new hall was opened in 1981.⁴³

In 1832 Adin Williams, an Oxford Congregationalist, registered two barns in Kidlington for worship, but there is no later record of Congregationalists meeting in the parish.⁴⁴ H. B. Bul-teel, the controversial former curate of St. Ebbe's, Oxford, who became a Baptist in 1832, built a pulpit in a cottage in Kiddington. He was violently expelled by the 'rougher element', but he left a small congregation, known as Bulteelers, which apparently survived into the later 19th century.⁴⁵ Two or three houses were registered for worship in 1835, one of them by James Ballard who in 1851 was the deacon of a Baptist congregation of 55 meeting in a private house. Another house was registered in 1850 by Frederick Butler, who in 1851 was an elder of what seems to have been the same congregation as Ballard's.⁴⁶

A chapel in Thrupp, in a converted cottage, was opened by the Woodstock Baptist chapel in 1876 as a mission to the canal people.⁴⁷ Services were being organized from the New Road church in Oxford in 1889, and the chapel was renovated under the auspices of J. Dann, pastor of New Road 1882-1916.⁴⁸ The chapel members, with those of Woodstock chapel, were formally transferred to New Road in 1910,⁴⁹ but services continued to be held at Thrupp until 1953 when a new church was acquired in Kidlington. Thrupp chapel was officially closed and

²⁹ *Returns of Recusants*, 1577 (Cath. Rec. Soc. xxii), 111; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 45; 'Oxon. Recusants', O.A.S. Rep. (1924), 17, 26, 56.

³⁰ *Hearne's Colln.* vi (O.H.S. xliii), 78; Stapleton, *Cath. Miss.* 196-7: the evidence for the recusancy of the Phillips family is doubtful.

³¹ *Secker's Visit.* 52-3, 89; Stapleton, *Cath. Miss.* 343.

³² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 556, f. 69v.

³³ *Three Oxon. Pars.* Further Addenda, 2.

³⁴ *Clarendonian*, xxii. 261-4; K. Gachowski, *Cath. Ch. in Woodstock* (1984), 6, 12, 16.

³⁵ *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 66, 274; O.R.O., BOQM 1/ii/1, s.a. 1696-7, 1701-2; 1/ii/2, s.a. 1705; *ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 128/1/13.

³⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 441, f. 20; c 644, ff. 103 (one of the signatories was the Oxford Methodist minister), 151; d 549, p. 122; d 581, f. 119v.; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington c 9, item g.

³⁷ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Oxf. Methodist Circuit e 3.

³⁸ *Ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39, f. 243; c 647, f. 51; cf. *ibid.* MS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circ. c 21, item a, p. 30.

³⁹ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circ. b 2; *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 247.

⁴⁰ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circ. b 3-4.

⁴¹ *United Meth. Free Ch. Mag.* (1863), 328.

⁴² *Oxf. Times*, 21 Oct. 1911; *Oxf. Mail*, 5 Oct. 1962; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circ. c 21, item b, ff. 139, 141-8; O.S. Map 25", Oxon. XXVII. 10 (1881 edn.).

⁴³ V. Offord, *Hist. Kidlington*, 26; *Oxf. Mail*, 5 Oct. 1962, 15 May 1967; *Oxf. Times*, 13 Mar. 1981.

⁴⁴ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39, f. 244; c 645, ff. 203-4.

⁴⁵ Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* Further Addenda, 2.

⁴⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 646, ff. 8, 12, 24; c 647, f. 122; *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 248.

⁴⁷ J. Richards, 'Thrupp, the isolated beauty of the industrial revolution' (TS. in Westgate Libr.), quoting deeds at Woodstock Baptist ch.; datestone on building; B. Leevs, *Kidlington, a Growing Church*, 1: copy in Westgate Libr., Oxf.

⁴⁸ *New Road Chapel Monthly Visitor*, Jan. 1889; *Oxf. Times*, 19 Oct. 1912.

⁴⁹ New Road Baptist Ch., Oxf., church bk. 1910.

the building sold in 1954. The first Baptist church in Kidlington was a wooden hut in the Moors, formerly the headquarters of the army cadet force; in 1965 a new church, designed by Peter Reynolds of Oxford, was built at the east end of the High Street, and in 1978 a third church was built to designs by J. Alan Bristow on the corner of High Street and the Moors, the old church beside it being converted into a church hall.⁵⁰

EDUCATION. There was a school in Kidlington by 1591 when a parishioner provided that his son should be educated there for 3 years.⁵¹ A schoolhouse was built on the green in 1634; it may have been where local tradesmen who owned books in 1641 and 1684 learned to read.⁵² Other schools were kept at Gosford by Richard Washington (d. 1670), and in Kidlington by the Roman Catholic Richard Hudson in 1717.⁵³

Money was left for the education of poor children in 1710 and 1711, but about that time, possibly in 1708–9 when the overseers carried out major repairs on it, the schoolhouse was converted into a parish or town house.⁵⁴ A proposal by Joseph Smith of Bayley manor in 1743 to establish a school in the town house appears to have been frustrated by the opposition of the duke of Marlborough, and in 1754 the building was converted into a workhouse.⁵⁵ Throughout the period, however, the income of the educational charities was paid to schoolmasters, among them the freeholder Blacknell Carter.⁵⁶ Four day schools teaching a total of 116 children were recorded in 1815, the same number in 1817 and three in 1823, although an apparently mistaken report in 1817 stated that, because of the opposition of the farmers, there were no schools at all in the parish.⁵⁷ A Sunday school for 30 boys and 10 girls, supported by subscriptions, had started by 1802; it later lapsed, but was restarted with 90 children in 1810; in 1815 it taught 37 boys and 45 girls on the National plan.⁵⁸ There were also some private boarding schools, like the girls' school kept by Miss Thurland between 1763 and 1772 and the boys' and girls' schools kept by John Allen and his sister Mary Allen in the early 19th century which had a total of 58 children in 1817

and as many as 100 a few years later.⁵⁹

A National day and Sunday school was built in 1827–8 on the initiative of the curate, Edward Feild, on Exeter College land in the centre of the village;⁶⁰ in 1831 it was attended by 143 children, in 1833 by 137 on weekdays and 155 on Sundays.⁶¹ In 1832 Feild added an infant school which in 1833 taught 33 boys and 20 girls. Both schools were supported by subscriptions from the curate and others, children's pence, and the sale of books and needlework.⁶² In 1852 the master, who was also parish clerk, was assisted by an as yet uncertificated mistress and hoped shortly to appoint a pupil teacher.⁶³ In 1867 the school, which had accommodation for 152, had an average attendance of 129 by day and 18 at night school, and in 1868 it was reported that about a quarter of the children in the parish were habitually absent through parental carelessness.⁶⁴

The school was rebuilt in 1871 to accommodate 256 children. A parliamentary grant was received from 1872, but subscriptions and children's pence still made up over half the school's income. In 1872 a master and his wife, both certificated, taught 67 boys, 52 girls, and 61 infants.⁶⁵ The buildings were further enlarged in 1894 and 1898, bringing accommodation up to 300 although average attendance was only 224. Further improvements were made in 1913.⁶⁶ The school became a county school in 1940 and continued in use until 1952 when the 234 children on the roll were transferred to the new Kidlington Junior County school in the Bicester road.⁶⁷ The new school, extended in 1956 and renamed the Edward Feild school in 1964, had 427 children on its roll in 1970 but only 237 in 1983.⁶⁸ The old school building was used as a church hall and social centre until 1972; it was burnt down in 1977.⁶⁹

Gosford Hill Church of England secondary school, serving the surrounding villages as well as Kidlington itself, was built between the Oxford and Bicester roads in 1932; in 1938, when it had 187 pupils, it became a county secondary school. In 1964 it changed from a secondary modern to a comprehensive school. It had 985 children on the roll in 1970 and 1,228 in 1983.⁷⁰

Kidlington County Infants school in Blenheim Road was opened in 1939 and closed in

⁵⁰ *Oxf. Mail*, 17 Nov. 1953; 13 Aug. 1965; 7 Oct. 1977; 3 July 1978; Leeves, *Kidlington, a Growing Church*, *passim*.

⁵¹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 159/4/6.

⁵² *Ibid.* 12/4/22; 13/3/46; 23/1/6; 32/2/15; 61/1/14; 72/5/27; 159/3/11.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 156/2/25; *Hearne's Colln.* vi (O.H.S. xliii), 78.

⁵⁴ Below; O.R.O., K II/a/1, s.a. 1709; *Secker's Visit.* 92.

⁵⁵ Queen's Coll. MS. 482, f. 252; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington b 14, last folio.

⁵⁶ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington b 14, *passim*; *ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 556, f. 71; d 559, f. 77; d 564, f. 253; *Hearne's Colln.* ix (O.H.S. lxxv), 375; *Oxon. Poll.* 1754, 109.

⁵⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 433, f. 127; d 576, f. 173; d 578, f. 149; d 580, f. 154; *Educ. of Poor Digest*, H.C. 224, p. 726 (1819), ix B.

⁵⁸ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 566, f. 200; d 572, f. 186; c 433, f. 127.

⁵⁹ *Oxf. Jnl.* 11 June 1763; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 576, f. 173; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* Further Addenda, 1.

⁶⁰ Exeter Coll. Mun., A. I. 11, p. 30; P.R.O., ED 7/101/126.

⁶¹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 127; *Educ. Enq.*

Abstract, H.C. 62, p. 749 (1835), xlii.

⁶² Exeter Coll. Mun., A. I. 11, p. 87; *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, H.C. 62, p. 749 (1835), xlii; O.R.O., MS Oxf. Dioc. b 39, f. 244.

⁶³ P.R.O., ED 7/101/126.

⁶⁴ *Returns relating to Pars.* H.C. 114, pp. 342–3 (1867–8), liii; *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202–I], pp. 334, 357, H.C. (1868–9), xiii.

⁶⁵ P.R.O., ED 7/101/126; Exeter Coll. Mun., A. I. 12, pp. 123, 131, 166; M. IV. 1; *Rep. of Educ. Cttee. of Council*, 1872–3 [C. 812], p. 475, H.C. (1873), xxiv; *Return of Income and Expenditure for Public Elem. Schs. 1875–6* [C. 1882], pp. 214–5, H.C. (1877), lxxvii.

⁶⁶ *Schs. in receipt of Parl. Grants* [C. 9454], p. 201, H.C. (1899), lxxiv; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1920).

⁶⁷ O.R.O., T/SM 36 i, pp. 40, 100, 102.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* T/S Misc. 19; T/SM 36 iii; inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.

⁶⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1875/2; *Oxf. Times*, 20 June 1972; *Oxf. Mail*, 16 Sept. 1977.

⁷⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1875/2; *Oxf. Mail*, 1 Oct. 1964; inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.

1981.⁷¹ West Kidlington primary school opened in 1956, was extended in 1958 and had 358 on the roll in 1983.⁷² North Kidlington primary school opened in 1961 and was already overcrowded in 1964; in 1983 it had 334 on the roll.⁷³ St. Thomas More Roman Catholic primary school, opened in 1964, had 174 on the roll in 1983.⁷⁴

A diocesan training college for schoolmistresses was established in Kidlington in 1845 by the Revd. Joseph Dodd, rector of Hampton Poyle, who had purchased the former John Allen boarding school house. The college moved to Fishponds near Bristol in 1853.⁷⁵

Roger Almont, by will proved 1720 left 50s. a year, charged on his property in Kidlington, to the overseers of the poor to pay a schoolmaster to teach five poor boys, chosen by his heirs, the tenants of the rectory, the curate and the overseers, to read, write, and cast accounts.⁷⁶ William Plasterer of Stanton Harcourt, by will proved in 1711, left £20 the interest of which was to be used for the education of poor children in Kidlington.⁷⁷ Both sums were paid regularly throughout the 18th century, although £10 of Plasterer's legacy was used to build a gallery in the church in 1764 and the remainder was lost through the insolvency of a churchwarden; the 20s. a year was thereafter paid from the church rates.⁷⁸ In 1768 and 1774 two boys were taught free from Almont's charity and 4 children from Plasterer's.⁷⁹ Both charities were still being paid in 1825, but Plasterer's had been lost by 1867.⁸⁰ In 1969 the income from Almont's charity was applied to payment of fees or other assistance for Kidlington children in secondary schools, to the support of evening classes in the parish, and to the provision of tools or other equipment for children starting work.⁸¹ Joseph Smith of Bayley manor, provost of Queen's College, by will dated 1756, left £4 a year to teach four poor children to read, but there is no evidence that the money was ever paid.⁸²

The Frank Wise Memorial fund was set up in 1968 in memory of Alderman Frank Wise (d. 1966) to encourage young people in local government or social service. Its income of c. £75 a year provides travelling scholarships, books, or tools for pupils from Gosford Hill school.⁸³

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. Edmund Gledhill, by will dated 1607, left 20s. to be lent

each year to four poor men. The money was lost in 1760 when it was used to build a gallery in the church.⁸⁴ Thomas Kent, by will proved 1633, left 1s. a year, charged on land in Kidlington, to be distributed to six poor widows on New Year's day. The charity seems to have been lost by 1825 when it was not recorded, although it was listed among the parish charities c. 1830.⁸⁵

John Saunders, by will proved 1642, left 10s. a year for bread for the poor on Good Friday, a gift confirmed by his grandson John Saunders in 1684.⁸⁶ John May (d. 1673) and Martin May (d. 1707) each gave 10s. a year, charged on land in Kidlington, for bread for the poor on All Saints' day.⁸⁷ John Tustian, by will proved 1677, gave 10s. charged on Postern close in Kidlington for bread for the poor on the day of his endowed sermon.⁸⁸ John Morris, by will proved 1702, gave 5s. a year, charged on a house and orchard in Kidlington, for bread for the poor on New Year's day.⁸⁹ Mary Conant (d. 1717) by will dated 1713 left a rent charge of £3 for bread for the poor on the days of the three sermons she had endowed.⁹⁰ All five charities were still being distributed in 1869.⁹¹ By a Charity Commission Scheme of 1978 the bread charities of Conant, May, Saunders, and Tustian were merged to form the Kidlington Charity for relief in need which had an income of £5.40 a year in 1979.⁹²

Isaac Shard of Kennington (Surr.) by a codicil to his will dated 1739 instructed his heirs to pay £1 a year for bread for poor householders on 11 May and 4 November. The money was paid until the death of his grandson William Shard's widow in 1819 when the next heir refused to continue the benefaction.⁹³ Joseph Smith of Bayley manor, by will proved 1756, instructed his son to pay £2 a year for bread for the poor of Kidlington, but his wishes were not carried out.⁹⁴

In 1671 Sir William Morton of Hampden manor built Lady Anne Morton's almshouse, endowed by his will dated 1672, in memory of his wife and five of their children, for three poor men and three poor women from Kidlington parish or, failing suitable candidates, from St. Aldate's parish, Oxford. The endowment of 20 marks a year, charged on land in Kidlington, was to provide £2 a year for each almsperson and £1 6s. 8d. for repairs to the building or for clothing for the inmates. The almspeople were to be chosen by Morton's heirs or, in default of such heirs, by the diocesan bishop. St. Aldate's

⁷¹ O.R.O., T/SM 36 i, p. 10; *Oxf. Times*, 17 July 1981.
⁷² O.R.O., T/SM 36 i, p. 149; ii, p. 19; inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.

⁷³ O.R.O., T/SM 36 ii, p. 62; *Oxf. Mail*, 24 Jan. 1964; inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.

⁷⁴ *Oxf. Mail*, 13 Jan. 1964; inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.

⁷⁵ *Village Educ. in 19th Cent. Oxon.* (O.R.S. li), p. xix; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* Further Additions, 2.

⁷⁶ *Oxf. Univ. Arch.*, Wills A-Be.

⁷⁷ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 145/2/3.

⁷⁸ *Char. Don. 1787-8*, H.C. 511, pp. 994-5 (1816), xvi B; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 340; *Three Oxon. Pars.* 138-9.

⁷⁹ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 559, f. 77; d 564, f. 253.

⁸⁰ *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 340; *Char. Digest*, H.C. 292-II, p. 36 (1871), lv.

⁸¹ *Kidlington Guide* (1969).

⁸² P.R.O., PROB 11/826; below, Charities.

⁸³ *Kidlington Guide* (1969); copy in Westgate Libr.; char.

com. files.

⁸⁴ P.R.O., PROB 11/109 (P.C.C. 32 Huddlestons); O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington b 14, s.a. 1760, where the capital was stated to be £20.

⁸⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 39/3/13; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 340-2; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 135-6.

⁸⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 62/2/18; 148/4/23.

⁸⁷ *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 342; *Kidlington Par. Reg.* pp. 251, 262.

⁸⁸ Exeter Coll. Mun., M. III. 7.

⁸⁹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 141/3/4.

⁹⁰ *Three Oxon. Pars.* 140.

⁹¹ *Char. Digest* H.C. 292-II, pp. 36-7, (1871), lv.

⁹² O.R.C.C., Kimber rep.; char. com. files.

⁹³ *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 342; Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1937); *Gent. Mag.* lxxxix (1), 586.

⁹⁴ P.R.O., PROB 11/826; for the difficulties encountered by Queen's Coll. in securing payment of Smith's legacy to the college, see J. R. Magrath, *Queen's Coll.* ii. 110.

has never benefited from the charity.⁹⁵ The right to appoint the almspeople passed not to Morton's heirs but to his successors in Hampden manor, although the churchwardens seem to have exercised it for much of the 18th century; the overseers administered the charity's income.⁹⁶ In the early 1820s J. P. W. Sydenham of

Hampden manor successfully claimed the right to appoint the almspeople, and from 1825 to 1845 he seems also to have administered the endowment.⁹⁷ Three of the almshouses date from 1671–2, and a fourth was added in the same style in 1953–4; they were converted into small flats in 1984.

NORTH LEIGH

NORTH LEIGH, known chiefly for its Roman villa and for a remarkable parish church, lies c. 2½ miles (4 km.) north-east of Witney, just off the road from Witney to Woodstock.⁹⁸ The ancient parish was measured in 1876 at 2,423 a.,⁹⁹ but the annexation in 1932 of the civil parishes of Wilcote and Osney Hill (77 a.) increased the area to 2,819 a.; North Leigh was further enlarged in 1953 by the incorporation of 30 a. from the north-west tip of Eynsham.¹

The boundary of the ancient parish was marked by natural features on the east, where it followed the river Evenlode and a small tributary known in the Middle Ages as Leyham brook,² and on part of the south by an ancient east–west ridgeway referred to in 1005 as the port street,³ running through Long Hanborough and Bladon to Oxford.⁴ Instead of following the ridge west to New Yatt, however, the boundary turned south towards South Leigh near the later north lodge of Eynsham Park to take in a large area of heath. There and on the west the parish boundary was characterized by ancient lanes and by hedges, often thickly grown and ditched. A charter boundary of 969 for the neighbouring manor of Witney refers to a hedgerow apparently running from North Leigh Lane through what was to be New Yatt.⁵ The boundary made right-angled turns at New Yatt, further north at the crossing of a tributary of the Evenlode, and at the junction with Burford Way. The northern boundary followed the line of Akeman Street west of the Evenlode but ignored it on the east to take an irregular course to Stonesfield ford. Osney Hill's boundary with Eynsham on the east was marked by Wood Lane, that with Cogges on the south by the line of a former stream.

North Leigh lies on the northern edge of a belt of Oxford clay which locally forms a high ridge that stretches from New Yatt to East End and rises to 140 m. in the centre of North Leigh village.⁶ To the south the former heath slopes

gradually to c. 120 m. at Cogges Wood; to the north the ground falls away more sharply to form an amphitheatre overlooking a wide valley. Through the valley an unnamed stream, probably known in Saxon times as the Itchen,⁷ meanders to join the river Evenlode at Ashford bridge. Its line apparently follows that taken by the river Windrush before the latter changed course to flow south into the Thames. Even in historical times the stream was bigger, destroying part of Holly Court by floods in the 15th century.⁸ East End hamlet stands on a ridge between the valley to the west and that formed by the Evenlode. On the sheltered slopes of the latter valley, within a loop of the river, lies North Leigh Roman villa. The Oxford clay, difficult to plough, was given over early to closes that formed a crescent from East End to New Yatt. North and west of the clay are outcrops of cornbrash and forest marble, the latter quarried for freestone at East End for 500 years or more. Much of the centre of the parish is Great Oolite stonebrash given over to arable. Meadow lay mainly on the alluvium lining the Evenlode. Gravel deposits south of Bridewell Farm, north-east of Holly Court, and at the west end of Boddington Lane were quarried at various times, that in Boddington Lane also providing limestone for burning. The parish church and nearby houses are built on an isolated deposit of northern drift. Further deposits overlie the clay at the top of Church Road and along Park Road, and have long been used for settlement. Below Bridewell Farm the stream is lined with beds of tufa up to 8 ft. deep, deposited by hard-water springs.

North Leigh was said in 1300 to have been taken into the royal forest of Wychwood after 1154,⁹ and fines for waste and assarts were paid to the Crown in the later 12th and the 13th century.¹⁰ In 1279, however, the abbot of Netley allegedly had a wood and three groves out of the regard and allowed the removal of timber with-

⁹⁵ 12th Rep. Com. Char. 340; Three Oxon. Pars. 137.

⁹⁶ O.R.O., K 11/a/1, 2: almshouse accts. at end of bk.

⁹⁷ 12th Rep. Com. Char. 340; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington b 14, s.a. 1825–45.

⁹⁸ The principal maps used are O.S. Maps 1/2,500 Oxon. XXVI. 5–6, 9–10, 13–14 (1881 and later edns.); 6" Oxon. XXVI (1884 and later edns.), XXXII (1883 and later edns.); 6", SP 31 NE., SE., 41 NW., SW. (1955 and later edns.); 1/25,000, SP 31, 41 (1952 and later edns.). The help of Miss B. Schumer, who made available her collns. of N. Leigh material, is gratefully acknowledged.

⁹⁹ O.S. Area Bk. (1877).

¹ Census, 1931–81. Osney Hill, formerly extraparochial, is here treated with N. Leigh.

² Eynsham Cart. ii, p. 93.

³ Ibid. i, pp. 23, 25.

⁴ Grundy, *Saxon Oxon.* 98–9.

⁵ M. Gelling, *Medieval Arch.* xi. 101; idem, *Excavations at Shakenoak*, iii, ed. A. Brodrick et al. (Oxf. priv. print. 1972), 135–7.

⁶ The following section is based on Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid and drift, sheet 236 (1938 edn.); *Proc. Geologists' Assoc.* lviii. 87 sqq.; H. Powell, 'Geol. of Area Around Shakenoak Farm', *Excavations at Shakenoak*, iii. 143 sqq.

⁷ Below.

⁸ Below, Manor.

⁹ J. Akerman, 'Ancient Limits of Wychwood Forest', *Archaeologia*, xxxvii. 424 sqq.

¹⁰ *Pipe R.* 1187 (P.R.S. xxxvii), 48; 1188 (P.R.S. xxxviii), 152; 1190 (P.R.S. N.S. i), 13; *Cal. Pat.* 1247–58, 8.



NORTH LEIGH c. 1880, showing the approximate location of fields before inclosure in 1759.

out licence, and a perambulation of 1298 confirmed that only the western half of the parish was afforested.¹¹ The perambulation seems to have begun near the south-west corner of the parish, following a stream north-eastwards to Madley well, probably the later village pond.¹² It passed along Church Road to 'Grundesweleye, and so along a hedge to Snellesleye (or Sulllesleye), and so to Forsakenhoke'. 'Grundesweleye' may have been on the western parish boundary at Lady well, by Grunsmoor; in that case 'Snellesleye' perhaps lay at the junction of the North Leigh boundary with the south-east tip of Wilcote. The perambulation, therefore, may have left the road from North Leigh to Wilcote at the fork to Ashford bridge, and turned west to pass north of the later site of Bridewell Farm to reach the parish boundary at Lady well, where it turned south to North Leigh Lane. It presumably then followed the lane westwards to pass south of Shakenoak Farm. It seems that the eastern half of the heath and the whole of the north and east of the rest of the parish were thereby excluded from the royal forest.¹³ When the forest was surveyed in 1609 the only apparent difference was that the whole of the heath south of the New Yatt road was considered to lie within the bounds of Wychwood: the measured area of 271 a. is too great for the western half alone. Also within the forest at the later date were 31 houses, including the rectory and the former manor house, Heycroft, Caden Hill, and 'another common field adjoining', presumably Edgings field.¹⁴ That survey seems to have formed the basis of a Crown claim to the ownership of land in North Leigh, a claim successfully refuted by the lord of the manor, Sir William Pope.¹⁵

The ancient ridgeway, the port street of 1005,¹⁶ ran along part of the southern parish boundary. The name survived in the mid 17th century in Portstreet way, which seems to have run from near Holly Court to the east end of Bond hatchway, the later Boddington Lane, and so to the ridgeway.¹⁷ South of Perrottshill Farm the ridgeway divided, westwards through New Yatt, the line obscured by the irregularity of the later road and by modern housing, and south-west towards Witney bridge, probably following the line of the parish boundary rather than the straighter turnpike road, before turning south-west past Osney Hill Farm. The road was turnpiked in 1751 and disturnpiked in 1869.¹⁸ South of the road the track along the boundary continued as Wood Lane, passing between

Cogges and Eynsham to South Leigh. At inclosure in 1759 a direct road, later known as Common Road, was made from North Leigh village to join Wood Lane at the turnpike road.¹⁹ The way to Eynsham and South Leigh from East End was along Cuckoo Lane across Eynsham heath. The awkward right-angled turns linking the East End road with that from Witney to Woodstock seem to have been laid out in the 19th century, perhaps in 1814, when heath unaffected by inclosure in 1759 was the subject of a second award: previously there had been a junction east of Perrottshill Farm, at the south-west corner of the Demesnes.²⁰ The road to East End was probably in origin another ancient ridgeway, giving access to Ashford, Wilcote, and Stonesfield ford.

Church Road was known in the Middle Ages as Kynne Street, presumably after the family of freeholders of that name whose house adjoined the street.²¹ In the earlier 16th century it was called *via regia*,²² and the name King Street, in use from the late 16th century,²³ may have derived from that, from the name Kynne, or from the King family, occupiers of the manor house. The name Kingston Lane, common in the mid 19th century, survived into the 20th but was gradually replaced by Church Road or Lane.²⁴ The narrowing of the road between Church Farm and the former vicarage resulted from mid 19th-century encroachments.²⁵ In the Middle Ages east-west routes from North Leigh headed towards the river crossing at Minster Lovell and the market at Burford.²⁶ New Yatt Lane, the road from Wilcote, and North Leigh Lane, known as Green Lane at its eastern end, survive as minor roads; Burford Way, which leaves the parish south-west of Bridewell Farm, at inclosure a 40-ft. public highway and still in regular use in the earlier 20th century,²⁷ became increasingly overgrown. Procession Way, so called in 1581²⁸ and presumably the route taken in perambulating the parish boundary, ran north-westwards from the church. It survives as a bridleway towards Bridewell Farm, but is lost beyond Burford Way; possibly it reached the parish boundary at Lady well. Kyte Lane, mentioned from the mid 16th century,²⁹ is the lane between the New Yatt road and Green Lane. In the north the convergence of roads and footpaths on Ashford bridge denotes its importance as a river crossing, providing access to Enstone and the north.³⁰ The bridge was rebuilt in 1464³¹ and possibly in 1674.³² In 1835 it was said to be 'in a dilapidated state and very old'. At

¹¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868; *Eynsham Cart.* ii. 92-4.

¹² County Mus., Wickham Stead MSS., N. Leigh folder 7.

¹³ B. Schumer, 'Eliz. Surv. of N. Leigh', *Oxoniensia*, xl. 322-3, which differs slightly from the account given here.

¹⁴ P.R.O., LR 2/202.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* SP 14/193, no. 10; SP 14/195, no. 6. ¹⁶ Above.

¹⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. ii.

¹⁸ Turnpike Act, 24 Geo. II, c. 28; 32-3 Vic. c. 90.

¹⁹ O.R.O., incl. award.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797). The change had been effected by 1876: O.S. Map 1/2,500 Oxon. XXVI. 14 (1881 edn.).

²¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 871; Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon.

718.

²² P.R.O., SC 2/197/55.

²³ Bodl. MS. North Adds. c 2, f. 6; Blenheim Mun., box 105, indenture of 1676.

²⁴ P.R.O., HO 107/890; O.R.O., QSB. 93.

²⁵ King Edward's Sch., Witley (Surr.), Bridewell Hosp. Mun., Oxon. Rep. Bk., 19 Aug. 1844; O.R.O., QSB. 93.

²⁶ Below, Econ.

²⁷ Local inf.

²⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. 50.

²⁹ e.g. O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 180, f. 175v.; *ibid.* 22/1/5; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. 89.

³⁰ Hist. MSS. Com. 29, *Portland*, viii, p. 330.

³¹ P.R.O., SC 6/959/19; SC 6/960/12.

³² Reset datestone on bridge.

that time it was of two arches, each divided by a pier; the centre of the bridge, unarched, was built upon an island. It was rebuilt as a two-arched bridge, without intermediate piers, by James Lord, a local mason.³³ The bridge was rebuilt again in 1967.³⁴ Small stone bridges were recorded from the 15th century north-east of Field Farm and east of Holly Court.³⁵ Bridgefield bridge was constructed of stone over the Oxford–Worcester railway line, opened in 1853; it was extensively repaired in brick c. 1980.³⁶ A proposal to build a station there in 1899 was not adopted.³⁷ North Leigh's nearest station is that at Hanborough. A station on the Witney branch line was opened at Eynsham in 1861³⁸ and closed in 1962.³⁹

Carriers were recorded in 1841 and 1851;⁴⁰ in 1907 twice-weekly services were begun to Oxford and to Witney.⁴¹ Before then North Leigh was presumably served by carriers passing through. A post office was recorded intermittently from 1854,⁴² and a permanent office from the 1880s at a house east of the Woodman inn;⁴³ it was removed in 1953 to Common Road. A mains water supply was provided to North Leigh village in 1935 and to East End in 1937. Mains electricity was introduced in 1938.⁴⁴ A mains drainage scheme was completed in the late 1950s.⁴⁵ From 1976 to 1985 Boddington Lane quarry was a county council waste tip.⁴⁶

Earthworks of the north Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch run east-west across the former heath north of Osney Hill Farm, but no related artefacts have been found.⁴⁷ North Leigh Roman villa overlies a Belgic Iron Age settlement. Sherds relating to that settlement have also been found nearby at East End quarry. Occupation of the site seems to have been continuous into the Roman period. The villa, of the winged-corridor type, was built c. 100 A.D., one of several villas in the vicinity of Akeman Street. It was rebuilt and enlarged more than once until by the 4th century it had become a substantial courtyard house, the centre of an important estate, with fine tessellated pavements, plastered and painted rooms, and baths and hypocausts. It has been conjectured that the villa belonged to a noble family of the Dobunni and was perhaps abandoned in the late 4th century or early 5th, the likely date of a fire there. There is evidence of squatter occupation thereafter.⁴⁸ The villa lies in

an area that seems to have reverted to scrub before being cleared in the Middle Ages; medieval field names give no indication of awareness of the site. Thomas Hearne's statement in 1725 that Mr. Perrott had removed a tessellated pavement found 'by North Leigh'⁴⁹ seems to fit better the discovery of the villa at Stonesfield,⁵⁰ although the description is odd from a man who knew the area well. Otherwise the North Leigh villa was not recorded until 1783, as a 'spreading tumulus, consisting of rubbish and fragments of Roman bricks and cement'.⁵¹ Excavations were carried out intermittently from 1813 to 1816. Following extensive damage caused by souvenir hunters in 1815 a keeper's cottage was built and the excavated area was partly roofed over.⁵² Excavations begun again in 1910 and continued sporadically until 1976 have still not completely uncovered the site. In 1952 the duke of Marlborough transferred the site to the Ministry of Works, and it has become a popular attraction.⁵³ Romano-British sherds and building material found north of Osney Hill Farm have been interpreted as the remains of a small, probably short-lived, settlement of the 2nd or 3rd centuries.⁵⁴ A coin, a seal-box, and three intaglios found in 1910 near Bridewell Farm seem to relate to the nearby villa at Shakenoak, in Wilcote parish.⁵⁵

The remains of eight Saxon burials, possibly of the 7th century, were discovered in 1928 near the turning to Holly Court from the Wilcote road.⁵⁶ Whether or not the cemetery was connected with 7th- and 8th-century occupation of the Shakenoak villa, the area between the two sites probably had some Saxon settlement. Boundary charters of 969 and 1044 refer to *yccenes feld*, meaning 'open land of the river Itchen', apparently that very area, containing the 14th-century Echenesfeld, later Edgings field.⁵⁷ South of Edgings field, perhaps near the church, there is likely to have been the *leah* (clearing) from which the parish derived its name.⁵⁸ Known initially as Leigh, North Leigh was by the early 13th century⁵⁹ so distinguished from nearby South Leigh.

In 1086 forty-one tenants and a *servus* were enumerated.⁶⁰ There seems to have been a large increase in population by 1279, when 116 free and customary tenants were recorded on the manor.⁶¹ Pressure of population is suggested by

Agrarian Hist. Eng. & Wales, i (2), 44, 59; below, Wilcote, Intro.

⁴⁹ Hearne's *Colln.* ix (O.H.S. lxxv), 55.

⁵⁰ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 318.

⁵¹ T. Warton, *Hist. Kiddington* (1815), 67.

⁵² Skelton, *Antiq. Oxon.* (1823), Wootton hund. 9–16.

⁵³ *N. Leigh Rom. Villa*, 6, 18.

⁵⁴ County Mus., P.R.N. 9175.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 10543; *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 341; below, Wilcote, Intro.

⁵⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 359–60; E. T. Leeds, 'Two Saxon Cemeteries in N. Oxon.' *Oxoniensia*, v, 21–30.

⁵⁷ M. Gelling, 'Eng. Place-Names Derived from Compound Wicham', *Medieval Arch.* xi, 87–104; *Excavations at Shakenoak*, iii, 134–40; P.R.O., E 32/306/3; *ibid.* SC 6/959/25.

⁵⁸ B. Schumer, 'Woodland of Wychwood Region before 1400' (Leic. Univ. M. Phil. 1980), 35 sqq.

⁵⁹ e.g. *Oseney Cart.* iv, pp. 3, 25.

⁶⁰ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 415.

⁶¹ The total is 109 if 7 repeated names are counted only once: *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 868–71.

³³ O.R.O., QSB. 29.

³⁴ Inf. from Oxon. C.C. Surveyor's Dept.

³⁵ P.R.O., SC 6/959/23; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. 117.

³⁶ Inf. from Regional Civil Engineer, B.R. Western Region, Swindon.

³⁷ Bridewell Hosp. Mun., Oxon. Rep. Bk., 1899.

³⁸ E. T. MacDermot, *Hist. G.W.R.* (1964 edn.), i, 289.

³⁹ C. R. Clinker, *Reg. Closed Passenger Stations and Goods Depots* (1964 edn.).

⁴⁰ P.R.O., HO 107/890; HO 107/1731.

⁴¹ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1907).

⁴² *P.O. Dir.* (1854); P.R.O., RG 9/904.

⁴³ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1887 and later edns.); O.S. Map 1/2,500 Oxon. XXVI, 14 (1899 edn.).

⁴⁴ Inf. from N. Leigh members of the Assoc. of Students of the Third Age, whose help is gratefully acknowledged.

⁴⁵ Bodl. MS. Dep. c 381, f. 59.

⁴⁶ Local inf.

⁴⁷ D. Fine, 'Excavations of N. Oxon. Grim's Ditch at N. Leigh', *Oxoniensia*, xli, 12–16.

⁴⁸ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 316–18; *N. Leigh Rom. Villa* (H.M.S.O. 1980), *passim*; *Oxoniensia*, xxiii, 133; *ibid.* xxiv, 13–21, 101;

a standard villein holding of only $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland, and by a large number (40) of cottagers, many with only a small amount of assarted land. That level of population was probably not approached again until the 18th century. In the earlier 14th century the parish was probably not only populous but poor,⁶² and it may have struggled to recover from the disasters of that period, for in 1377 only 111 taxpayers were recorded.⁶³ The scattered nature of settlement in North Leigh was apparent in the 13th century. Stephen of East End was mentioned in 1256,⁶⁴ and the family names Whitehill, Cross (*de cruce*), and Miller, recorded together in 1279,⁶⁵ perhaps suggest settlement at Ashford mill and at the nearby crossroads adjoining Whitehill. New Well End, the area containing the later Perrottshill Farm, was mentioned as a settlement from the late 15th century,⁶⁶ by when it was probably long-established. At Field Farm, west of the church, a hollow way and earthworks denote settlement, which has not been dated.⁶⁷ The area was known in the 17th century as Town Closes.⁶⁸ New Yatt, which lies partly in North Leigh parish and partly in Hailey, is characterized by small closes, apparently ancient, and isolated houses, but no reference has been found before the late 16th century.⁶⁹

North Leigh apparently was more populous in the later 16th century than in the 17th and early 18th: in the 1580s there were *c.* 14 baptisms a year, compared with *c.* 10 between 1600 and 1720. The fall may relate to heavy mortality, particularly in the years 1616–17 and in the late 17th century. The parish was also badly affected by the smallpox epidemics of the 1720s.⁷⁰ Even so the returns of 109 adult males in 1642 and 265 adults in 1676 suggest a total population closer to 400 than to 300.⁷¹ The higher figure is supported by the assessment of 109 households for hearth tax in 1662. That 43 of them were exempt confirms the impression of widespread poverty in the previous century.⁷² There were said in 1738 to be *c.* 90 families in the parish,⁷³ and baptisms thereafter consistently outnumbered burials. Estimates of the number of houses in the parish in the later 18th century varied from 100 to 120,⁷⁴ apparently an exaggeration, since in 1801 there were 72 occupied by 85 families, comprising 517 people, and 7 uninhabited houses. The population did not increase rapidly in the 19th century as elsewhere, reaching a peak of only 738 in 1861, after which there was an irregular decline to a low point of 578 in 1921. In the earlier 20th century 'vagrants', possibly gypsies, were unusually numerous; there were 21 vagrants in 1911, one of the highest totals in the county. North Leigh's population began to increase from the 1920s, more rapidly after 1945. In 1951 there were 805

people, and by 1961 there were 1,197. North Leigh in the 1960s had one of the fastest growing populations in Oxfordshire. The total stood at 1,765 in 1971, but the rate of increase slowed in the 1970s, and by 1981 the population had risen only to 1,859.⁷⁵

North Leigh's straggling housing, an early form of ribbon development, from East End through New Well End and North Leigh village to New Yatt, with a few isolated farms and cottages away from the road, has changed in density since the Middle Ages, some areas, notably New Well End, losing houses, others becoming more populous. New housing was mostly infilling, often in the form of cottages built on the manorial waste. Some organized building was undertaken by the Eynsham Park estate along Park Road in the late 19th century and early 20th, but only in the later 20th century were many houses built. Infilling has continued throughout, sometimes to bizarre effect: within the space of 75 yd. along Park Road east of Evenlode Close are a modern yellow-brick house, a pair of stone houses dated 1869, a pair of 19th-century houses of red brick with vitrified headers, a modern bungalow of reconstituted stone, and a low, whitewashed brick bungalow, one of several built in the late 19th century and known as the Swiss cottages. That North Leigh was never a wealthy place is evident from the small scale and unpretentious appearance of most houses. The manor house, west of the church, fell into ruin and was pulled down in the 19th century; probably it was never on the scale of Wilcote House, the principal surviving house in the parish.⁷⁶ The common building materials before the 20th century were local limestone rubble and Stonesfield slate or thatch. One or two thatched roofs remain, notably those of Gable Cottage, west of the Mason Arms, and Church Farm Cottage in Church Road. Brick and Welsh slate appeared in the 19th century, and in the 20th the use of modern building materials has given the parish a suburban air.

The oldest surviving secular building is the south-eastern range of Holly Court Farm.⁷⁷ Church Farm Cottage, east of Church Road, is a cruck house, possibly of the later Middle Ages.⁷⁸ East End Farm, part of the manorial estate until 1981,⁷⁹ has a former cross wing on the north apparently of 16th-century origin, remodelled when the main range was rebuilt. That rebuilding seems to be of the later 17th century, although the gable end on the south bears the date RH 1724. Further remodelling took place in the early 19th century when the roofs of the two parts were united and an addition was built between the back of the cross wing and the projecting 17th-century stair turret. Extensive

⁶² Below, Econ.

⁶³ P.R.O., E 179/202/59.

⁶⁴ Ibid. E 32/251.

⁶⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868–9.

⁶⁶ P.R.O., SC 2/197/54–5.

⁶⁷ County Mus., P.R.N. 13438.

⁶⁸ P.R.O., LR 2/202, f. 29.

⁶⁹ *Witney Ct. Bks.* (O.R.S. liv), 147.

⁷⁰ O.R.O., par. reg. transcripts.

⁷¹ *Protestation Returns*, 84–5; *Compton Census*, ed. A.

Whiteman, 418, 423.

⁷² P.R.O., E 179/255/4, no. 284; below, Econ.

⁷³ *Secker's Visit.* 108.

⁷⁴ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 556, f. 129; d 562, f. 153.

⁷⁵ *Census*, 1901–81.

⁷⁶ For the man. ho. and Wilcote Ho. see below, Manor and other estates.

⁷⁷ Below, Manor.

⁷⁸ County Mus., P.R.N. 9228.

⁷⁹ Inf. from Mrs. J. Smith.

renovations in the 1980s include a link to the formerly detached bakehouse. Perrottshill Farm, although retaining no structural features earlier than the 17th century, seems, like East End Farm, to have an earlier plan.⁸⁰ Farmhouses built in the parish in the 17th century were relatively small, enlarged only later, like Field Farm in the late 19th century.⁸¹ Houses of the 18th century, though often larger, were plain in appearance: Glenfield Farm in New Yatt, Church Farm, and Church Mead in Church Road, are examples. Others were more consciously architectural, notably Bridewell Farm.⁸² Windmill House, which is dated 1735 and has a pedimented porch with square pillars, and Sturt House at East End, formerly the quarry master's, with its circular window at first floor level.

The Wesleyan chapel, rebuilt in 1873, was a major addition to the village and became an important focal point. The other main institutional building of the 19th century was the school, built in 1838 north of the parish church; it became a private house in 1974.⁸³ A dramatic impact on the village's appearance is that of the windmill built at the top of Common Road by 1833.⁸⁴ One or two new farmhouses were built, including Heath Farm and Lower Riding Farm, but most new building was of cottages. South of the junction of New Yatt Road and Green Lane is a cottage built by a labourer but inscribed 'Providence Cottage JED 1863', for John Davis. Nos. 11 and 13 Park Road form a pair of stone houses dated JEH 1869, perhaps for Jesse Hicks, a carpenter and smallholder.⁸⁵ The Swiss cottages have low-pitched roofs and large central stacks. They seem to have been built by the Eynsham Park estate, which was also responsible for several more conventional brick houses of good quality known as Kennel Cottages, opposite the park's north lodge: the estate's dog kennels were nearby. Cottages were also built in the 19th century on scattered plots at East End and New Yatt. There appears to have been little attempt to control new building, despite complaints about encroachments.⁸⁶

In the earlier 20th century a few new houses were built, again as infill. From 1945 new houses were first built along Common Road and Park Road, but demand became such that whole estates were begun in the 1960s. Most new development has been concentrated in North Leigh village. The triangle between Common Road, Park Road, and the Witney road has been built over, and includes the new school of 1967. Large estates were built north and south of the New Yatt road. Bridewell Close, between

Church Road and New Yatt Road, in an important position overlooking the church, has used reconstituted stone and slate in an attempt, often lacking elsewhere, to harmonize with older houses. Straggling development, including several bungalows, has been permitted along Church Road, particularly on the west. The Orchard, towards the south-west end of the road, is noteworthy as a stone-built house in traditional style. There has been infilling at New Yatt and East End; the latter, in particular, has been transformed from a hamlet of labourers' cottages by the building of expensive bungalows, chalets, and houses.

Richard Breakspear was licensed in 1587 as an alehouse keeper.⁸⁷ An alehouse was mentioned in 1691, two in 1701,⁸⁸ and from 1753 to 1773 between three and six houses received licences each year. In 1774 there were four, named as the King's Arms, the Leather Bottle, the Dun Cow, and the Chequers. The Leather Bottle, at East End, remained open in 1986. By 1795 the only other house still licensed was the Dun Cow, which seems to have ceased trading in the 1820s, although known by its sign in 1870.⁸⁹ In 1802 it was an L-shaped building opposite the north gate of Eynsham Park,⁹⁰ and it seems to have been demolished in the late 19th century. The Parker Arms, nearby, was recorded from 1847 and closed c. 1870.⁹¹ The Harcourt Arms, north of Church Farm, was also recorded from 1847, and retained its licence until 1984, when it reverted to private use. The Woodman, east of the junction of Green Lane and the New Yatt road, and the New Inn, at East End, were established by 1861.⁹² The Woodman remained a public house in 1986. The New Inn seems to have ceased trading in the later 19th century,⁹³ but was again licensed until 1958, when it became a private house.⁹⁴ The Mason Arms, incorrectly the Masons' Arms, had by 1871 become the fifth public house in the parish;⁹⁵ it remained open in 1986.

Netley abbey's ownership of North Leigh in the Middle Ages led to at least one local man joining that Cistercian house in Hampshire: brother William of North Leigh in 1279 was one of the abbot's attorneys.⁹⁶ Other medieval figures associated with the parish include John Trillowe, apparently knighted at Crécy, and Thomas Wilcotes, who died of wounds received during the Agincourt campaign.⁹⁷ Sir John's son, also Sir John, is notorious for his abduction of an heiress.⁹⁸ North Leigh has been branded as unruly, for poaching or taking wood from the forest in the Middle Ages,⁹⁹ destroying bridges in the 16th century,¹ participating in the rabbit-

⁸⁰ Below, Manor and other estates.

⁸¹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 9 (1881 and 1899 edns.).

⁸² Below, Manor and other estates.

⁸³ Below, Nonconf., Educ.

⁸⁴ Below, Econ., mills.

⁸⁵ P.R.O., RG 10 1450.

⁸⁶ O.R.O., QSB 93.

⁸⁷ P.R.O., SP 12/198, f. 109.

⁸⁸ O.R.O., Q.S.R. iii, pp. 306, 372.

⁸⁹ Ibid. vctrls' recogs.; ibid. CSI/ii/1-29; Blenheim Mun., box marked 'Hensington and N. Leigh'.

⁹⁰ O.R.O., Misc. Pal. IV/1

⁹¹ P.O. Dir. Oxon. (1847); County Mus., P.R.N. 13210; Blenheim Mun., box marked 'Hensington and N. Leigh'.

⁹² P.R.O., RG 9/904.

⁹³ Kelly's Dir. Oxon. (1887 and later edns.). The pub is not marked on O.S. Map 1/2,500 Oxon. XXVI.10 (1899 edn.).

⁹⁴ Inf. from Brig. E. W. T. Darlow, New Inn Cottage.

⁹⁵ P.R.O., RG 10/1450; O.R.O., Rob. VII/i/4.

⁹⁶ Cal. Pat. 1272-81, 323.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 1345-8, 495; W. Carter, 'Wilcotes Fam.' *Berks., Bucks., and Oxon. Arch. Jnl.* xiii. 18. For the Trillowe and Wilcotes fams. see below, Manor and other estates.

⁹⁸ N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 189-90; P. Coss, *Langley Fam. and its Cartulary* (Dugdale Soc. Occasional Pps. xxii), 15-17.

⁹⁹ e.g. P.R.O., E 32/137.

¹ Below, Econ.

throwing riot on Eynsham heath in the 17th,² fence-breaking in the 18th,³ and misbehaving in church and organizing prize-fights in the 19th.⁴ The parish seems to have shared with other Wychwood places the exaggerated reputation for wildness that encouraged deforestation in the 19th century.⁵ Instruments of control immediately at hand included a pillory, mentioned in 1499,⁶ stocks, mentioned in 1559⁷ and, possibly, a cucking stool: the village pond at the north-west end of Common Road was referred to in 1759 as Cucking-stool pond.⁸ Known later as Cuckamus pond, it was filled in c. 1968.⁹

North Leigh was involved in several events of the Civil War. 'Mounser Dibinion', reported a recusant in 1642,¹⁰ was perhaps George Stuart, Seigneur d'Aubigny, brother of James Stuart (d. 1655), duke of Lennox.¹¹ George lived at North Leigh, presumably at the invitation of Sir William St. Ravy, a Frenchman in royal service and a substantial landowner in the parish,¹² and died at Edgehill. Following the battle soldiers were billeted in the parish, and the neighbourhood was 'plundered and pillaged' by St. Ravy, whose depredations in the 1630s had prompted gentlemen from a wide area to petition parliament against him. Edward Perrott, hearing that St. Ravy had made 'strict inquiry after me also', buried all his deeds and family papers; he was unmolested, but his papers were 'utterly defaced and spoiled, one box only excepted'.¹³ On 4 June 1644, following his night march from Oxford, Charles I rested at Perrottshill Farm before pressing on to Burford.¹⁴ Following the parliamentary victory Holly Court was occupied for a time by Sir George Fleetwood, the regicide.¹⁵ Perrott's grandson, also Edward, is said to have been a non-juror and a generous supporter of James II.¹⁶

Whitsun ales were said in 1618 to be an immemorial custom at North Leigh,¹⁷ but no later reference has been found. The village feast was held on the first Sunday after 15 August, in a field later built over for Perrott's Close. A church service on the occasion was last held in 1976, but festivities, in the shape of a pleasure fair on the Monday following, continued.¹⁸ Morris dancing at North Leigh in the early 19th century seems to have died out in the 1860s;¹⁹ it was revived in 1981.²⁰ A friendly society, with 88 members, was in existence by 1803.²¹ Later

in the 19th century there were two societies: the Bottle club met at the Leather Bottle, the School club at the school and later at the Harcourt Arms. Quarterly subscriptions c. 1860 were 3s. 6d., giving benefit entitlement of 8s. a week and the attendance of a doctor. A joint feast, with bands and banners, was held annually on 4 June. The School club folded shortly after the passing of the National Insurance Act of 1910, and the Bottle club in the 1920s.²² Complaints of 'poor young men going to ruin' by spending their nights and Sundays in public houses²³ may have lain behind the establishment in 1880 of a branch of the Church of England Temperance Society. Membership was low, but some meetings attracted large numbers. The record of a meeting in 1881, attended by 100 people, is marked with the unelaborated word 'riot'.²⁴ A village Memorial Hall opened in 1924 was rebuilt in 1978.²⁵

In 1696 Robert Plot reported 'sudden and deadly steams' (carbon monoxide) issuing from wells and pits at North Leigh. In 1655 two men digging a well were overcome by fumes and died, as did a would-be rescuer, and in 1674 the same fate befell two men in an old well.²⁶ It became the usual precaution thereafter to lower a lighted candle into any shaft before venturing in, a precaution omitted in 1929 when a man drowned in a newly dug well in Common Road.²⁷

The family of Breakspear is recorded from the mid 15th century.²⁸ The Calcutt and Barfoot names, also surviving in 1986, have been traced to the 16th century.²⁹

MANOR AND OTHER ESTATES. In 1086 *NORTH LEIGH*, assessed at 10 hides, was held by Roger d'Ivri.³⁰ The chief lordship descended with other d'Ivri possessions as part of the honor of St. Valery, passing to the Crown on the death in 1300 of Edmund, earl of Cornwall.³¹ North Leigh was said in the 1470s to be held of the royal honor of Wallingford,³² with which the St. Valery honor was closely associated.

The under tenant in 1086 was Godfrey, holder of four d'Ivri estates in Oxfordshire.³³ The tenancy was given in the late 12th century or early 13th by Thomas of St. Valery (d. 1219) to the abbey of Lieu Dieu (Somme), founded in

Mary's church is dedicated to the feast of the Assumption.

¹⁹ R. Dommett, 'Morris at N. Leigh', *Morris Matters*, iii (3), 14.

²⁰ Local inf.

²¹ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406-7.

²² M. Williamson, 'Club Day', *Nor'lye News*, no. 48; interviews (1982) conducted and kindly made available by Mr. M. Heaney of the Bodleian Libr.

²³ O.R.O., Q.S.B. 93; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 344, f. 284.

²⁴ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. N. Leigh d 3.

²⁵ Inf. from Assoc. of Students of Third Age, N. Leigh.

²⁶ Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxon.* (1705), 62-3.

²⁷ County Mus., Wickham Stead MSS., N. Leigh folder 2, p. 45.

²⁸ P.R.O., SC 6/959/17.

²⁹ B. Schumer, *The Calcutts of N. Leigh* (priv. print. 1970); Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, *passim*.

³⁰ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 415.

³¹ Below, Yarnton, Manor.

³² P.R.O., SC 6/960/17, 21.

³³ Also at Holton, Whitehill in Tackley, and Wolvercote: *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 415-16.

² O.R.O., Q.S.R. i, ff. 67v.-8; above, Eynsham, Manor.

³ Below, Econ.

⁴ *Oxf. Jnl.* 28 July 1849; O.R.O., CPz. 4.

⁵ A. Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 238-9.

⁶ P.R.O., SC 2/197/54.

⁷ O.R.O., MS. Top. Oxon. c 769, f. 21v.

⁸ *Ibid.*, incl. award.

⁹ Local inf.

¹⁰ *Protestation Returns*, 100.

¹¹ *Complete Peerage*, vii. 602 n., 609; *D.N.B.* s.v. Stuart, Ludovick.

¹² Below, Manor.

¹³ Bodl. MS. Trin. Coll. B 83, f. 86; M. R. Toynbee, 'Chas. I and the Perrots', *Oxoniensia*, xi/xii. 134-5.

¹⁴ V. Thomas, *Night March of Chas. I from Oxf.*: copy in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. 8° 73(7); *Oxoniensia*, xi/xii. 132-4, 137-9.

¹⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. 73.

¹⁶ E. Barnwell, *Perrot Notes*, 98.

¹⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 118, ff. 138v. sqq.

¹⁸ *Nor'lye News*, no. 140; inf. from Assoc. of Students of Third Age, N. Leigh. The date perhaps indicates that St.

1191 by his father Bernard.³⁴ The abbey sold North Leigh in 1247 to Netley abbey (Hants), another St. Valery foundation, which retained it until dissolved in 1536.³⁵ In 1544 the manor was granted to Sir Thomas Pope,³⁶ passing on his death in 1559 to his brother John (d. 1583), who was succeeded by his son William (d. 1631), created earl of Downe in 1628. William's grandson and heir Thomas Pope³⁷ sold it in 1660 to Philip Holman (d. 1669).³⁸ Philip's son George sold the manor in 1676 to James Perrott (d. 1687),³⁹ the first known resident lord. James was succeeded by his eldest surviving son James (d. 1724), whose successor was his son Henry (d. 1740), M.P. for Oxfordshire from 1721.⁴⁰ Henry devised the estate to his brother Thomas (d. 1750), who devised it to his great-nephew James Leigh, on condition that he took the additional surname Perrott.⁴¹ Leigh-Perrott sold the estate in 1765 to George Spencer (d. 1817), duke of Marlborough.⁴² The land, then c. 1,200 a., was mostly sold by later dukes, but manorial rights were retained: in 1886 the executors of the will of Charles Sartoris of Wilcote House completed the purchase, agreed before his death in 1884, of 616 a., including Holly Court, Field farm, Church farm, and Ashford mill. All except the mill were resold at once, and the estate was broken up.⁴³ In 1984 the Blenheim Estate retained only c. 250 a. in the parish.⁴⁴

The manor house stood west of the church. Traces of foundations are visible, but no structure remains above ground. Although the house was allegedly pulled down by James Leigh-Perrott,⁴⁵ an 'ancient built house' with dovecot and coachhouses, the gardens including a bowling green,⁴⁶ was shown on maps of 1767 and 1792.⁴⁷ In 1768 it was used for a girls' school.⁴⁸ In 1806 nothing remained but the dovehouse, a few of the offices, and mouldering walls.⁴⁹ The house's position makes it the likely site of the original manor house, but Netley abbey or its predecessor seems to have preferred, in Cistercian tradition, a house away from the village. In 1279 the original manor house probably formed part of the freehold of John of the hall,⁵⁰ the

abbey using the house known as Folycourt in the 15th century⁵¹ and as Holy Court⁵² or Holly Court from the later 16th.⁵³ That house is by a tributary of the Evenlode in a valley $\frac{3}{4}$ mile north of the parish church. The name Foly, occurring after flooding in 1442,⁵⁴ may enshrine local opinion on the site chosen but more likely has the sense of leafy.⁵⁵ At the south-east corner of the house a room raised on a low barrel vault has two 13th-century lancet windows. It is apparently the only surviving part of the medieval house, and its purpose is unknown. It may have stood at the west end of the original house, which was badly damaged at its east end by the floods of 1442. The house seems to have been substantially built and had a stone-slatted roof but was not large: a hall, screens, service rooms, chapel, and two chambers are mentioned. After the floods the courtyard was moated and a stone bridge of two arches was built across the ditch at the gate.⁵⁶ The house was used regularly by the abbey's officials and accommodated the abbot and his retinue when they visited the manor, usually twice a year. The chapel, permanently equipped with altar, vestments, and sacred vessels, served also as a dormitory for the abbot's servants and as a manorial muniment room.⁵⁷ After the Dissolution the house was leased to tenants, of whom George Berrington rebuilt it except for the 13th-century block in 1601⁵⁸ on an extended three-roomed plan; it is of two storeys with attics, and retains two original staircases. It was held in the 1630s and 1640s by Sir William St. Ravy⁵⁹ and in 1657 by Sir George Fleetwood.⁶⁰ When James Perrott acquired the manor Holly Court became a farmhouse, and it was included in the sale of 1886.⁶¹ It was apparently bought by Thomas Druce, and sold by him in 1893 to the tenant, William Richards, from whom it was bought c. 1900 by James Mason of Eynsham Hall. It seems to have been bought by Wilhelm Freund of Wilcote House in the 1930s, and has remained part of the Wilcote estate.⁶²

John of the hall, who had a freehold of perhaps 1 hide in 1279,⁶³ can probably be ident-

³⁴ *Red Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 798; B.L. Egerton Ch. 10.

³⁵ *Cat. Anct. D.* iii, pp. 422, 440; *V.C.H. Hants* ii. 146, 148; C. A. F. Meekings, 'Early Years of Netley abbey', *Jnl. Eccl. Hist.* xxx, 15.

³⁶ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix, pp. 598, 622.

³⁷ P.R.O., C 142/124, no. 153; C 142/205, no. 91; *Complete Peerage*, iv. 449–50.

³⁸ P.R.O., CP 25(2)/588, East. 1660, no. 1.

³⁹ Blenheim Mun., B/M/287, abstract of title; Northants. R.O., Fermor Hesketh Baker 8.

⁴⁰ P.R.O., PROB 11/1688, f. 20; PROB 11/601 (P.C.C. 48 Romney); E. L. Barnwell, *Perrott Notes*, 104–5; annotated edn. in Bodl. 2182 P. d. 47; *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1714–54, ii. 340–1.

⁴¹ P.R.O., PROB 11/701 (P.C.C. 86 Browne); PROB 11/786 (P.C.C. 89 Busby); J.E. Austen-Leigh, *Memoir of Jane Austen* (1926), 70–1.

⁴² Blenheim Mun., boxes 124, B/M/287.

⁴³ Northants. R.O., S(R) 364; S(R) 390 K; Blenheim Mun., box marked 'Hensington and N. Leigh', partics. of sale (1887).

⁴⁴ Inf. from Blenheim Estate Office.

⁴⁵ Austen-Leigh, *Memoir of Jane Austen* (1926), 70–1.

⁴⁶ Blenheim Mun., B/M/287.

⁴⁷ Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797).

⁴⁸ *Oxf. Jnl.* 16 Apr. 1768.

⁴⁹ Bodl. MS. Don. d 140, f. 69. Much the same description was given in 1823 in Skelton, *Antiq. Oxon.* Wootton Hund. 15. The dovecot is shown in a drawing of 1820 by J.C. Buckler in Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 67, no. 399.

⁵⁰ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 810. For John's estate see below.

⁵¹ P.R.O., SC 6/959/22–3, 26.

⁵² e.g. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. 64.

⁵³ e.g. *ibid.* p. 89; P.R.O., C 2/Jas. I/F1/39; *ibid.* REQ 2/103/78. The statement in Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. v 'Hollycourt built 563 years this year 1759, in the year 1186, in Hen. 2nd's reign, as appeared by a date in altering the house' is self-contradictory and unlikely to be correct.

⁵⁴ P.R.O., SC 6/959/19, 22.

⁵⁵ *P.N. Elements* (E.P.N.S.).

⁵⁶ P.R.O., SC 6/959/8, 18–23.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 960/21.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* C 3/384/6.

⁵⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 118, ff. 138 sqq.; *ibid.* QSD.L.210.

⁶⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. 73. For St. Ravy and Fleetwood see above, Intro.

⁶¹ Above.

⁶² O.R.O., S.C. 22; inf. from Hon. Mrs. C. E. Cecil, Wilcote House.

⁶³ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 870.

ified with the 'John *de la sale* of North Leigh', also known as John of Leigh, active in local affairs in the late 13th century and early 14th.⁶⁴ The estate seems to have passed, like his estate in Eynsham, to William of Leigh (fl. 1349) and to Sir Thomas Paynel (d. by 1410).⁶⁵ Sir Thomas held land in North Leigh in 1392 and 1398, and in the mid 15th century the estate was said to have been 'once Paynel's, formerly Leigh's'.⁶⁶ After Sir Thomas's death the rents and the reversion of the estate, said to comprise a house and 1 hide, were bought from his widow Margaret and daughter Agnes by Sir William Wilcotes, a former colleague as knight of the shire and royal justice.⁶⁷ Sir William's widow Elizabeth married Sir John Blacket (d. 1430) of Icomb (Glos.),⁶⁸ but retained it at her death in 1445. Elizabeth's heirs were the descendants of her first marriage, viz. her surviving daughter Isabel, wife of John Barton, and her grandchildren William Wykeham, Elizabeth and Philippa Bishopsden, Richard Beaufeu, and Thomas Conyers.⁶⁹ Much Wilcotes property, including that in North Leigh, was apparently acquired in 1454 and 1456 by William Brome (or Browne) of Holton.⁷⁰ He presumably sold it to John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, for the earl was in possession of the North Leigh estate at his death in 1460.⁷¹ The estate was referred to as a manor,⁷² but there is no evidence of separate manorial courts and the earl's successors were later regarded simply as free tenants of the lords of North Leigh.⁷³ The estate descended with the earldom of Shrewsbury⁷⁴ and in 1559 was held by Francis Talbot (d. 1560), but by 1566 it had been sold to William King, the earl's tenant.⁷⁵ In 1581 the estate, said to comprise 5 yardlands, was owned by William's son Edmund.⁷⁶ Edmund sold $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland in 1603, and by 1614 the rest had passed to Robert Thorpe, lessee of Holly Court farm.⁷⁷ Thorpe was still in possession in 1638 but had left the parish by 1642 when a $4\frac{1}{2}$ -yardland estate was in the possession of Sir William St. Ravy, who had earlier succeeded Thorpe at Holly Court farm.⁷⁸

Sir William's goods were sequestered in 1648,⁷⁹ and by 1655 the estate, known as King's or North Leigh farm, was owned by James Perrott.⁸⁰ After 1676 it was absorbed into the manorial estate. The farm was bought in 1886 by the executors of the will of Charles Sartoris, and has remained part of the Wilcote estate.⁸¹

John of the hall and his successors seem to have had as their chief house the former manor house west of the church. Called 'King's house' in 1581, it became the manor house once more in the later 17th century.⁸²

The freehold estate centred on *WILCOTE HOUSE*, despite its name and its proximity to Wilcote parish, seems always to have lain in North Leigh. The earliest known owners were Robert and Isabel de Trillowe: Robert dated a charter at Wilcote in 1320, and in that year he and Isabel were said to have a house and 2 hides in Wilcote of the abbot of Netley, evidently of Isabel's inheritance.⁸³ Robert seems to have died in 1328 or 1329⁸⁴ and was presumably succeeded by his eldest son Robert (d. by 1346),⁸⁵ whose heir was his brother Sir John (d. 1371 or 1372), keeper of Oxford castle and knight of the shire.⁸⁶ Sir John was succeeded by his son, also Sir John (d. 1374),⁸⁷ whose heir was his daughter Elizabeth, who married Sir William Wilcotes.⁸⁸ William and Elizabeth also held land in Finstock of Eynsham abbey⁸⁹ and in the parish of Wilcote of Wilcote manor,⁹⁰ and Elizabeth later acquired Wilcote manor itself,⁹¹ so that their estates are difficult to disentangle. Despite the assertion in 1320 that the estate held of Netley abbey comprised 2 hides, later references were to 1 hide only, lying in North Leigh parish and in Tapwell, a small hamlet, since deserted, in Finstock.⁹² The freehold estate known as Wilcote, therefore, owing suit of court to Netley's manor of North Leigh, probably straddled the parish boundary between North Leigh and Finstock but did not include any part of Wilcote parish. After Elizabeth's death it passed for more than a century with the family's other North Leigh estate.⁹³ It was held by John Talbot, earl of

⁶⁴ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 329, 370; ii, p. 177; P.R.O., E 32/137; E 179/161/8.

⁶⁵ Above, Eynsham, other estates. For the Paynel fam. see *V.C.H. Berks.* iii. 441; *O.R.S.* liii, p. 28.

⁶⁶ P.R.O., SC 2/197/52-3; SC 6/959/24.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* C 137/84, no. 5; *Cal. Close*, 1409-13, 140.

⁶⁸ P.R.O., C 143/450, no. 3.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* C 139/122, no. 33; *V.C.H. Worcs.* iii. 415, 417.

⁷⁰ P.R.O., CP 25(1)/293/72, no. 386; CP 25(1)/293/73, no. 406; *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 84; *V.C.H. Oxon.* v. 171; xi. 198.

⁷¹ P.R.O., C 139/179, no. 14.

⁷² *Ibid.*; C 140/46, no. 14; *ibid.* SC 6/959/24.

⁷³ e.g. *ibid.* SC 2/197/55; SC 6/Hen. VIII/3326, m. 10d.; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 769, f. 3v.

⁷⁴ *Complete Peerage*, xi. 706-12.

⁷⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 769, f. 3v.; *ibid.* MS. Trin. Coll. B 83, f. 2; P.R.O., REQ 2/37/18.

⁷⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. 63; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 21, f. 442.

⁷⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 118, ff. 139v., 141, 207-8.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* QSD.L.210.

⁷⁹ *Cal. Cttee. for Compounding*, i, p. 93.

⁸⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. 1; O.R.O., Misc. Far. X/1.

⁸¹ Northants. R.O., S(R) 364.

⁸² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. 44; B. Schumer, 'Eliz.

Surv. of N. Leigh', *Oxoniensia*, xl. 310; above.

⁸³ *Landboc sive Registrum de Winchelcumba*, ed. D. Royce, ii, p. 210.

⁸⁴ His name was returned for the subsidy of 1327: P.R.O., E 179/161/9, but his son John was in wardship in Oct. 1329: *Warw. Feet of Fines* (Dugd. Soc. xv), ii, p. 135.

⁸⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, 273; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 394, f. 191; *Feud. Aids*, iv. 184. H. Trillo, 'The Trillows of Chastleton', *Oxon. Fam. Hist.* iii (4), 139-42 suggests that Rob. de Trillowe the elder was the younger Rob.'s uncle. Mr. Trillo kindly made available his MS. hist. of the family.

⁸⁶ *Cal. Fine R.* 1356-68, 305; W. R. Williams, *Parl. Hist. Oxon.* 21-3.

⁸⁷ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xiv, pp. 52-3, 227.

⁸⁸ Sir Wm.'s family name has caused confusion because of its similarity to the place-name Wilcote: e.g. *Berks.*, *Bucks.*, and *Oxon. Arch. Jnl.* iii. 97. The place-name, however, was always spelt in the Middle Ages as 'Weylycote' or a close derivative, the family name as 'Wilcotes' or similar, and the family name seems to have derived from Willicote in Quinton (Glos.): *ibid.* xii. 108; *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 84.

⁸⁹ P.R.O., SC 6/957/18-21.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* C 137/84, no. 5; *Cal. Close*, 1409-13, 141.

⁹¹ Below, Wilcote, Manor.

⁹² P.R.O., C 137/84, no. 5; C 139/122/33; *Cal. Close*, 1409-13, 140-1. For Tapwell see *V.C.H. Oxon.* x. 133-4.

⁹³ Above.

Shrewsbury, at his death in 1474⁹⁴ but by 1512 apparently belonged to Eynsham abbey.⁹⁵ In 1539 the Crown granted the abbey's possessions, including land in Finstock, North Leigh, and Wilcote, to Sir George Darcy.⁹⁶ He sold them in 1543 to Sir Edward North,⁹⁷ who surrendered them to the Crown in 1545 in settlement of his debts as treasurer of the Court of Augmentations.⁹⁸ The descent of the Wilcote estate thereafter was, like that of Eynsham abbey's Charlbury estate, confused.⁹⁹ In 1547 'lands in Wilcote' were granted by the Crown to the bishop of Oxford;¹ neither North Leigh nor Finstock were mentioned, and it is not clear how much of the estate the bishop received. In 1559–60 Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, owed suit of court to the lord of North Leigh 'for his lands there', presumably meaning the Wilcote estate formerly belonging to Eynsham abbey; the earl had been granted Eynsham in 1545.² In 1581, however, the bishop was clearly stated to be in possession.³ In 1590 the Wilcote estate was held by Robert Chamberlain and Philip Scudamore,⁴ and therefore, like Charlbury, had presumably been sold by the bishop in 1589 to Queen Elizabeth, who granted it to Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, from whom Chamberlain and Scudamore bought it.⁵ The estate, known from the late 16th century as Wilcote farm, or, after the tenant family occupying it, as Barford's farm,⁶ was bought in 1592 by William Lenthall (d. 1596), whose son John sold it in 1610 to John Martin.⁷ John's son Thomas (d. 1660) seems to have been succeeded at Wilcote not by his son Thomas, who lived at Finstock, but by his grandson, also Thomas (d. 1699).⁸ The last-named's son, another Thomas, died childless in 1753 and was succeeded by his sister Elizabeth (d. 1763), wife of Robert Wisdom.⁹ On the death without issue in 1777 of Elizabeth's son Simon¹⁰ the estate passed to Thomas Martin (d. 1779), Elizabeth's first cousin. Thomas was succeeded by his brother Edward (d. 1802).¹¹

A statement of 1581 that the estate comprised 1 yardland¹² presumably referred only to open-field land within North Leigh. In 1592 it was said to include 2 yardlands in Wilcote, North

Leigh, and Finstock.¹³ At the inclosure of North Leigh in 1759 Elizabeth Wisdom received 33 a. for her open-field land; old inclosures of Wilcote in North Leigh probably comprised c. 40 a. The estate's Finstock land in 1865 comprised 157 a.¹⁴

By 1820 the estate belonged to Sarah, widow of John Castle.¹⁵ Still called Barford's farm in 1833,¹⁶ it was referred to as Castle farm in the mid 19th century, when the house was known as Castle House or as the 'great house near Wilcote'. Sarah Castle sold the estate c. 1850 to a Mr. Dudley of Oxford, possibly John Dudley, solicitor and clerk to the county court.¹⁷ In 1866 the estate was bought by Charles Sartoris (d. 1884). He was succeeded by his nephew Francis but had devised the house for life to his widow Mary, who later married George Dawkins.¹⁸ In 1937 the estate was bought by Wilhelm Freund (d. 1962), who greatly enlarged it.¹⁹ In 1970 it was bought by the Hon. C. E. Cecil.²⁰

Wilcote House incorporates in its kitchen and service area part of a small early 17th-century farmhouse, against whose east side is a late 17th-century staircase. A new, larger, block was added c. 1700 to the south end of the house. Perhaps at that time a large walled garden was laid out west of the house, an irregular pentagon divided into bedding areas by wide paths.²¹ Between 1867 and 1870 the house was greatly enlarged for Sartoris by George Devey, and the walled garden was partly overlaid by extensive outbuildings.²² Sartoris was presumably responsible for the small park south of the road from Ashford bridge: his tree planting was remembered into the 20th century.²³ The pleasure garden south and east of the house may have been his work or that of his widow and her second husband, who further altered the house, claiming in 1913 that 'there is no place in the three kingdoms on which so much money and scrupulous care has been spent'.²⁴

A branch of the Perrott family had lived at North Leigh for almost a century before the acquisition of the manor in 1676 by James Perrott. Simon Perrott (d. 1584), an Oxford lawyer related by marriage to Sir Thomas Pope, began to acquire copyhold land in North Leigh when, in 1559, he was appointed steward by Sir

⁹⁴ P.R.O., C 140/46, no. 14.

⁹⁵ Ibid. SC 2/197/55; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 394, f. 170. The assize rent paid by the abbey was exactly that due from the estate in 1581: P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/3326, m. 10d.; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. 86.

⁹⁶ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), p. 417.

⁹⁷ Ibid. xviii (1), pp. 446, 540.

⁹⁸ Ibid. xviii (2), p. 132.

⁹⁹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* x. 135. ¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1547–8, 151–2.

² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 769, ff. 3v., 20v., where he is wrongly called Henry; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xx (2), p. 540; above, Eynsham, Manor.

³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. 63.

⁴ O.R.O., Kem. VI/1; *ibid.* Misc. Watney I/i/2(a).

⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* x. 135.

⁶ Bodl. MS. Dep. d 72, f. 38.

⁷ Ibid. ff. 77, 117; P.R.O., C 104/153; C 142/249, no. 73; Blenheim Mun., box marked 'Hensington and North Leigh'.

⁸ P.R.O., PROB 11/303 (P.C.C. 48 May); O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 141/3/1; 45/4/25.

⁹ P.R.O., PROB 11/801 (P.C.C. 115 Searle); O.R.O., Misc. Ri. VI/iii/1; *ibid.* par. reg. transcript, i, f. 233.

¹⁰ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 74/4/60; *Oxf. Jnl.* 26 Apr.

1777.

¹¹ O.R.O., par. reg. transcript, i, ff. 175, 181; memorials in N. Leigh church. Much inf. *re* the Martin fam. was kindly given by Mrs. H. Walton.

¹² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. 63.

¹³ Ibid. MS. Dep. d 72, f. 117.

¹⁴ O.R.O., incl. award; *ibid.* Charlbury tithe award; *Auction Cat.* (1865); copy in Bodl. C 17/b24 (59).

¹⁵ O.R.O., land tax assess.

¹⁶ O.S. Map 1", sheet 45 (1833 edn.).

¹⁷ O.R.O., Charlbury tithe award; P.R.O., HO 107/890; HO 107/1731; MS. note in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. 4° 697, facing p. 166; Parker, *Guide*.

¹⁸ Northants. R.O., S(R) 364, 371; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1887 and later edns.).

¹⁹ Inf. from Sir Mark Norman, Wilcote Manor.

²⁰ Inf. from Hon. Mrs. C. E. Cecil.

²¹ Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797); F. Emery, *Oxon. Landscape*, facing p. 120.

²² Bodl. map C 17/b24 (59); O.S. Map 1/2,500 Oxon. XXVI. 5 (1881 edn.); inf. from Dr. Jill Allibone.

²³ J. Kibble, *Hist. Wychwood*, 108.

²⁴ Northants. R.O., S(R) 390, letter of 20 Nov.; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 5 (1899 edn.).

Thomas's widow Elizabeth.²⁵ By 1581 Simon had a house at New Well End, a cottage at East End, 2½ yardlands, said to comprise 77 a. of arable land, a small meadow, and 6 closes. He was succeeded by his son Robert (d. 1605), whose son Edward (d. 1685) added further to the family holdings, acquiring 2 yardlands formerly held by the Curtis family.²⁶ In 1650, when Edward enfranchised his lands, the estate comprised c. 5½ yardlands.²⁷ It passed to Edward's son Robert (d. 1701), whose son Edward was succeeded in 1729 by his brother Charles (d. 1739). Charles's grandson and heir Edward Perrott was succeeded in 1759 by his uncle William, the only male heir remaining. William died in 1765, and in the following year his sisters Catherine, Susanna, and Jane and his nieces Anne Dalby and Elizabeth Silvester, sold the estate, recorded as c. 900 a., perhaps three times the true figure, to George Spencer, duke of Marlborough.²⁸ Known then as Great House or Hill farm,²⁹ later as *PERROTTSHILL FARM*, the estate included Lower Riding farm, and formed part of the Blenheim estate until 1920, when it was sold to the tenant, Edgar Woodward, in whose family it remained in 1984.³⁰

The house stands on a high, isolated site off the Witney–Woodstock road. Its plan suggests an origin not later than the 16th century, but surviving structural features are all of the 17th century or later. The long central range, containing two rooms with early 17th-century panelling, may incorporate part of the original parlour, but that was rebuilt early in the 18th century. At the north end the roof of an early cross wing³¹ was removed when the wing was remodelled in the 19th century.

Across the courtyard a two-storeyed 18th-century building used for stables may originally have been in part domestic. In 1844 just north-east of the farmhouse stood a substantial two-storeyed house, possibly medieval. It may have been the Curtises' house, which was said to adjoin that of the Perrotts;³² it had apparently been demolished by 1876.³³

The freehold later called *PUDDLE END FARM* was perhaps one of a number created in the mid 17th century, when Thomas Pope, earl of Downe, sold much copyhold land. The core of the estate may have been 2 yardlands occupied in the later 16th century by the Sharp family and in the mid 17th by the Gardiner family,³⁴ which seems to have bought the free-

hold, for in 1664 William Gardiner sold it to Thomas Werge (d. 1707).³⁵ By 1754 it had come to Thomas Brown (d. 1764) of Standlake, whose children Thomas, Anne, and Mary sold it to Thomas Green of Minster Lovell. After inclosure in 1759 the estate comprised the farmhouse, 15 a. of old inclosure, and c. 40 a. of new inclosure. On Green's death in 1802 the estate was divided between his daughters Jane and Elizabeth. On Jane's death c. 1810 her moiety was shared by Elizabeth and a third sister Mary. By 1821 Mary had been succeeded by her son John Burford, to whom Elizabeth in 1823 devised her share. Burford in 1845 sold the estate to his creditor Stephen Jones, a Witney grocer. Jones sold it in 1860 to Richard Hodges (d. 1885) of Chalford, whose heirs Richard Hodges and John Berry sold it to Francis Sartoris. It was bought in 1888 by James Mason of Eynsham Hall,³⁶ and sold c. 1945 to S. E. Hickman, whose son John owned it in 1986.³⁷

The farmhouse may have been built in the 17th century on a three-room plan. The southern end appears to have been reconstructed early in the 19th century.

Roger d'Ivri granted two thirds of the demesne tithes of all his manors, including North Leigh, to the collegiate church of St. George which he co-founded in Oxford castle. That church, with the tithes, passed in the 12th century to Oseney abbey.³⁸ The remaining tithes of North Leigh and the glebe land were subject to a composition in 1279 following the appropriation of North Leigh church to Hailes abbey (Glos.) and the ordination of a vicarage.³⁹ Hailes abbey, as rector, retained an unspecified amount of land, corn tithes, and half the tithes of hay.⁴⁰ From 1314 the abbey held the lease of Oseney abbey's tithes for 33s. 4d. a year.⁴¹ The rectory estate, said in 1460 to be worth £10 13s. 4d. a year,⁴² and at the Dissolution £8,⁴³ was granted in 1544 to three prominent London citizens, Sir John and Ralph Allen and Sir John Champneys.⁴⁴ A grant of the estate to Sir Thomas Pope in 1545 was in error and he relinquished possession in 1546.⁴⁵ In 1555 the estate was apparently conveyed by Champneys to the City of London in trust for the recently established Bridewell hospital. The North Leigh estate is not mentioned in the hospital's foundation charter, nor in its early records or in those of the City, but confirmations of the conveyance were made by the Crown in 1563 and 1600.⁴⁶ The hospital leased the rectory, which in the later

²⁵ Simon Perrott's reg.: Bodl. MS. Trin. Coll. B 83, ff. 2, 3; Barnwell, *Perrot Notes*, 79 sqq.; *Oxoniensia*, xi/xii. 40.

²⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, pp. 65–6; Blenheim Mun., box 105.

²⁷ Blenheim Mun., boxes 105, 110; Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 2525; MS. Rawl. D 1481, f. 25.

²⁸ Barnwell, *Perrot Notes*, 99–100, 135; O.R.O., Misc. Laughton I/1; Blenheim Mun., box 124, abstract of title (1867), ff. 9–22.

²⁹ Blenheim Mun., B/M/287, lease of 1765.

³⁰ O.R.O., S.C. 45; *Oxoniensia*, xi/xii. 140; local inf.

³¹ Above, plate facing p. 124.

³² Ibid.; Blenheim Mun., box 105, lease of 11 Apr. 1644; box 110, leases of 4 Feb. 1646, 26 Feb. 1694.

³³ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 14 (1881 edn.).

³⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, pp. 1, 62, 73.

³⁵ Ibid. d 600, f. 158; O.R.O., Welch XCIV/ii/29.

³⁶ O.R.O., Welch XCIV/ii/1–30; *ibid.* Minster Lovell par. reg. transcript.

³⁷ *Sale Cat.* (1923): copy in Westgate Libr., Oxf.; inf. from Mr. J. Hickman.

³⁸ *Oseney Cart.* iii, pp. 345, 369; iv, pp. 3, 7, 25; *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii. 160.

³⁹ Below, Church.

⁴⁰ *Rot. Gravesend* (L.R.S. xx), 187–8; O.R.O., Oxf. Archd.

Oxon. c 142, f. 357.

⁴¹ *Oseney Cart.* vi, pp. 116–17, 244.

⁴² Lincs. R.O., Misc. Roll V.

⁴³ Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 689; P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1240,

mm. 84d.–85.

⁴⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (2), p. 77.

⁴⁵ Ibid. xx (1), p. 219; W. C. Richardson, *Hist. of Ct. of Augmentations*, 431.

⁴⁶ P.R.O., C 66/1576, m. 29; *ibid.* E 307/B3/21, m. 7; *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Gaols and Houses of Correction*, H.C. 441, pp. 488–91 (1835), xii.

16th century was held by the Box family, prominent in London and Witney. Lessees in the 17th century included Sir William Stonehouse of Radley (formerly Berks.), father-in-law of Edward Perrott (d. 1685), to whom he sublet the estate.⁴⁷ From the late 17th century to the mid 18th the estate was leased to the Perrotts, lords of the manor.⁴⁸ At inclosure in 1759 the estate comprised a house, 23½ a. of glebe, corn tithes, and half the hay tithes,⁴⁹ for all of which Bridewell hospital received 323 a.,⁵⁰ later divided between Bridewell farm in the north and Heath farm in the south. Bridewell farm was sold in 1920 to George Lamb, in whose family it remained until c. 1940, when it was bought by Wilhelm Freund and became part of the Wilcote estate. Heath farm was also sold in 1920, to the tenant Ernest Harwood, whose family retained it in 1986.⁵¹

The parsonage house south of the vicarage occupies a site perhaps built on following the composition of 1279, although no reference has been found before 1540.⁵² The small house recorded in 1768 may have been rebuilt in the later 18th century as the plain, symmetrical, two-storeyed building that forms the core of the modern house. It was divided into two in 1844 and re-united after 1916, when it was sold to Miss M. Gask.⁵³ The house, called Church Mead,⁵⁴ has been much extended, and retains on a gable end a cartouche of the Perrott arms.

Bridewell Farm, built in 1761,⁵⁵ is a tall, three-storeyed house of some architectural pretension, flanked by single-storeyed wings with sloping roofs, and embellished with eaves brackets, voussoirs, projecting quoins, and lunette windows. It has always been a farmhouse except briefly in the mid 20th century.

The northern portion of Cogges wood, between North Leigh and Cogges, was in the Middle Ages a detached part of Kidlington. Henry d'Oilly gave it c. 1200 to John de Grey (d. 1214), bishop of Norwich, who devised it to Osney abbey.⁵⁶ Called thereafter Osney, or Osney, wood or *OSNEY HILL*, it was presumably sold by the Crown on the abbey's dissolution, but no reference has been found before 1609 when the estate, recorded as 59½ a., was owned by Leonard Box.⁵⁷ In 1759 the owner was William Lawrence,⁵⁸ and from the earlier 19th century James Paley (d. 1863), vicar of

Lacock (Wilts.),⁵⁹ who seems to have built Osney Hill Farm; a family lived there by 1823, and occupants were regularly included in census returns for North Leigh.⁶⁰ By 1877 Osney Hill formed part of the Eynsham Park estate.⁶¹

ECONOMIC HISTORY. A two-field arrangement seems to have been in use in North Leigh by 1279 when the vicarage was endowed with 10 a. of glebe, 5 a. in one field and 5 a. in the other.⁶² In 1581⁶³ and the 17th century⁶⁴ one field, on the south and east, included Heycroft, Church field, and Over (or Upper) Riding, the other, on the north and west, included North field, Edgings field, and Caden hill.⁶⁵ The two were divided by the tributary of the Evenlode and by field boundaries. There was very little glebe in Over Riding and none in Lower (or Nether) Riding, Bridge field, and Sturt field, possibly because when the vicarage was ordained those fields were not fully cleared. There was probably still a two-field arrangement in the 1370s when, on a demesne of 3 ploughlands (c. 300 a.), c. 150 a. were sown each year.⁶⁶ By 1581 that arrangement had been superseded by one in which seven fields followed a three-course rotation. The divisions were Over Riding, Bridge field, North field; Lower Riding, Edgings field, Caden hill; Church field, Heycroft. The last division was much the smallest and may have included Sturt field for purposes of fallowing.⁶⁷ Sturt field in 1581 was said to belong solely to the demesne farm, Holly Court, but in 1600 William Pope's proposal to inclose his land that lay in compact blocks excluded Sturt field because there 'his lands cannot be inclosed'.⁶⁸ The field was still commonable in the later 17th century,⁶⁹ and it seems to have remained open until the inclosure award of 1759.⁷⁰

A medieval yardland of 25–30 field acres seems likely. That was the norm for demesne land in 1581, but by then copyhold yardlands ranged from 28 to 80 field acres, averaging c. 40.⁷¹ Numerous closes were used to augment arable land in the open fields.⁷²

Assarting was probably under way by 1086. The number of tenants and of ploughteams at work, 42 and 14 respectively, was large for an estate reckoned to have land for only 10 ploughteams, and perhaps indicates pressure on

⁴⁷ O.R.O., QSD.L.210; Blenheim Mun., box 110, lease of 1635.

⁴⁸ Bridewell Hosp. Mun., estate bk., 4 Feb. 1726: transcript of hosp. rec. kindly made available by Miss Beryl Schumer; O.R.O., land tax assess.

⁴⁹ Bridewell Hosp. Mun., ct. bk., 2 Feb. 1758.

⁵⁰ O.R.O., incl. award.

⁵¹ Bridewell Hosp. Mun., estate bks. *passim*; *ibid.* ct. bk., 16 June 1919, 26 Apr. 1920; inf. from Hon. Mrs. C. E. Cecil.

⁵² P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1240, m. 84d.

⁵³ Bridewell Hosp. Mun., ct. bk., 2 Feb. 1758; estate bks., 19 Aug. 1844; *ibid.* 1916.

⁵⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1924).

⁵⁵ Date on house.

⁵⁶ *Osney Cart.* iv, pp. 136–7; above, Kidlington, Manors.

⁵⁷ P.R.O., LR 2/202, f. 29; *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 42–3.

⁵⁸ O.R.O., N. Leigh incl. award.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* QSD/G1/1, p. 206; G1/2, p. 30; *Alum. Oxon.*

1715–1886.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., Cogges par. reg. transcript; P.R.O., HO 107/890, 1731; *ibid.* RG 9/904; RG 10/1450; RG 11/1513.

⁶¹ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/2/121–2, 129, 132, 204–5; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1877 and later edns.).

⁶² *Rot. Gravesend* (L.R.S. xx), 187–8, 235.

⁶³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36.

⁶⁴ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 41, ff. 52–4.

⁶⁵ B. Schumer, 'Eliz. Surv. of N. Leigh', *Oxoniensia*, xl, 310, 314.

⁶⁶ P.R.O., SC 6/959/6–7.

⁶⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, pp. 1, 34, 64; *Oxoniensia*, xl, 313–14.

⁶⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. 34; *ibid.* MS. North Adds. c 2, f. 82.

⁶⁹ e.g. Blenheim Mun., B/M/267, man. cts. 1 Oct. 1677, 6 Oct. 1679.

⁷⁰ O.R.O., incl. award.

⁷¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, pp. 64–6, 76–82.

⁷² O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 181, f. 112.

resources.⁷³ Fines were paid to the Crown for assarts and waste in the late 12th century,⁷⁴ and Netley abbey began to assart land as soon as it obtained North Leigh manor in 1247.⁷⁵ By 1279 the arable seems to have increased by 200–300 a. since 1086,⁷⁶ leaving perhaps a further 200 a. to be cleared in the late 13th century and early 14th. During that last period people from North Leigh were creating assarts in neighbouring Fowler, Finstock, and Hailey.⁷⁷ Medieval assarts in North Leigh lay in the north-east, a large expanse of heath adjoining Hanborough on the east and Eynsham on the south surviving until the 18th century. Cleared land seems to have been grouped into the later Bridge field, Over and Lower Riding (the name meaning cleared ground), and Sturt field. The assarts were held of the manorial lord for money rents and were assimilated into the existing open-field rotation.⁷⁸

The extensive woodland (1½ by 1 league) recorded in 1086⁷⁹ presumably comprised the north-east quarter of the parish and the heath adjoining Hanborough and Eynsham. Woodland in the north-east had been reduced by the 15th century to coppices. There appears to have been little change in the extent of woodland by the mid 16th century, when 33 a. of coppice and, on the heath, 80 a. of woodland known as North Leigh wood were recorded.⁸⁰ Much of North Leigh wood was felled in the 1640s to raise money for the 'destitute' Thomas Pope, earl of Downe.⁸¹ A coppice of 16 a. said in 1584 to be 'in or near Wilcote' probably lay mostly in Finstock.⁸² Few made their living entirely from the woodland; only one reference has been found, for example, to a charcoal burner.⁸³ The forest was important, however, in supplementing income: in 1272 North Leigh tenants were removing 2,392 cart loads of wood annually from the neighbourhood, and cottagers were taking 'unlimited' branches and underwood.⁸⁴ Netley abbey regularly made £5 or £6 a year from the sale of wood in the 15th century.⁸⁵ North Leigh tenants had the exclusive right to cut fern, thorns, and furze on the heath, which were carefully husbanded: cutting was occasionally abandoned for a year by common consent and in 1602 was forbidden for three years.⁸⁶ Timber, furze, and fern were frequently mentioned in 17th-century inventories, and William Phipps in 1717 had hardwood and faggots valued at £34 10s. in his yard and 2,400 faggots

worth £48 at Rewley wharf in Oxford, presumably taken there by river.⁸⁷

The heath was the principal source of pasture in North Leigh apart from the fallow fields, and pigs, sheep, cattle, and horses were grazed there. A separate demesne pasture mentioned in 1279⁸⁸ was probably that later known as Horsemoor or Cowmoor, near Holly Court.⁸⁹ The right of tenants from the demesne towns of Woodstock manor to graze animals other than horses in North Leigh was unsuccessfully challenged in 1540. In effect the right was claimed and exercised only by the tenants of Stonesfield and Combe,⁹⁰ and at inclosure those parishes were allotted land in exchange.⁹¹ Leys had been introduced into the arable by the mid 16th century,⁹² and seem to have become increasingly common. Some may have been used to provide additional hay.⁹³ By the late 17th century many leys had been unploughed for 25 years.⁹⁴

Meadow, said in 1086 to comprise 90 a.,⁹⁵ lay along the river Evenlode and its tributary in Edgings field. In the later 13th century 'the lord's great meadow' was mown by the villein tenants, who between them received 1 qr. of wheat, a basinful of salt, a cheese, and 32d.; cotland holders spread and stacked the grass, for which service they each received 3 sheaves; cottagers worked without payment.⁹⁶ The 'great meadow' possibly comprised Mychulmead (perhaps the later Langham), between Ashford mill and Stonesford, and Stunsham, east of the ford: both were still mown by customary tenants in the 1370s, whereas the other demesne meadows, viz. Millmead, Clayham, and Spratsham in Sturt field, were mown by hired labour.⁹⁷ Exclusive use by the lord of all those meadows would, however, have left little for others, and it may be that part of each was used by the tenants. Part of Stunsham was shared by those owing mowing services.⁹⁸ Demesne meadow was, moreover, at its most extensive in the 1370s: in the wake of natural disasters and depopulation Netley abbey had difficulty in finding takers for all the available meadow.⁹⁹ In the 16th century 50 a. of meadow in Langham, Stunsham, Clayham, Spratsham, and Simersham were common lot meadow, the remainder being held in severalty. Close mead, formerly Millmead, and Fishwell Moor at Holly Court were entirely several. The meadow in Edgings field may always have been common.¹ Demesne meadow in the common meadows seems by the 16th century to have

⁷³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 415.

⁷⁴ *Pipe R.* 1187 (P.R.S. xxxvii), 48; 1188 (P.R.S. xxxviii), 152; 1190 (P.R.S. N.S. i), 13.

⁷⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1247–58, 8.

⁷⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868–71.

⁷⁷ P.R.O., E 32/137; P. Hyde, 'Winchester Manors of Witney and Adderbury' (Oxf. Univ. B. Litt. thesis, 1955), 285–8, 293.

⁷⁸ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868–71.

⁷⁹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 415.

⁸⁰ Blenheim Mun., box 105, copy of grant of 1544. The record in *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), p. 622 is incomplete.

⁸¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1640–1, 494.

⁸² Bodl. MS. Dep. d 72, f. 117.

⁸³ P.R.O., E 32/251.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* E 32/137.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* SC 6/959/16–19; SC 6/960/20, 22, 24.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* SC 2/197/55, ct. of 31 Mar. 1525; Bodl. MS. North Add. c 2, f. 109.

⁸⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 59/4/1; 13/5/5; 14/3/16; 145/2/31.

⁸⁸ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868.

⁸⁹ P.R.O., SC 6/959/22, 24; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, pp. ii, 36.

⁹⁰ P.R.O., E 321/37/8; *ibid.* SC 2/197/55, ct. of 1 May 1526; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 60, f. 135.

⁹¹ *Below.*

⁹² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 769, f. 21v.

⁹³ *Ibid.* f 36, pp. 2, 15–16, 26.

⁹⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 110, lease of Feb. 1694.

⁹⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 415.

⁹⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868–71.

⁹⁷ P.R.O., SC 6/959/6–7, 22.

⁹⁸ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868.

⁹⁹ P.R.O., SC 6/959/6–7.

¹ *Ibid.* SC 6/Hen. VIII/3326, m. 10d.; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, pp. 48–9, 65, 68, 77; *ibid.* MS. North Add. c 2, f. 5; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 8/5/1.

been amalgamated into compact blocks exempt from lot-drawing but commonable after the grass had been lifted.² Lot-drawing was restricted to specific yardlands and half-yardlands which were represented by symbols such as the 'barrel a-bound', the 'plain ladle', the 'shuttle', and the 'four holes', carved or drawn on markers.³ Hurdles were used to fence the allotments.⁴ The system lasted into the 18th century, perhaps until inclosure, but meadow rights were increasingly sold separately from the yardlands to which they had been attached.⁵

In 1086 33 *villani* and 8 *bordars* had 12 ploughteams, and presumably also worked the 2 ploughteams on the demesne, where only one *servus* was recorded.⁶ The demesne had probably increased to 3 ploughlands by 1195, when the manor was stocked with 24 oxen,⁷ and it remained that size in 1279. By 1279 there had been a marked increase in the number of tenants, provided for mainly by subdividing holdings. On the Netley abbey estate there were 55 villein half-yardlanders, 2 with full yardlands, 11 cotland tenants, and 31 cottagers. For each half-yardland a villein was required to work for the lord every fourth day in summer, except on Saturdays and holidays, to mow grass, to plough, sow, carry, and thresh the lord's corn, and to wash and shear his sheep; he also gave the lord 4 bu. of malt at Christmas. The villein paid a relatively low rent of 2s. 2d., pannage, hidage, and aid, and redeemed his children at the lord's will. One yardlander kept the lord's pigs, and 3 half-yardlanders performed services connected with the lord's ploughs in return for remission of rent, $\frac{1}{4}$ a. or $\frac{1}{2}$ a. of sown land, and the use of a plough. Cotland tenants worked as required on Mondays in the summer, and owed haymaking duties and 4 bedrips. Rent was 9d., plus a cock and 3 hens. Most cottagers had only $\frac{1}{2}$ a. or 1 a. of assart land and owed help at haymaking and bedrips, although 11 owed no services. The standard rent was 6d. an acre. There were three freeholds. John of the hall held 3 yardlands of the abbey rent-free, a croft for 2s. 6d., and meadow for 2d., and had as tenants a half-yardlander, 4 cotlanders, and 9 cottagers, owing the same services as those on the abbey estate. None of John's tenants held assarts of him, but one of his cottagers held $1\frac{1}{2}$ a. of assart from Netley abbey, which seems to have reserved the rents from all assarted land. The other freeholders were John Kynne, with 1 yardland for 6s., and William of Henton, who paid 1s. for a cotland.⁸

In the early 14th century many inhabitants apparently lived near subsistence level. In 1306 the 49 taxpayers were assessed at a total of £2 17s. 9d., of which 12s. 1d. was due from the abbot of Netley and 7s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d. from John of Leigh. The remaining contributions included 33 of 1s. and under, and 13 of between 1s. and 2s.,

indicating that the parish was still populated mainly by half-yardlanders and cottagers.⁹ The disparity of wealth was even more marked in 1316, when John of Leigh's contribution of 22s. comprised a fifth of North Leigh's total.¹⁰ In 1327 North Leigh's taxpayers were among the poorest in the area, with an average personalty of c. 32s. compared, for instance, to c. 50s. in neighbouring Eynsham, itself a poor place.¹¹ Fewer than a third of the family names of 1279 occurred in 1306. Some reappeared in 1316, perhaps omitted earlier because of poverty, but the discontinuity was unusual. The Dyrray family, for example, with 6 representatives in 1279, had by 1316 apparently disappeared, and of 41 family names recorded in 1306 only 13 remained in 1327.

Netley abbey in 1374 claimed that about a third of its tenements in North Leigh were vacant. Tenants seem to have been willing to engross holdings, and the abbey continued demesne farming, taking grass from 8 half-yardlands to provide winter feed for its flock of c. 500 sheep. In 1374 the sale of wool produced £15 12s. 1d. for the abbey; in contrast, surplus corn fetched only 17s. 3d. and hides 26s. 7d. Demesne livestock included oxen for 3 ploughs, apparently in teams of 8, 70–80 head of cattle, 2 horses, a boar, and poultry. Dairy produce fetched 10s.—12s. a year, and honey, of which 10 gallons was produced in 1373–4, sold at 1s. a gallon. On the demesne 109 a. were sown in 1372 and 145 a. in 1373 with wheat, dredge, oats, and peas, of which most was used to pay farm servants and some was set aside for those 52 or 53 tenants whose labour had been required. The tenants of 5 yardlands, 10 half-yardlands, and 2 cottages had commuted their services for 101s. in total.¹²

By 1418 demesne farming had been abandoned and the whole manor, including fines but excluding profits of court, leased to the tenants. In 1418 the abbey received c. £23, but thereafter arrears of rent leapt from £2 in 1420 to £25 in 1421 and to £31 in 1423. Such losses from Netley's most important estate presumably prompted a scheme of 1424 whereby the manor and demesne were let to a single tenant, James Howe, who was to collect rents. From 1445 to 1451 the manor and demesne were leased piecemeal to tenants, Netley being unable to find a taker for the whole. Two tenants took a 9-year lease of the manor and demesne in 1451 at a rent reduced from £10 to £8 a year. Later leases, to one or to two tenants, were for 5 years, on the same terms. Some tenants took holdings on condition that they were free of works, and the abbey sometimes waived fines and arrears. Tenants were found for most holdings, however, and when in 1465–6 the abbey was left with a yardland on its hands it compelled some tenants to plough and sow the land, a costly exercise in

² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, pp. 48–9, 64; Blenheim Mun., B/M/265. ³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. 71.

⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 110, lease of Feb. 1694.

⁵ Ibid. box 105; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 121/2/23.

⁶ V.C.H. Oxon. i. 415.

⁷ Pipe R. 1195 (P.R.S. N.S. vi), 47.

⁸ Rot. Hund. (Rec. Com.), ii. 868–71.

⁹ P.R.O., E 179/161/10. One assessment is illegible.

¹⁰ Ibid. E 179/161/8. John of Leigh was also assessed in Tilgarsley: above, Eynsham, Econ.

¹¹ Ibid. E 179/161/9; above, Eynsham, Econ.

¹² Ibid. SC 6/959/6–7; V.C.H. Hants, ii. 147–8.

seigneurial authority, for the issues covered only half the expense. Arrears remained high, and with rising wool prices may have prompted a return in 1470 to demesne sheep farming. Although the flock was at most c. 240 animals, half its size in the 1370s, the abbey obtained approximately twice as much for its wool, sold at Burford. Exchanges of sheep with tenants suggest co-operation, possibly to facilitate specialization, but in 1475–6 all but 10 of Netley's sheep died of murrain, and the abbey finally withdrew from demesne farming. The effects of the disease are perhaps also discernible in a rise in arrears from £31 to £42 in 1477, after which they gradually returned to c. £30 a year.¹³

Small parcels of demesne were leased annually to tenants, and from the mid 15th century reference is made to the leasing of yardland, half-yardland, and cotland tenements. By the early 16th century holdings might be at will, for life, or for term of years. By 1581 tenancies seem to have become more varied, with the holders of c. 30 yardlands classed as 'copyholders for life',¹⁴ and some hereditary copyholds, mainly of cottages and closes. Although the number of yardlands and half-yardlands in the 16th century, 5 and 51 respectively, had altered little since the later 13th century, they were concentrated in far fewer hands: by 1536 they were shared among 25 tenants, only four of whom had merely a half-yardland. The largest holdings, of 2½ yardlands, were those of Thomas Ridley and Robert Jakes; 5 tenants had 2 yardlands each, and there were 14 yardlanders.¹⁵ Besides Wilcote and the earl of Shrewsbury's estate, some freeholds had been created, usually from demesne meadow and small closes. There remained a demesne of 8 yardlands, based on Holly Court and leased to a succession of tenants.¹⁶ There were also in the later Middle Ages many poor tenants and landless labourers. Netley abbey distributed alms to 'poor tenants' in 1424–5, and later occasionally remitted the debts of tenants reduced to 'poverty and begging'.¹⁷ In 1524 a small relatively well-to-do group of tenant farmers contrasted with a much larger population assessed for tax at the lowest level or omitted altogether: 33 people were assessed on a total of £8 1s. 11d., of which Thomas Ridley was assessed at £4, Thomas Hethen at 41s., and five others at between 6s. 8d. and 2s. 6d.¹⁸ Ridley, the 'substantialest man in the township', was able to outface Sir Richard Elyot of Combe, serjeant-at-law, in a dispute about intercommoning. Elyot's son Thomas and

Sir Simon Harcourt were overseers of Ridley's will.¹⁹ The Ridleys moved away from North Leigh in the later 16th century, perhaps to the Witney weaving industry.²⁰ Other families, such as the Barfoots, Breakspears, Newells, and Phippses, which had been resident since the 15th century, remained until the 18th, 19th, or 20th but were untypical: of 30 family names recorded in 1536 only 8 remained in 1581,²¹ and between 1581 and 1657 only 5 holdings remained with the same families.²² Many copyholders of inheritance built additional cottages, presumably to house an influx of labouring families.²³ In the later 16th century gentry families became resident in the parish, usually as lessees of demesne farms. The demesne 8 yardlands seem to have been shared from the 1560s until c. 1600 by the Holloway and Greville families. The Holloways and, perhaps, the Grevilles lived at Holly Court.²⁴ In 1601 George Berrington took a 21-year lease of the demesne and sold the remainder in 1612 to Robert Thorpe.²⁵ Thorpe also obtained the 5-yardland freehold known as King's farm, gaining control of more than a quarter of the parish's arable land. The Lenthalls were at Wilcote only briefly. Of more lasting influence was the family of Simon Perrott, which from the mid 16th century built up an extensive copyhold and leasehold estate. The Martins at Wilcote and the Calcutts at several farms also provided a core of stability to the parish until the 19th century.²⁶

Copyhold and leasehold were still prevalent in the earlier 17th century, and it was said to be common for a third of the crop to be paid to the landlord as rent. That system seems even then, however, to have been giving place to rack rents.²⁷ From the mid 17th century land was enfranchised to meet the financial difficulties of Thomas Pope.²⁸ Several small freeholds seem to have been created then and under the Holman family in the 1660s and 1670s, a process halted by the succession in 1676 of a resident lord, James Perrott.²⁹ Already owner of King's farm,³⁰ he became overwhelmingly the largest landowner in the parish, with a demesne of c. 13 yardlands and most of the rest in the hands of his tenants.³¹ The number of holdings fluctuated, but declined from c. 60 in 1700 to c. 50 in the 1720s, at which level it appears to have stabilized.

Soon after inheriting the manor James Leigh-Perrott began to press for inclosure and induced Bridewell hospital to support him.³² A private

¹³ P.R.O., SC 6/959/8–26; 960/1–27; 961/1–3.

¹⁴ P.R.O., SC 2/197/54–5; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, pp. 62–3, 65–6, 76–82, 85, 87–90.

¹⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868–70; ct. roll of 1530, since lost, quoted in Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. 83; P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/3326, m. 11.

¹⁶ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/3326, mm. 10d.–11; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, pp. 64, 68; above, Manors and other estates.

¹⁷ P.R.O., SC 6/959/12; SC 6/960/19–20, 27.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* E 179/161/175, m. 8.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* E 321/37/8, f. 1 and v.; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 178, ff. 12–13.

²⁰ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 181, f. 112; *Witney Ct. Bks.* 1538–60 (O.R.S. liv), *passim*.

²¹ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/3326, mm. 10d.–11; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, *passim*.

²² *Oxonienisia*, xl. 318.

²³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, pp. 87–9.

²⁴ *Ibid.* MS. Trin. Coll. B 83, f. 2; P.R.O., REQ 2/103/78; *ibid.* C 2 Jas. I/F1/39; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 118, f. 141; *Witney Ct. Bks.* 1538–1610 (O.R.S. liv), 70; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 187, f. 361.

²⁵ P.R.O., C 3/384/6.

²⁶ Above, Manor and other estates.

²⁷ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 118, ff. 239–40v., 265–6.

²⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. e 184, f. 42; MSS. Ch. Oxon. 2523–5; Blenheim Mun., box 105.

²⁹ Blenheim Mun., boxes 103, 106, 109; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/59; above, Manor and other estates.

³⁰ Above, Manor.

³¹ O.R.O., land tax assess.

³² Bridewell Hosp. Mun., ct. bks. 1757–8.

Act, one of the first for the county, was obtained in 1758, and inclosure began in the following year.³³ The award allotted 1,310 a. of open-field land and 395 a. of heath; a further 146 a. of heath was set aside for cottagers to continue holding in common. The chief allottees, apart from the vicar, received a proportion of their award as heath land. Leigh-Perrott received in all 545 a., including a broad swathe through the middle of the parish from north to south and Sturt field in the east and 91 a. of heath. Bridewell hospital received 323 a. for tithes and the rectorial glebe. The vicar was allotted 127 a. for his glebe and tithes. William Perrott received 205 a.; Combe and Stonesfield parishes were allotted 15 a. adjoining Stonesfield ford and 40 a., later known as the Demesnes, adjoining Hanborough for common rights. The remaining 369 a. were divided among 30 people whose allotments ranged from $\frac{3}{4}$ a. to 39 a.

Inclosure of the heath provoked riots and fence-breaking, apparently by labourers and small tradesmen who had traditionally relied on the heath to provide fuel and grazing. By erecting fences before the award was published Leigh-Perrott may have excited rumours that the whole heath was to be inclosed.³⁴ Further riots in 1761, directed against Bridewell hospital and William Perrott, alarmed the authorities into sending the Berkshire militia to restore order.³⁵ In the wake of the disturbances the manor court met and fixed a stint of 4 sheep or 1 cow or $\frac{1}{2}$ horse for each cottager, who might also cut and remove as much furze as he could carry on his back.³⁶ Resentment smouldered on, flaring up in occasional outbursts of destruction during holidays and festivals.³⁷ In 1813 cottage owners, led by George Spencer, duke of Marlborough, agreed that inclosure of the heath should be completed, and a new award was made in 1814. The duke was allotted 42 a., Thomas and Anne Bird 41 a., and 12 owners the remaining 60 a.³⁸ Popular reaction is not recorded.

Few new farmhouses were built as a result of inclosure. Where possible, allotments of inclosed land adjoined the houses and closes of recipients.³⁹ Several houses already lay conveniently in outlying positions amidst ancient inclosure. Bridewell hospital built Bridewell Farm in 1761;⁴⁰ its house at Heath Farm, south of the New Yatt road, is recorded only from the 1840s.⁴¹

After inclosure the duke of Marlborough became dominant in North Leigh, buying the manorial estate in 1765 and Perrottshill and its land in 1766.⁴² Some small freeholds were also added and by 1863 the Blenheim estate owned 1,347 a. in the parish.⁴³ Other small estates were accumulated by outsiders: Henry North, for instance, a Woodstock lawyer, acquired in 1792 c. 30 a. in East End, later known as Field farm, which became part of the Blenheim estate in 1849.⁴⁴ The number of owner-occupiers declined slowly, from c. 20 in the later 18th century to c. 15 in the earlier 19th,⁴⁵ and the number of separate farms was reduced. In 1764 there were six farms on the manorial estate and two on William Perrott's; by 1799 they had been reduced to four, Holly Court (250 a.), Church farm (210 a.), the older Field farm (190 a.), and, probably, East End farm (230 a.).⁴⁶

Few major tenant farmers in the later 18th century and 19th were North Leigh men, apparently for want of working capital. The Calcutt family was perhaps the most successful over a prolonged period, holding several of the chief farms at various times, but by 1851 the family, despite its earlier proliferation, had few members in the parish.⁴⁷ Of 13 farms with 50 a. or more in 1851 only two were worked by men born in North Leigh, a ratio that altered little for three decades or longer.⁴⁸

Agricultural depression in the later 19th century and early 20th led to changing ownership and the break-up of the largest estates. Bridewell's tenant at Heath farm was said in 1881 to have lost money for years, and his rent was rebated; in 1920 the entire Bridewell estate was sold.⁴⁹ Also in 1881 a bailiff was managing 500 a. of the Blenheim estate, presumably for lack of tenants.⁵⁰ Much of the estate was sold and divided in 1886⁵¹ and further reduced by sales in the 20th century, notably of Perrottshill farm in 1920 to its tenant, Edgar Woodward, who in 1952 also bought Field farm, East End.⁵² James Mason of Eynsham Hall began extensive purchases in the late 19th century, and the Eynsham Estate Co. was the predominant landowner until it sold much land after 1945.⁵³

Inventories from the 16th century to the earlier 18th indicate that mixed farming was the norm. Wheat and barley were the principal crops, with peas, vetches, and oats.⁵⁴ Occasional references have been found to rye, hemp, and hops.⁵⁵ Most farmers kept cattle, and herds were

³³ North Leigh Incl. Act, 31 Geo. II, c. 29 (Priv. Act); O.R.O., incl. award.

³⁴ Fence-breaking was reported in March, 6 weeks before publ. of the award: *Oxf. Jnl.* 3 Mar. 1759.

³⁵ Ibid. 21 Mar., 26 Sept. 1761; O.R.O., Q.S.R. i, ff. 349v.-51.

³⁶ Blenheim Mun., B/M/275, ct. of 6 Nov. 1761.

³⁷ *Oxf. Jnl.* 7 Aug. 1762.

³⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 107, copy of incl. award; box 124, abstract of title (1867), ff. 38-45.

³⁹ O.R.O., incl. award; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/61.

⁴⁰ Date on ho. Bridewell Hosp. Mun., estate bk. 25 May, 1848; R. Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797); A. Bryant, *Oxon. Map* (1824).

⁴¹ Above, Manor and other estates.

⁴² Blenheim Mun., boxes 105, 108, 124; *ibid.* E/P/58.

⁴³ Ibid. box 104, abstract of title. The farm is distinct from the older-established Field farm north-west of the parish church.

⁴⁴ O.R.O., land tax assess.

⁴⁵ Blenheim Mun., box 124; *ibid.* B/M/287.

⁴⁶ B. Schumer, *Calcutts of N. Leigh* (priv. print. 1970), i. 10 sqq.; ii, figs. 6-15; Blenheim Mun., box 124; *ibid.* B/M/287; P.R.O., HO 107/1731.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., HO 107/1731; *ibid.* RG 9/904; RG 10/1450; RG 11/1513.

⁴⁸ Bridewell Hosp. Mun., Oxon. Rep. bk. s.a. 1881; above, Manor and other estates.

⁴⁹ P.R.O., RG 11/1513.

⁵⁰ Above, Manor and other estates.

⁵¹ O.R.O., S.C. 45; Blenheim Mun., duplicate conveyance of Field farm.

⁵² Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/1/108, 121-2, 129-32; 22/2/204-7.

⁵³ Unless otherwise stated the para. is based on wills and inventories in O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon.

⁵⁴ For hops see Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 2523-4; *ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. e 184, f. 42.

relatively large, averaging 7 or 8 animals throughout the period. The median size of 21 sheep flocks recorded in inventories before the mid 17th century was an unexceptional 16 animals. As elsewhere, the size of flocks increased sharply thereafter, although rather fewer farmers kept sheep: the median size of 14 flocks noted in the later 17th century and earlier 18th was 64.⁵⁶ Sheep rearing, however, was never on a scale to render the parish wealthy, as is witnessed by the unremarkable houses of the period. Two-thirds of North Leigh inventories were of goods valued at less than £100, and more than half were below £50. In 1662 as many as 43 out of 109 houses seem to have been exempted from payment of hearth tax because of poverty.⁵⁷ Some of those exempted lived above subsistence level: William Franklin (d. 1667) left an estate valued at £30, including £18 in cash and clothing.⁵⁸

Following inclosure the amount of arable in the parish seems to have increased.⁵⁹ Probably the greatest single change was the ploughing up of the heath south of the New Yatt road. The broad band of clay on the high ground from New Yatt round to East End seems to have remained grassland. In 1801 the parish was almost evenly divided between arable and grass.⁶⁰ By 1876 two thirds of cultivated land was arable,⁶¹ although the amount was reduced thereafter until by 1914 almost half the cultivable land in the parish was again permanent pasture, only 40 per cent arable. Of three types of soil, the clay was difficult in wet weather and gave a poor crop of grass, the reclaimed heath was 'cold and late country of bad reputation', and the predominant cornbrash was excellent for sheep and barley. Nevertheless the parish in 1914 had few sheep, a greater number of dairy cattle, and many pigs. Barley, wheat, and, to a lesser extent, oats were the main crops. Potatoes and mangolds were grown extensively.⁶² In the early 20th century James Francis Mason of Eynsham Hall established the North Leigh Land Co. to sell to cottagers on advantageous terms c. 30 a. of land that he had given for the purpose. The land, off Park Road, was extended by c. 1920 to 100 a., and 5 per cent of the purchase money was reserved for communal use. In 1909 the county council took over a number of allotments, demand for which was said to be high. Smallholders and allotment holders seem to have grown a wide variety of crops including barley for pigs and wheat.⁶³ As elsewhere, arable production increased in the later 20th century and several farmhouses such

as Holly Court Farm, Puddle End Farm, and East End Farm were converted to purely domestic use. Perrottshill farm and Field farm, East End, were thrown together and almost entirely given over to raising beef cattle. On other farms beef cattle or arable crops replaced dairy cattle. Part of Church farm was used to grow wheat by 'old-fashioned methods' to provide straw for thatching and handicrafts.⁶⁴ In 1982 Field farm, North Leigh, started breeding horses, mainly Arab and Welsh, and in 1986 there were c. 50 animals.⁶⁵ In 1983 a Scots farmer, Stuart Hamilton, introduced the farming of red deer on Ashford Mill farm; in 1986 the herd numbered 300. In 1984 and 1985 red and fallow deer from outside the parish were wintered at New Yatt farm.⁶⁶

Osney Hill was in the 18th century and early 19th still heavily wooded and valued for its shooting.⁶⁷ From the later 19th century, as part of the Eynsham Park estate, it was a farm, varying in size from c. 70 a. to c. 200 a., raising corn and cattle until in the 1980s it was given over entirely to winter wheat.⁶⁸

North Leigh's most important market from the 16th century to the 18th seems to have been Witney. In 1587 the Privy Council, to prevent forestalling, ordered five North Leigh farmers to bring wheat, barley, malt, and peas weekly for sale at Witney; one was also ordered to bring malt monthly to Woodstock.⁶⁹ North Leigh's links with Oxford market appear to have been slight⁷⁰ before the city's rapid expansion in the 19th century. Improved rail links with London in the later 19th century probably encouraged the expansion of dairy farming.

There are references from the 16th century to the usual rural tradesmen and craftsmen. In 1594 a shop, probably a weaver's workshop, was said to have been built recently, probably in Church Road.⁷¹ Another, known in the 18th century as the 'old weaver's shop', may have stood near the later windmill.⁷² North Leigh's proximity to Witney accounts for the presence of weavers and clothiers. Best known is the clothier William Mason, who in 1648 loaned money to Charles I.⁷³ At his death in 1676 he owned three broadlooms, at Cassington, at New Yatt, and at his own shop in North Leigh. His inventory included wool worth £12, woollen yarn worth £14, and blankets worth £16, at the mill, possibly in Witney where he owned property.⁷⁴ In the 19th century the parish was heavily dependent on direct employment in agriculture, with many in related trades such as smiths and wheelwrights. There were many

⁵⁶ Cf. M. A. Havinden, 'Agric. Progress in Open-field Oxon.' *Agric. H. R.* ix. 79–80.

⁵⁷ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, no. 284.

⁵⁸ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 127/2/14.

⁵⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 107.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., HO 67/18.

⁶¹ O.S. *Area Bk.* (1877).

⁶² Orr, *Oxon. Agric.* 179 and statistical plates.

⁶³ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/65; 22/2/432; 22/15/18. A. Ashby, *Allotments and Smallholdings in Oxon.* 143–5; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1915 and later edns.); O.R.O., Welch XCV/1.

⁶⁴ Inf. from Mr. J. Woodward, Perrottshill Farm. Unless otherwise stated, inf. on modern farming has been obtained from a survey conducted for the V.C.H. in 1986 by

N. Leigh members of the Assoc. of Students of the Third Age.

⁶⁵ Inf. from Mr. A. Mathias, Field Farm.

⁶⁶ *Oxf. Times*, 22 Nov. 1985.

⁶⁷ O.R.O., QSD/GI/1, p. 206; QSD/GI/2, p. 30.

⁶⁸ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/2/204–7.

⁶⁹ P.R.O., SP 12/198, f. 107.

⁷⁰ W. Thwaites, 'Marketing of Agric. Produce in 18th-cent. Oxon.' (Birmingham Univ. Ph. D. thesis, 1981).

⁷¹ Bodl. MS. North Adds. c 2, f. 6.

⁷² Blenheim Mun., B/M/270, 274; Reading Univ. Arch. OXF 22/5/60.

⁷³ *Cal. Cttee. for Money*, ii. 999.

⁷⁴ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 45/3/9. J. Milne, *Cat. Oxon. 17th-cent. Tokens*, pp. x, 13, 41.

gloveresses, presumably working for Woodstock masters: 50 or 60 were usually so employed between 1851 and 1881, and in 1871 there were 94, living mainly at East End, where most households included at least one in the trade.⁷⁵ A few men worked in quarries. The largest, at East End, was leased first to a local mason then, from 1463 to 1485 or later, to the churchwardens of South Leigh to dig freestone. Another, unidentified, was leased to North Leigh men during the same period, as was the quarry and limepit in Church field at the west end of Boddington Lane.⁷⁶ In 1595 tenants of the manor claimed use of the quarry at East End for the repair of tenements, and there was also said to be a common mortar pit on the heath, perhaps in the area later known as the Demesnes.⁷⁷ Stone from East End was much used in the later 18th century by the Oxford paving commission⁷⁸ and in 1788 to build Oriel College library.⁷⁹ The quarry was owned and worked in the later 19th century by the Lord family, but seems to have fallen into virtual disuse in the 1890s.⁸⁰ The Boddington Lane limepit was worked by the Breakspear family until the Second World War, and in the 19th century supplied lime to the gasworks at Witney.⁸¹ The quarry there closed c. 1967 and became a refuse tip for the county council.⁸² Other quarries at various times included those south of Bridgefield bridge, at Whitehill, and at the Demesnes, where sand and gravel were still extracted in the early 20th century.⁸³ There were clays in the south part of the Demesnes, but no brick kilns have been found in North Leigh, and the eight brickmakers in East End in 1861 presumably worked at Eynsham Park or Hanborough.⁸⁴ Like other places in the area North Leigh has in the 20th century increasingly become a dormitory for Oxford and elsewhere. A nursery and garden centre opposite the north lodge of Eynsham Park was considerably expanded in the 1980s. A large boarding kennels was at Puddle End Farm, a small engineering business and a firm of motor factors were on the Witney–Woodstock road, a plant hire business was in Green Lane, and there were shops at North Leigh village and at East End.

MILLS. A mill was recorded in 1086.⁸⁵ It descended with the manor as part of the honor of

St. Valery,⁸⁶ and in 1237 was held of the honor partly by Simon of Pattishall (Northants.), who granted his share in that year to Snelshall priory (Bucks.),⁸⁷ and partly by Netley abbey, to which the priory sold its share soon after.⁸⁸ In 1279 the abbey had two water mills in North Leigh;⁸⁹ Ashford mill may at that time have been a double mill, or a separate mill may have been built, perhaps near Holly Court. In 1306 and 1327 two millers were recorded, apparently living at some distance from each other.⁹⁰ No other reference to a second mill has been found. Ashford mill seems to have been rebuilt in 1449.⁹¹ In the earlier 18th century the mill house was small and its occupants were poor.⁹² From the later 18th century it also served as a farmhouse.⁹³ The mill was rebuilt in 1839.⁹⁴ For much of the later 19th century and early 20th the tenant was Emmanuel Jarvis, who by 1881 had increased the farm to 270 a.⁹⁵ The mill was included in the sale of Blenheim lands in 1886,⁹⁶ but it was not resold; milling ceased at about that time. Repairs were made and new buildings erected, but thereafter Ashford mill served only as a house for a small farm.⁹⁷ The mill passed with Wilcote House until 1983, when it was bought by Stuart Hamilton.⁹⁸

North Leigh windmill was built by 1833, probably by Joseph Shepherd, baker and miller.⁹⁹ Its site, at the junction of Common Road and Park Road, formed part of the award made to Thomas Shepherd at inclosure.¹ The mill had by 1875 been acquired by the Blenheim estate, which sold it in that year to James Mason. Everard Healey bought it in 1923 and remained the owner in 1986.² The mill was restored in 1881 and again in 1933. Its top was removed c. 1940 to make an observation post. The building became ruinous, and in 1986 West Oxfordshire district council was trying to compel repairs.³

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. The tenants of North Leigh, like others in the honor of St. Valery, had by 1255 had their suit at Wootton hundred court withdrawn by Richard, earl of Cornwall (d. 1272). A twice yearly view of frankpledge was held instead by the earl's bailiffs, who increased the payment demanded from the tenants from 5s. to 20s., by far the largest sum in the whole honor.⁴ The view was

⁷⁵ *Census*, 1801–31; P.R.O., HO 107/890, 1731; *ibid.* RG 9/904; RG 10/1450; RG 11/1513.

⁷⁶ P.R.O., SC 6/960/11–27; SC 6/961/1–3.

⁷⁷ *Bodl. MS. North Adds.* c 2, f. 26v.

⁷⁸ *Oxf. Jnl.* 1 Jan., 14 May 1774; 30 Mar. 1776; 26 Apr. 1777.

⁷⁹ W. Arkell, *Oxf. Stone*, 80, 88.

⁸⁰ P.R.O., HO 107/173; *ibid.* RG 9/904; RG 10/1450; RG 11/1513; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1895); O.S. Map 25", Oxon. XXVI.14 (1899 edn.).

⁸¹ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1907–39); *19th-cent. Extractive Ind.* (County Mus. inf. sheet).

⁸² *Nor' Lye News*, no. 139 (Feb. 1985): copy in Westgate Libr., Oxf.; local inf.

⁸³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 45.
⁸⁴ P.R.O., RG 9/904; O.S. Map 25", Oxon. XXVI. 6, 9–10, 14 (1881).

⁸⁵ *Pipe R.* 1177 (P.R.S. xxvi), 15; 1182 (P.R.S. xxxi), 7.

⁸⁶ *Cart. Snelshall Priory* (Bucks. Rec. Soc. ix), pp. 64–5; *Jnl. Eccl. Hist.* xxx. 15.

⁸⁷ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868.

⁸⁸ *Cat. Anct. D.* iii, D 93.

⁸⁹ P.R.O., E 179/161/9–10.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* SC 6/959/24.

⁹¹ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 62/2/27; 168/4/8, 13; 137/1/43.

⁹² Blenheim Mun., box 124, abstract of title, 1867; *ibid.* B/M/287, schedule of farms, 1799.

⁹³ Date on mill.

⁹⁴ P.R.O., HO 107/1731; *ibid.* RG 9/904; RG 10/1450; RG 11/1513; Northants. R.O., S(R) 364.

⁹⁵ Above, Manor and other estates.

⁹⁶ Northants. R.O., S(R) 364, 390.

⁹⁷ Inf. from Hon. Mrs. C. E. Cecil.

⁹⁸ O.S. Map 1", Oxon. XLV (1833 edn.); P.R.O., RG 10/904; RG 10/1450; J. Kibble, *Wychwood Forest*, 88.

⁹⁹ O.R.O., incl. award.

¹ Blenheim Mun., box marked 'Hensington and N. Leigh', enfranchisement of copyholds, 1875; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/2/204, p. 153; *ibid.* 22/5/60; *ibid.* 22/16/7/13; local inf.

² *Oxon. Life*, Aug. 1980, 6; local inf.

³ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 34, 47, 868; L. Midgley, *Accts. of Earldom of Cornwall* (Camd. 3rd ser. lxvi), 143.

granted in 1330 to Netley abbey by Edmund, earl of Cornwall.⁵ It became attached thereafter to the manor court, which seems to have sat two or three times a year in the 14th century, and only twice a year, in spring and autumn, thereafter; the view of frankpledge was held with the spring court.⁶ Fragments of court rolls survive for 1392 and 1398,⁷ and records are increasingly common from the 16th century.⁸

In the late 15th century and earlier 16th separate tithingmen were elected for New Well End and Church End, but a single constable served for the whole manor.⁹ From the later 16th century there was a single tithing only.¹⁰ The manor court, usually called a court baron, appointed alesters, haywards, and surveyors of the fields, heard presentments of encroachments, nuisances, and breaches of the assize of bread and of ale, and regulated the fields and the transfer of copyholds.¹¹ From the later 18th century the court was predominantly concerned with land transactions. The last admission to a copyhold was in 1925.¹²

Holly Court was in 1540 and 1622 the 'usual and accustomed place' for holding manor courts.¹³ When James Perrott became lord in 1676, the court may have been moved to his house, the old manor house.¹⁴ In 1871, and presumably on other occasions, it met at the Mason Arms.¹⁵

In the 1770s and 1780s the parish spent c. £130 a year on poor relief, but, as elsewhere, expenditure rose rapidly in the late 18th century, and stood in 1803 at £686, at c. £1 6s. per head of population one of the highest in the area.¹⁶ A peak was reached in 1814 at £1,109, representing £2 a head.¹⁷ Expenditure declined thereafter in an irregular manner, and in the twenties and thirties varied from c. £380 to c. £580, still above average.¹⁸ Spending on settlement cases was consistently high.¹⁹

A parish workhouse was from 1768 farmed to local men. In 1776 the overseers agreed with Thomas Brooks, a North Leigh cordwainer, that in return for £120 a year and the profits of the paupers' labour he was to find a suitable house and provide for the inmates. Another contract specified nursing the infirm and teaching pauper children.²⁰ In 1777 the house could take 35,²¹ perhaps then almost all the paupers in the parish. In 1800, when there were 24 inmates including 3 children, there were only 12 beds.

Tools and working materials were provided for the able-bodied in the workhouse, who were chiefly employed in carding and spinning for Witney factories: in 1800 eight spinning wheels were kept. The house at that time was managed by the overseers, not a contractor, and in 1803 earnings of £20 were recorded, of which £5 was profit.²² The workhouse was last recorded in 1815, and in 1831 there was said to be no workhouse.²³ A local tradition identifies the Mason Arms as the workhouse.²⁴

In the later 18th century contractors seem to have farmed all the poor, in and out of the workhouse, but by c. 1800 the overseers had resumed direct management.²⁵ By 1803 when the workhouse, with 28 inmates, was almost full, there were 40 adults and 69 children receiving regular out-relief;²⁶ more than a quarter of the population was in receipt of relief. Those on out-relief were, like those in the workhouse, employed in textile out-work, and no reference has been found to roundsmen. Although the numbers receiving relief later declined regular out-relief continued to be given.²⁷

In 1834 North Leigh became part of the Witney poor law union and in 1894 part of Witney rural district. In 1974 the parish was incorporated in West Oxfordshire district.²⁸

Osney Hill was extra-parochial until c. 1871 it was made a civil parish.²⁹ Grouped with North Leigh from 1894 for poor law purposes and for the election of district councillors,³⁰ it was in 1932 annexed to North Leigh civil parish.³¹

CHURCH. Part of the fabric of the church is pre-Conquest. An unsuccessful attempt of 1238 to claim jurisdiction in neighbouring Stonesfield³² may hint at an early relationship with that parish. The ecclesiastical parish of North Leigh remained unaltered until 1953, when it was greatly enlarged by the annexation of Eynsham Park, Osney Hill, and the eastern part of Hailey, including New Yatt.³³

The church was given to Eynsham abbey between 1140 and 1150 by John of St. John, lord of the honor of St. Valery. The abbey seems to have lost possession, for a confirmation c. 1200 by Thomas of St. Valery made no mention of North Leigh church, and Thomas's successor Robert, count of Dreux, presented to the living in 1225.³⁴ The church passed with the manor of

⁵ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1327-41, 169.

⁶ P.R.O., SC 6/959/6-7, 17 sqq.

⁷ Ibid. SC 2/197/52-3.

⁸ Ibid. 54-5; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 769; *ibid.* MSS. North Adds. c 2, c 7; Blenheim Mun. B/M/265-78.

⁹ e.g. P.R.O., SC 2/197/54; SC 2/197/55, ct. of 31 Mar. 1525.

¹⁰ e.g. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 769, ff. 3v.-5v.

¹¹ e.g. P.R.O., SC 2/197/54-5; Bodl. MSS. North Adds. c 2, ff. 108v.-9; c 7, f. 11.

¹² Blenheim Mun., B/M/270, 275-8.

¹³ P.R.O., E 321/37/8, f. 5v.; *ibid.* C 3/384/6.

¹⁴ Above, Manor and other estates.

¹⁵ O.R.O., Rob. VII/i/4.

¹⁶ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406-7.

¹⁷ Ibid. 1818, 360-1.

¹⁸ *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 556, p. 138 (1822), v; *ibid.* H.C. 334, p. 174 (1825), iv; *ibid.* H.C. 83, p. 161 (1830-1), xi; *ibid.* H.C. 444, p. 157 (1835), xlvii.

¹⁹ *Poor Abstract*, 1777, 439; *ibid.* 1804, 406-7; *ibid.* 1818,

360-1; O.R.O., NP V-VI.

²⁰ O.R.O., NP I/7, 10; NP XI/1.

²¹ *Poor Abstract*, 1777, 439.

²² Ibid. 1804, 406-7; O.R.O., NP IX/14, 16-17, 20, 30, 32-7, 50, 68-9; NP XI/1.

²³ *Poor Abstract*, 1818, 360-1; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 151.

²⁴ Local inf.

²⁵ O.R.O., NP I/7, 10; NP IX/14, 16-17, 20, 30, 32-7, 50, 68-9; NP XI/1.

²⁶ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406-7.

²⁷ Ibid. 1818, 360-1.

²⁸ O.R.O., RO 3251, p. 203; RO 3267.

²⁹ *Census*, 1871.

³⁰ O.R.O., RO 258; RO 3251, p. 203.

³¹ *Census*, 1931.

³² *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 190.

³³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1911.

³⁴ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 57-8, 60, 130-1; ii, p. lvi; *Rot. Welles*, ii (L.R.S. vi), 18.

North Leigh until c. 1278, when Edmund, earl of Cornwall, gave it to Hailes abbey (Glos.), founded by his father Richard.³⁵ The rectory was appropriated by the abbey in 1279 and a vicarage ordained.³⁶ The advowson of the vicarage was retained by the abbey until its dissolution in 1539, when it passed to the Crown. Grants of the advowson to the lay rectors in 1544³⁷ and to Sir Thomas Pope in 1545³⁸ seem not to have been effective, for the Crown and from 1838 the Lord Chancellor presented to the living.³⁹

At appropriation in 1279 the vicarage was endowed with the former parsonage house, altar offerings, 10 a. of glebe, and a moiety of the hay tithes.⁴⁰ Small tithes were not then mentioned, but by 1312 Netley abbey had compounded for the payment to the vicar of some small tithes.⁴¹ A dispute in the 1470s perhaps derived from an unsuccessful attempt by the vicar to take tithe lambs and wool.⁴² The living was valued at c. £9 in the earlier 16th century,⁴³ and it remained poor in the later 17th century, despite a small increase in the amount of glebe to c. 14 a. in 1581 and c. 17 a. in 1686.⁴⁴ In 1675 the living was worth less than £30,⁴⁵ and only £38 in the early 18th century.⁴⁶ At inclosure in 1759 the vicar received 14 a. in exchange for glebe and 113 a. for tithes, mostly in a compact allotment near the vicarage.⁴⁷ An increase of value to £98 a year in the early 19th century⁴⁸ can perhaps be ascribed to the benefits of inclosure, but the living remained relatively poor.

When the rectory close was divided in 1279, the vicar took the part that included the house, next to the church, and the rector kept the part containing the barns.⁴⁹ In the 17th century, and presumably earlier, the vicarage had its own barn, a stable, orchard, and garden. The house, a building of four bays,⁵⁰ was reported 'decayed and ruinous' in 1726, and it was demolished and rebuilt soon after. The new house, apparently built 6 yd. from its predecessor,⁵¹ is a tall, symmetrical, five-bayed building, of two storeys with attic dormers; it is of local stone with a stone slate roof. Its large casement windows with mullions and transoms, surviving intact on the first floor, are in a style that has led to the house's attribution to the late 17th century.⁵²

Despite a claim of 1811 that the house was 'too small for occupation'⁵³ it was one of the largest in the parish. It was much enlarged at the rear and in 1981 was sold as too big.

An incumbent was recorded c. 1150.⁵⁴ Hailes abbey presented several vicars whose surnames suggest that they came from near the abbey:⁵⁵ two were from the abbey's manor of Didbrook (Glos.).⁵⁶ In the 14th century it was usual for incumbents, 14 of whom are known, to move on after a few years. There were, by contrast, only four in the 15th century, Richard Jolyf, 1403–48, and Roger Ridley, 1469–1524, between them serving for a hundred years. Ridley was probably from a leading family of North Leigh copyholders, and may himself have farmed in the parish.⁵⁷ The two women living in his house in 1520⁵⁸ may have been members of his family.

In the earlier 16th century lights were maintained in the church,⁵⁹ and in 1549 land given for that purpose was sold by the Crown to William Ward, a speculator. At the same time he obtained a cottage and land 'given to an anniversary' in the church.⁶⁰

Bartholomew Gunstone or Gunson, vicar 1524–35, farmed two copyhold yardlands in the parish⁶¹ and employed a curate in 1530.⁶² John Mitchell, vicar 1546–73, Thomas Taylor, a local man, vicar 1573–1618, and Thomas Twitty, vicar 1618–62, also farmed in the parish;⁶³ close involvement in parish life is further suggested by the frequency with which they attested local wills. Mitchell was owed money by several parishioners, notably by William King, one of the most prominent men in North Leigh. The attendance of members of the King family at Mitchell's deathbed was followed by the discovery that the vicar's 'book of reckonings', an object of lively speculation in the village, was missing.⁶⁴ Bartholomew Gunstone was the first incumbent known to have attended university;⁶⁵ Thomas Taylor, said in 1593 to be 'weak in learning',⁶⁶ was the last who did not. Thomas Twitty held the living with that of Wilcote and was chaplain to the lord of North Leigh, Thomas Pope, earl of Downe.⁶⁷ David Price, vicar 1731–83, was a fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. For many years he served the cure

³⁵ *Cal. Chart. R.* ii. 208; iii. 490.

³⁶ *Rot. Gravesend* (L.R.S. xx), 181–8. For the descent of the rectory see above, Manors and other estates.

³⁷ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (2), pp. 77, 188.

³⁸ *Ibid.* xx (1), p. 219.

³⁹ Bacon, *Liber Regis*, 807; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1864 and later edns.); *Pluralities Act*, 1 & 2 Vic. c. 106.

⁴⁰ *Rot. Gravesend* (L.R.S. xx), 187–8, 235; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 142, f. 357.

⁴¹ P.R.O., E 210/6841.

⁴² *Ibid.* SC 6/960/22, 27.

⁴³ *Subsidy, 1526* (O.H.S. lxii), 268; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Corn.), ii. 184.

⁴⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, *passim*; O.R.O., Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 61, ff. 52, 54.

⁴⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 155, f. 3.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* f. 39; Ecton, *Liber Valorum*, 259; Bacon, *Liber Regis*, 807.

⁴⁷ O.R.O., incl. award.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 446, f. 131.

⁴⁹ *Rot. Gravesend* (L.R.S. xx), 187–8, 235.

⁵⁰ O.R.O., Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 142, ff. 52, 54.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 455, f. 104.

⁵² e.g. Pevsner, *Oxon.* 721; Min. of Housing, Provisional

List of Bldgs. (1949).

⁵³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 549, f. 124.

⁵⁴ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 130. For a list (incomplete) of medieval incumbents see Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 460.

⁵⁵ e.g. Henry of Farncombe, Walter of Bledington: Lincs. R.O., Episc. Reg. ii, f. 265; Episc. Reg. ix, f. 247v.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* Episc. Reg. ii, f. 265; Episc. Reg. ix, f. 241.

⁵⁷ P.R.O., SC 6/960–1, *passim*; SC 6/Hen. VIII/3326, mm. 10d.–11; SC 2/197/54–5, *passim*.

⁵⁸ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* 1517–31, i (L.R.S. xxxiii), 129.

⁵⁹ e.g. O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 179, f. 245 and v.; 181, f. 112.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1548–9, 325, 328; P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/3326, m. 10d.

⁶¹ P.R.O., SC 2/197/54; SC 6/Hen. VIII/3326, m. 11.

⁶² *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* 1517–31, ii (L.R.S. xxxv), 56.

⁶³ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. c 769, f. 21v.; c 771, f. 19; d 170, f. 48; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 153/3/37.

⁶⁴ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 21, ff. 439–40, 442 and v., 445–6v.

⁶⁵ *Alum. Oxon.* 1500–1714.

⁶⁶ O.A.S. Rep. (1913). Taylor's estate included books valued at £3; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 153/3/37.

⁶⁷ *Walker Revised*, ed. Matthews, 387.

personally, staying at the vicarage almost half the year. In 1751 he became rector of Aston Clinton (Bucks.), and at North Leigh routine work was undertaken by curates, often young Welshmen from Jesus College. Most notable was John Price, 1766–70, Bodley's Librarian; the book of benefactions, which he allegedly appropriated,⁶⁸ seems rather to have belonged to the Perrott family and to have been given to him after the death of William Perrott in 1765.⁶⁹ George Seele, vicar 1783–1810, was also curate of Cogges and master of Witney grammar school.⁷⁰ Benjamin Churchill, of a prominent Deddington family and fellow of the Queen's College,⁷¹ from 1812 took up permanent residence at the vicarage.⁷² He was also rector of Wilcote and perpetual curate of Appledram (Suss.), but in the late 1820s, seemingly implicated in his family's financial difficulties,⁷³ he took refuge in France. In 1833 the living was sequestered and transferred to his creditor,⁷⁴ until his death in 1839. The curates appointed during the sequestration held two services and a sermon on Sundays, communion four or five times a year, and catechism during Lent,⁷⁵ as had been the practice in the 18th century and the early 19th.

Isaac Gillam, vicar 1839–56, resided permanently in North Leigh, and reintroduced direct farming of the glebe, probably the last vicar to do so.⁷⁶ Relations with his parishioners were bad.⁷⁷ Gillam blamed the small congregations of only c. 70 on the church's isolation and poor roads,⁷⁸ but absenteeism was persistent, especially among those 'of the lowest rank', and non-conformity was increasingly attractive. In the later 19th century there was an Anglican revival: under Robert Fiske, 1862–83, the church was restored, the number of communicants trebled to c. 60, children's catechism classes flourished, and a Bible reading group for adults was established.⁷⁹

The church of *ST. MARY*⁸⁰ has an Anglo-Saxon tower and a 15th-century chapel of outstanding quality. The church, of coursed limestone rubble and ashlar, comprises the integral west tower, a chancel with south vestry and organ chamber, a nave with, on the north, the 15th-century chapel and a 17th-century chapel, and a south aisle and south porch.⁸¹ The exis-

tence of a substantial pre-Conquest church is evident from the tower, which is of the earlier 11th century. It is of oblong plan and formerly had a large arch, presumably into a nave, in its western face: in the mid 19th century traces of foundations were uncovered west of the tower, reputedly consistent with a nave of two bays.⁸² The external faces of the tower on the east and west retain the gable-marks of the early high-pitched roofs, and the 11th-century church is usually thought to have been axial.⁸³ The nave was presumably abandoned in or before the later 12th century, when an aisled nave of two bays was built east of the tower with a chancel beyond it. Early in the 13th century the tower arch was enlarged, and a new chancel of two bays was built, leaving the former chancel to serve as a third, unaisled, bay of the nave. There is a contemporary tomb recess on the north side of the chancel. In the earlier 14th century both aisles were rebuilt or remodelled and extended westwards, and arches were made in the north and south sides of the tower. The tower was given a new west window, the chancel a new east window. A doorway, now blocked, was put at the west end of the north wall of the north aisle,⁸⁴ and in the south aisle a mid 12th-century doorway was reset, its opening and tympanum being recut. A doorway on the south side of the chancel was built or remodelled in 14th-century style.⁸⁵

In the mid 14th century a crocketed ogee arch, perhaps over a tomb, was made in the north wall of the easternmost bay of the nave, and there was presumably a chapel continuing the north aisle. That chapel was replaced c. 1440 by the Wilcote chantry chapel,⁸⁶ a small, lavishly decorated building whose workmanship, notably that of the fan vaulting, is of a quality rarely found in parish churches; the chapel has been attributed to the master mason Richard Winchcombe.⁸⁷ Winchcombe, who had worked for New College, Oxford, may have been known to the Wilcotes family through the Wykehams.⁸⁸ Beneath the arch is a stone tomb bearing the alabaster effigies of Sir William Wilcotes (d. 1410) and his wife Elizabeth (d. 1445).⁸⁹ The effigies are of different lengths and are not fixed to the tomb;⁹⁰ Sir William's may have been prised from the centre to make room for his

⁶⁸ *D.N.B.*

⁶⁹ Notes by Miss M. R. Toynbee at back of Bodl. 2182 P d 47: Barnwell, *Perrott Notes*. The book has not been traced.

⁷⁰ M. Fleming, *Witney Grammar Sch.* 53, 56; D. McClatchey, *Oxon. Clergy, 1777–1869*, 55, 136.

⁷¹ *Alum. Oxon. 1715–1886*

⁷² O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 549, f. 124; d 575, f. 25.

⁷³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 98.

⁷⁴ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 150; b 39, f. 273v.; c 2261, item o.

⁷⁵ e.g. *Secker's Visit.* 103–10; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 556, ff. 129–32; d 562, f. 153; d 566, f. 129; b 38, f. 150.

⁷⁶ Faculty of 1877 in O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1912.

⁷⁷ *Letter Bks. of Sam. Wilberforce* (O.R.S. xlvii), p. 149.

⁷⁸ *Wilb. Visit.* 103–4; *Ch. and Chapel, 1851*, no. 316.

⁷⁹ e.g. O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc., d 179, ff. 273–4; d 180, ff. 834–5; c 332, ff. 306–7; c 344, ff. 283–4; c 347, ff. 294–5; c 350, ff. 239–40.

⁸⁰ Dedication to Our Lady was mentioned in 1525; *ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 178, ff. 12–13. The feast was probably that of the Assumption: above, Intro.

⁸¹ Descriptions in Parker, *Guide*, 162–6; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 719–20; exterior views, 1820, in Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 67, nos. 399, 400.

⁸² O.A.H.S. *Proc.* N.S. xx. 41 n.

⁸³ The stub of a contemporary wall, now part of the west wall of the N. aisle, could be the remains of a north transept: H. M. and J. Taylor, *A.-S. Archit.* i. 465.

⁸⁴ It was still in use in 1726: O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 455, f. 110.

⁸⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 67, no. 400.

⁸⁶ So called because of its assoc. with the Wilcote House estate: above, Manor and other estates.

⁸⁷ F. E. Howard, 'Ric. Winchcombe's Work', *Adderbury Rectoria* (O.R.S. viii), 34–41; J. Harvey, *Eng. Medieval Architects*, 296.

⁸⁸ Sir Wm. Wilcotes's daughter Eliz. married Thos. Wykeham (d. 1443) of Broughton: D. Fiennes, 'Wm. Fiennes and Marg. Wykeham', *Oxon. Fam. Hist.* ii (1), 5–6.

⁸⁹ A. Gardner, *Alabaster Tombs of pre-Reformation Eng.* 13, 54–5.

⁹⁰ Noted by J. Skelton in *Antiq. Oxon.* Wootton hund. 16.

wife's. All three chapel windows retain some contemporary heraldic and decorative glass.⁹¹

At about the time that the ogee arch was made, the division between nave and chancel seems to have reverted to the end of the 12th-century chancel. The roofs were reconstructed and the old chancel arch was removed, leaving the responds. In the 15th century new windows were put in the north and south aisles. The Wilcote chapel was repaired in 1557,⁹² and by the earlier 17th century the main body of the church was said to be in great decay and lacking funds for repairs.⁹³ Lavish expenditure later in the century was devoted to building a second north chapel, for the burial of members of the Perrott family, lords of the manor. James Perrott (d. 1724) obtained a licence for it in 1687,⁹⁴ and presumably built it soon after. He employed the Burford mason Christopher Kempster, who worked in a Classical style reminiscent of the London churches on which he had worked for Wren.⁹⁵ A contemporary wooden screen separates the chapel from the north aisle. Perrott initiated in 1723 a refitting of the church. The old pews were replaced, despite protests, and seats were put in the tower displacing the bell-ringers, for whom a belfry was built behind a gallery which probably had not long been built;⁹⁶ the Norman font was replaced by a wooden one⁹⁷ and put to serve as a water butt in the churchyard.⁹⁸ Other 18th-century alterations may have taken place at roughly the same time. By 1726 the chancel east window was blocked,⁹⁹ and it was later said to have been bricked up and covered by an Italian screen of painted deal. The north and south sides of the chancel were given large, plain, round-headed windows.¹ Chancel and nave were separated by a wooden screen with lockable doors, surmounted by iron spikes.² Thomas Warton, visiting the church c. 1776, noted changes to the Wilcote chapel: 'its outside roof was once of stone, since removed',³ perhaps accounting for the misalignment of the east window and gable.⁴

Restoration in the 19th century swept away all but the Perrott chapel of the extensive 17th- and 18th-century changes. In 1857 the bowl of the old font was taken from the churchyard, rechiselled, and returned to the church.⁵ Thorough restoration of the church was begun in 1864 under G. E. Street. Chancel, nave, and aisles were reroofed and refloored, and the chancel's plaster ceiling replaced with one of wood. The east window was reopened and used as a

model for the replacement of the other chancel windows and for a new east window for the south aisle. The altar and chancel screens were removed, and a 15th-century Doom painting was discovered at the east end of the nave; the rood beam was therefore left in position, the painting restored, and a stone screen built to Street's design with matching pulpit. Also uncovered were the Easter sepulchre on the north wall of the chancel and a 14th-century piscina on the south. The gallery was removed and the box pews replaced by low-backed benches. The south porch was completely rebuilt.⁶ The Wilcote chapel was largely untouched, but white-wash was scraped from the walls and the stonework left exposed.⁷ In 1914 the base of the tower was repaired. At the same time an oak reredos was installed in the chancel, and the chancel floor was repaved. Roughcast on the external walls of the church was removed. In 1954 the south aisle was extended eastwards to provide an organ chamber and vestry, forming a memorial to Annette (d. 1950), wife of Michael Mason of Eynsham Hall. The medieval wall painting was restored in 1967 under the direction of Mrs. Eve Baker.⁸

The chancel contains a brass figure of Thomas Beckingham (d. 1431), husband of Agnes Paynel,⁹ and a mural monument depicting Robert Perrott (d. 1605), his wife Susanna, and their eight children. A similar, though defaced, monument in the Wilcote chapel depicts William Lenthall (d. 1596) and his wife Frances, also with eight children. The Perrott chapel contains memorials of the Perrotts and their descendants the Musgraves; it includes an elaborate inscription to James Perrott.¹⁰ The chapel contains engraved brass plates taken from coffin lids. Among other memorials are those on the floor of the Wilcote chapel to members of the Martin family. That in the south aisle to the earl of Denbigh's brother Edward Feilding, who died in 1643 from wounds received at the first battle of Newbury and was buried at St. Mary the Virgin church, Oxford, was 'taken away by command of the Olivarians'¹¹ and was perhaps brought to North Leigh by Edward Perrott, a royalist.¹²

There is a sundial, possibly 12th-century, high up on the south wall east of the porch, and west of the porch is a mass dial. There are six bells, recast in 1875 from a ring of five, and a saunce reputedly 15th-century.¹³ Bells of unspecified number were mentioned from the 16th

⁹¹ E. A. G. Lamborn, *Armorial Glass of Oxf. Dioc.* 143-4; P. A. Newton, *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, i. 159-63.

⁹² O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 181, f. 102 and v.

⁹³ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 118, ff. 188v., 189v., 190v.

⁹⁴ Ibid. MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 455, f. 103; c 105, f. 10.

⁹⁵ Ibid. c 455, f. 103; H. M. Colvin, *Dict. Brit. Archit.* 486.

⁹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 445, f. 111 and v.; ibid. MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 25, f. 283.

⁹⁷ Parker, *Eccl. Top.* 219.

⁹⁸ The papers relating to the alterations of the 1720s are in O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 105, ff. 11-12; c 455, ff. 108 sqq.; ibid. MSS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 25, f. 283; c 26, f. 182v.

⁹⁹ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 455, f. 110.

¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 67, no. 401; ibid. MS. Don. d 140, f. 69.

² O.A.H.S. *Rep.* N.S. xx. 39-40.

³ Bodl. MS. Dep. c 635, f. 21.

⁴ Apparent in 1820: ibid. MS. Top. Oxon. a 67, no. 399.

⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. N. Leigh b 2: note inside front cover.

⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 104, f. 90; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 796, f. 157; ibid. MS. d.d. Par. N. Leigh b 2: newspaper cutting inside back cover.

⁷ J. Kibble, *Wychwood Forest*, 87.

⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1912.

⁹ For the Paynels see above, Manor and other estates.

¹⁰ O.A.S. *Rep.* (1908), 9.

¹¹ J. Nichols, *Hist. Leics.* iv. 294; *Wood's City of Oxf.* iii (O.H.S. xxxvii), 110-11, 244; Bodl. MS. Rawl. B 397, pp. 21-2.

¹² For Perrott see above, Intro., Manor and other estates.

¹³ *Ch. Bells Oxon.* ii, p. 200; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. N. Leigh b 2: cutting of 1876.

century.¹⁴ The clock on the east face of the tower was given in 1896 by Susanna Gascoigne.¹⁵ The church plate includes a silver paten of 1671 and a silver chalice of 1680, both given by Ursula, daughter of Edward Perrott. A pair of silver flagons is dated 1717.¹⁶ The churchyard, extended in 1877 and 1925,¹⁷ contains tombstones from the 17th century.

At inclosure in 1759 the parish clerk was allotted 3½ a.¹⁸ In 1899 the vicar appropriated the land, paying £4 a year for the clerk's stipend.¹⁹ A cottage at the north-east corner of the churchyard, known from the 16th century as the church house or town house and in the 19th as Church Cottage, was let by the churchwardens who used the proceeds for the church. By the later 19th century the cottage was usually occupied by the parish clerk.²⁰

NONCONFORMITY. James Barfoot and his wife were in 1577 the only Roman Catholics recorded in the parish,²¹ and there seem only to have been one or two thereafter.²² One of two men refusing the Protestation Oath in 1642 may have been George Stuart, Seigneur d'Aubigny.²³ Edward Perrott (d. 1729), a supporter of James II, was listed in 1706 as a papist.²⁴ Then and in 1738 there were said to be one or two papists 'of the lowest rank' who had moved to North Leigh from Kiddington, a centre of Roman Catholicism.²⁵ An aged widow was mentioned as a Catholic in 1759.²⁶

Friends' meetings were held at the house of Thomas Taylor, a North Leigh freeholder²⁷ imprisoned in 1659 for not paying tithes and fined in 1670 with his son Thomas for not attending church. Another North Leigh man, Edward Franklin, was twice imprisoned for not paying tithes.²⁸ Meetings in 1669 were said to be attended by 60 or more,²⁹ presumably drawn from the area around since in 1676 and 1682 only five Quakers were reported to be living in North Leigh.³⁰ In 1738 there were still two Quaker families.³¹ In 1768 there were only an octogenarian and his daughter.³²

Later nonconformity in North Leigh was predominantly Methodist. In 1771 villagers

were said to be going to hear preachers in the neighbourhood,³³ but in the 1790s North Leigh seems to have acquired a meeting house of its own, in Chapel Lane,³⁴ led by Joseph Shepherd (d. 1835).³⁵ The North Leigh meeting numbered 10 or 12, but, as with the Quakers, the village seems to have become the focus for a wider area: a large body of people was said in 1802 to attend meetings and to be instructed by numerous teachers, some from the neighbourhood, some itinerant. North Leigh Methodists seem at that time to have attended the parish church in the mornings and the meeting house in the afternoons or evenings.³⁶ Open-air services and camp-meetings were held in the 1820s at the crossroads by Ashford mill, and Methodist numbers increased sharply in the 1820s, perhaps the reason why, in 1825 and 1826, two houses were licensed. By 1827, when the chapel was rebuilt, there was a congregation of 30, and a Sunday school was attended by 100 children.³⁷ Membership of the church averaged c. 20 in the 1840s,³⁸ although congregations were larger: attendance on census Sunday in 1851 comprised 50 adults and 36 children in the morning and 70 adults in the evening.³⁹ Membership declined to c. 9 in the 1850s,⁴⁰ partly, perhaps, because of troubles within the Wesleyan movement generally, partly because members were drawn away to a separate meeting at East End and to the Primitive Methodists. The chapel was rebuilt in 1873 with assistance from Shepherd's son, also Joseph, and immediately began to attract increased numbers. In the 1880s, as elsewhere in the area, membership increased sharply, reaching 40 in 1890, and, after a decline, a peak of 49 in 1914. Membership stood in 1939 at 14.⁴¹ The chapel remained open in 1986. The group at East End seems never to have grown beyond six members, but meetings were held until 1963.⁴²

The chapel and adjoining school form a large T-shaped building. Of coursed rubble with a clay tiled roof, it has pointed windows including an imposing west window of five lights.

Primitive Methodists were holding regular services at North Leigh by 1840. In 1845 the circuit quarterly meeting recommended that the North Leigh society be 'broken up for slander-

¹⁴ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 178, ff. 12-13; MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 118, f. 190v.

¹⁵ Plaque in nave.
¹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 41, f. 53; Evans, *Ch. Plate*, 98-9. For Ursula Perrott see *Oxonien-sia*, xi/xii. 136, 138.

¹⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1912.

¹⁸ Ibid. incl. award.

¹⁹ Ibid. MS. d.d. Par. N. Leigh e 2, ff. 37v.-8; Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317(10): newspaper cutting.

²⁰ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/3326, m. 10d.; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, pp. 86, 91-3; O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. N. Leigh b 7, e 2, *passim*; map of 1876, reproduced in *Oxon. Fam. Hist.* ii(a), 296-7.

²¹ *Returns of Recusants, 1577* (Cath. Rec. Soc. xxii), 110; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 3/1/18.

²² *Recusant Roll 1* (Cath. Rec. Soc. xviii), 256; *Recusant Rolls 2 and 3* (Cath. Rec. Soc. lxi), 73.

²³ *Protestation Returns*, 100; above, Intro.

²⁴ O.R.O., Reg. of Papists' Estates, ff. 169-72.

²⁵ Hist. MSS. Com. 12, 10th Rep. IV, *Stonyhurst*, p. 179; W.O. Hassall, 'Papists in early 18th-cent. Oxon.' *Oxonien-sia*, xiii. 80; *Secker's Visit.* 109.

²⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 556, ff. 129v.-30.

²⁷ *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 46; O.R.O., Oxon. Quarterly

Meeting Bk. s.a. 1680.

²⁸ J. Besse, *Sufferings of Quakers*, i. 566, 572.

²⁹ *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 47.

³⁰ *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 423; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 708, f. 111.

³¹ *Secker's Visit.* 109.

³² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 559, f. 137v.

³³ Ibid. d 562, f. 154.

³⁴ W. Myles, *Hist. Methodists* (1803), 330 gives a date of 1792; cf. Bodl. MS. Top. Eccles. e 1, f. 43; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 567, f. 27 and v.

³⁵ *Methodist Mag.* 1835, 396.

³⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 567, f. 27 and v.

³⁷ Ibid. c 645, ff. 56, 74; G. Osborne, 'Stonesfield and Early Methodism' (MS. in possession of Mr. J. Minards, Warrington, Ches.), 28-30; *Methodist Mag.* 1827, 835.

³⁸ O.R.O., Witney and Faringdon Methodist Circuit I/1/a.

³⁹ *Ch. and Chapel, 1851*, no. 317.

⁴⁰ O.R.O., Witney and Faringdon Methodist Circuit I/1/b.

⁴¹ Ibid. I/1/c-i; P.R.O., C 54/17564, mm. 43-5; County Mus., P.R.N. 5223.

⁴² O.R.O., Witney and Faringdon Methodist Circuit I/1/b-d, i.

ing the quarter day'; there was instead to be fortnightly open-air preaching.⁴³ The breach was temporary, and in the 1860s North Leigh Primitive Methodists were attending the chapel at New Yatt in Hailey parish. The success of Primitive Methodist revival meetings was in 1866 offered by the vicar as a reason for Anglican failure.⁴⁴ In 1880 a Primitive Methodist chapel was built at East End.⁴⁵ In the early 20th century membership averaged *c.* 5 and congregations *c.* 30, but, despite improvements to the chapel in 1908, support seems to have declined. At the time of the union of Methodist churches in 1932 attendance was estimated at 20.⁴⁶ The chapel presumably closed soon after. In 1986 it was in private use. It is a small red-brick building with vitrified headers, a roof of Welsh slate, and wooden lancet windows.

Christian Brethren started meeting in North Leigh in the early 20th century, in members' houses until in 1972 the North Leigh Windmill Gospel chapel opened west of the windmill. In the 1980s congregations usually numbered *c.* 30.⁴⁷

EDUCATION. Anne Perrott, wife of James (d. 1724), gave in 1721 a rent charge of 50s. to teach and buy books for poor North Leigh children aged between two and ten. A school was established by 1724,⁴⁸ but payments were made irregularly, and by 1760 arrears of £16 had accumulated. The vicar successfully sued for the money, which was used to buy land in Hailey yielding in 1786 an additional 10s. a year.⁴⁹ The number of children taught in the 18th century is not recorded, but in the 19th there were seven.⁵⁰

A Sunday school, first mentioned in 1802,⁵¹ had 50 pupils in 1808 and in 1818, supported by subscriptions.⁵² A Wesleyan Sunday school provided in 1827 the first purpose-built school in the parish and seems to have attracted children away from the church school, which in 1833 had 22 pupils compared with 78 at the Wesleyan school.⁵³

A day school run intermittently at parents' expense in 1815 taught 24 boys and 16 girls, presumably including those sponsored by the Perrott charity. Instruction was according to the old plan, and the parish was said to be unable to

afford purpose-built premises.⁵⁴

An infant school was mentioned in 1834,⁵⁵ and was referred to occasionally thereafter,⁵⁶ although it is not clear that the school was in continuous existence. There were also two day schools in the 1830s, one attended by the charity children, the other by *c.* 40 children paying fees;⁵⁷ the latter may have been east of the vicarage, where in 1876 there was an 'old school, not used'.⁵⁸ The two schools were in 1838 subsumed in a National school which, with a house for the teacher, was built north of the church on a site given by George, 5th duke of Marlborough;⁵⁹ it received a parliamentary building grant.⁶⁰ In 1858 the school buildings were dilapidated, despite enlargement in 1854, and were conveyed to the vicar and churchwardens as trustees; the vicar was given superintendence of the school. There were *c.* 50 pupils, taught by a certificated master and paying fees of between 1d. and 6d., assessed on family size and parental occupation.⁶¹ By 1876 attendance was 77 although there were only 68 places.⁶² Accommodation was increased to 88 in 1871, when average attendance was 84,⁶³ and a new classroom was added in 1885 at the expense of James Mason, providing for 146 pupils in all.⁶⁴ A room for 91 infants, paid for by a voluntary rate, was added in 1896. In 1906 the school was attended on average by 45 infants and 102 older children.⁶⁵

The school was reorganized as a junior school in 1928, senior children going to Church Hanborough until 1940, when they were transferred to either Witney or the Marlborough secondary school at Woodstock. North Leigh junior school acquired controlled status in 1959. In 1967 a new school was built south of Park Road, and in 1983 it had a roll of 187 pupils.⁶⁶ The old National school and teacher's house were sold in 1974.⁶⁷

Under a Charity Commission Scheme of 1859 the National school was endowed with the income from the Anne Perrott charity, which continued to be used to support seven local children.⁶⁸ In 1903 it was agreed that the entire rent charge and £2 os. 5d. of the Hailey rent should be spent annually on the school at the trustees' discretion.⁶⁹

Henry Hutt, by will proved before 1840, left

⁴³ Ibid. II/1/a.

⁴⁴ Ibid. MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 180, f. 835; c 32, ff. 306-7; c 335, f. 271; c 338, f. 284v.; c 334, f. 283; above, Church. ⁴⁵ P.R.O., C 54/18075, mm. 33-4; O.R.O., Witney and Faringdon Methodist Circuit XII/1/n.

⁴⁶ O.R.O., Witney and Faringdon Methodist Circuit II/1/c-e; XII/1/o-y; XII/1/aa-ae, ag, ar.

⁴⁷ Inf. from Mr. H. Rhymes.

⁴⁸ M. Jones, *Char. Sch. Movement*, 71.

⁴⁹ 10th Rep. Com. Char. 406; *Char. Don.* 1782-8, H.C. 511, p. 994 (1816), xviB; *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 487.

⁵⁰ e.g. O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 151; Gardner, *Dir. Oxon.* (1852); *Schs. Enq. Com.* [3966-xi], pp. 308-9, H.C. (1867-8), xxviii (10).

⁵¹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 567, f. 27v.

⁵² Ibid. d 571, f. 23; d 577, f. 21v.; *Educ. of Poor Digest*, H.C. 224, p. 726 (1819), ixB.

⁵³ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 151; b 39, f. 274; *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, p. 749.

⁵⁴ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 573, f. 19v.; c 433, f. 152.

⁵⁵ Ibid. b 39, f. 274.

⁵⁶ e.g. *ibid.* c 344, f. 283v.; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1864).

⁵⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39, f. 274; *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, p. 749.

⁵⁸ Reproduced in *Oxon. Fam. Historian*, ii(a), 296-7.

⁵⁹ *Oxf. Chron.* 13 Oct. 1838; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 70, f. 153; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1864).

⁶⁰ *Rep. of Educ. Cttee. of Council* [3349], p. 482, H.C. (1864), xlv.

⁶¹ P.R.O., ED 7/101/159; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1895).

⁶² *Returns Relating to Pars.* H.C. 114, pp. 344-5 (1867-8), liii.

⁶³ *Returns Relating to Elem. Educ.* H.C. 201, p. 324 (1871), lv.

⁶⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1895); *Oxf. Times*, 4 Apr. 1903.

⁶⁵ O.R.O., NS 1/1a, p. 38; *Public Elem. Schs. 1906*, [Cd. 3182], p. 528, H.C. (1906), lxxxvi.

⁶⁶ Inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.; O.R.O., NS 1/1a, pp. 81-2, 89.

⁶⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1912, *Schs. Enq. Com.* [3966-xi], pp. 308-9, H.C. (1867-8), xxviii (10); O.R.O., NC III/1, 17 Dec. 1906.

⁶⁸ O.R.O., NC 1/2, Mar., Apr., Dec. 1906.

£175 stock for the school, producing £5 5s. a year in 1867.⁷⁰ In 1870 the stock was transferred to the Official Trustee. The income fell to £4 7s. 4d., the sum still being received in 1967.⁷¹ Mary Louch, by will proved 1902, left £100 to the school. The Charity Commissioners agreed that £50 be spent on repairs and £50 invested until the whole £100 was recovered. That was completed by 1928, and the income, £3 8s. 4d., was paid into school funds.⁷² In 1967 *c.* £15 a year was being paid to the school from the North Leigh charities. A revised Scheme of 1970 separated the educational charities, which received the income from the Hutt and Louch charities and from the apprentice charities of John Hart, Charles Perrott, and Ursula Perrott.⁷³ The North Leigh Schoolhouse fund was created by a Scheme of 1975 to promote education for former pupils under the age of 25 in need of financial assistance.⁷⁴

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. The Perrotts were unusually beneficent in endowing parochial charities. Edward Perrott (d. 1667), a Portugal merchant and son of Edward (d. 1685), left £40 to the poor of North Leigh, secured on land in the parish, to produce an income of £2 a year, of which 10s. was for bread for poor churchgoers in October and 30s. for clothing and apprenticing at the discretion of the parish officers.⁷⁵

Charles Perrott (d. 1677), the younger Edward's brother, left £50, the interest to be paid to the churchwardens annually on 23 April for apprenticing the poorest children in North Leigh. Apprenticeships were paid for regularly until 1794, when the income, £2 10s., was distributed instead to the poor.⁷⁶

James Perrott (d. 1687) left rent charges providing £3 a year to be given to three poor churchgoers and £1 to buy them shoes or shifts. He also left a 10s. rent charge for bread at Easter and Christmas.⁷⁷

Ursula Perrott, sister of Charles, by will proved 1705, left £100, the interest to be spent two years out of three on apprenticeships, the third year distributed among those poor not in receipt of relief.⁷⁸ In 1760 the capital was used to buy 1½ a. of meadow in Hailey.⁷⁹

James Perrott, son of the above-mentioned James, by will proved 1725, gave a £6 rent charge, half for bread for poor churchgoers and half for clothes for three poor housekeepers and their children; no-one was to receive both James's and his father's charity in the same year.

He also gave a £2 10s. rent charge in place of the interest on £50 which his daughter Amy (d. 1720) had intended for gifts to 10 poor housekeepers at Christmas.⁸⁰ Sarah Perrott, by will proved 1729, gave £50, the interest to be distributed in the same way, but not to the same recipients, as her sister Amy's charity.⁸¹ Their brother Henry (d. 1740) failed to honour his sisters' and father's bequests or the educational charity of his mother Anne (d. 1721). In 1760, however, his daughters Cassandra and Martha paid arrears of £150 5s., which was used to buy the land in Hailey from which the rents were due. Rent of £3 10s. was obtained, rising to £29 by the end of the 18th century.⁸²

John Hart by will dated 1664 left a rent charge of £5 a year for apprenticing two poor boys.⁸³

Susannah Hart, by will proved 1666, left £50 to buy land for North Leigh's poor.⁸⁴ The money was combined with bequests of £2 each from John Whitley, by will proved 1630,⁸⁵ and Thomas Smith, untraced, and used to buy 1 a. of meadow in Curbridge. By the 1740s a small piece of land in Ducklington had also been acquired, and a combined annual rent of £2 5s. was being received.⁸⁶ From 1720 and possibly earlier there was an additional, unexplained, income of £1 10s. a year. Three quarters of the charity's income was used to buy bread, the remainder for the general benefit of the poor at the discretion of the overseers.⁸⁷

Thomas Werge, by will proved 1707, gave a 5s. rent charge for bread for 60 poor people every Whit Sunday.⁸⁸

Thomas Martin (d. 1753) of Wilcote House gave a £1 rent charge for gifts to 20 poor labourers or their widows not in receipt of parish relief.⁸⁹

The accounts of all North Leigh's charities were amalgamated in 1806 into a general charity account.⁹⁰ In 1823 the income from the general fund provided £3 for education, £4 8s. 4d. for bread, and £48 11s. 8d. for general purposes, including apprenticing, £30 being given in cash, £9 in clothing and blankets, and £3 in additional bread on the first Sunday of each month; the specific bread charities were still distributed on their appointed days. Joseph Shepherd, the leading local baker and Methodist, supplied the bread. His son Joseph was presumably the dissenting baker complained of by the vicar in 1843 for distributing charity bread at the school adjoining the Methodist meeting house instead of at church.⁹¹ Boys were only occasionally apprenticed out of the general fund. In 1813 a surplus of £106 10s. from apprenticing funds not ap-

⁷⁰ Char. Com. file 309583; *Char. Digest*, H.C. 292-II, pp. 36-7, H.C. (1871), lv; *Sch. Enq. Com.* 308-9.

⁷¹ O.R.O., NC V/2, 16 Aug. 1870; NC IV/ii/2, statement of accts. 1906; O.R.C.C., Kimber files.

⁷² O.R.O., NC III/8; NS I/19, 81.

⁷³ O.R.C.C., Kimber files; below, Chars.

⁷⁴ Char. Com. file 270914.

⁷⁵ P.R.O., PROB 11/327 (P.C.C. 86 Hone); *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 408; E. Barnwell, *Perrot Notes*, 96.

⁷⁶ P.R.O., PROB 11/354 (P.C.C. 53 Hale); *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 406.

⁷⁷ P.R.O., PROB 11/1688, f. 20.

⁷⁸ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 205, f. 241; *ibid.* NC IV/i/1, p. 63.

⁷⁹ *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 408.

⁸⁰ P.R.O., PROB 11/601 (P.C.C. 48 Romney); *Char. Don.* 1787-8, H.C. 511, pp. 594-5 (1816), xviB.

⁸¹ *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 410.

⁸² *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 410. For Anne Perrott's char. see above, Educ.

⁸³ *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 409.

⁸⁴ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 33/1/30.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 70/3/30.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* NC IV/i/1, p. 2.

⁸⁷ *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 409.

⁸⁸ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 205, f. 275; *Char. Don.*

1787-8, wrongly dates the will 1728.

⁸⁹ *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 411.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 406; O.R.O., NP I/ii; NC IV/i/1, p. 90.

⁹¹ *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 411-12; *Wilb. Letter Bks.* (O.R.S. xlvii), p. 149; above, Nonconf.

plied for was used to buy 1½ a. in Hanborough, the rent being transferred to the general fund. Between 1816 and 1822 *c.* £62 was spent on apprenticing, but in 1823 there was a surplus of £18 awaiting applicants.⁹²

In 1870 the income from all sources, including educational bequests, was £69 10s., of which £16 10s. went to the apprenticing fund, £39 in bread and clothing, and £5 6s. 8d. in cash.⁹³ In 1898 the trustees decided to reduce the amount of bread and give coal instead: 91 coal tickets were issued in the first year. Medical relief and 'other necessities or comforts' might be given at the trustees' discretion.⁹⁴

The land in Hailey bought with Ursula Perrott's bequest was sold for £100 in 1919, and the money invested.⁹⁵ The Hanborough land was sold for £570 in 1956.⁹⁶ In 1966 annual expenditure was *c.* £80, distributed to 27 pensioners. Distribution had become haphazard, and the trustees in 1967 decided to re-invest assets. A Scheme of 1970 separated the North Leigh charities into an educational charity, to which was added the apprenticing charities of Charles Perrott and John Hart, and a united charity for relief in need. In 1974 and 1975 the rent charges were redeemed and the money invested. In 1979 the united charity had an income of *c.* £245.⁹⁷

SOUTH LEIGH

SOUTH LEIGH, formerly a chapelry of Stanton Harcourt, lies 2½ miles (4 km.) south-east of Witney and 8 miles (13 km.) west of Oxford.⁹⁸ It was first mentioned in the late 12th century, by which time it had its own church; it was taxed separately from Stanton Harcourt by the 14th century and had its own churchwardens, overseers, and manorial officials by the 17th. It became a separate ecclesiastical parish in 1868.⁹⁹

The ancient chapelry was compact in shape and comprised 2,074 a.,¹ excluding two detached portions of Stanton Harcourt parish, the larger of which included Tar wood. They were incorporated into South Leigh civil parish in 1883, enlarging it to 2,365 a.² Parts of Stanton Harcourt (53 a.) and Cogges (878 a.) were added in 1932, and part of Ducklington (1,133 a.) in 1967, bringing the total area to 4,429 a. (1,793 ha.).³

The river Windrush cuts across the south-west corner of the parish. In the south the ancient boundaries followed Standlake brook, a tributary of the Windrush, and for a short distance in the north-east Chil brook and Limb brook, which flows through the parish from west to east; elsewhere they followed field boundaries. Parts of the boundary with Cogges, on the west, perhaps marked the line of a Roman or prehistoric trackway leading to the Windrush near Gill Mill in Cogges parish.⁴ In the south-east, where the holdings of South Leigh and Stanton Harcourt tenants lay closely intermingled until the 18th century, there was no clearly defined boundary until 1773, when the inclosure commissioners partitioned Lies field and South Leigh down;⁵ on the north the boundary be-

tween South Leigh heath and Eynsham heath was established earlier but appears similarly artificial, and in the 18th century was marked by fences and merestones.⁶ The detached part of Stanton Harcourt around Tar wood was marked on the south by the Witney to Stanton Harcourt road, on the west by field boundaries, and on the east and north by the boundary of the wood itself. A smaller detached portion to the east, formerly woodland, was marked by field boundaries which survived in 1960 but have since largely disappeared.⁷

The parish lies mostly on the Oxford Clay, although in the south-west the river Windrush and its tributaries have left alluvial deposits which provided much of the meadowland. Smaller deposits of alluvium occur along Limb brook, and there is alluvium in the north of the parish along the minor streams which cut across the former heath. The north end of the village, including the church and former manor house, stands on a gravel terrace at the top of a slight incline, and there are further deposits of river gravels around Rushy common in the south-west and east of Tar wood in Lies field.⁸ The height of the land varies from *c.* 70 m. in the Windrush valley to almost 100 m. in the extreme north-west near Hill Farm. In the western part of the parish two small hills at Church End and north of Tar Farm, on either side of Limb brook, reach 85 m.; that near Tar Farm may have given rise to the name Tar field, earlier Torre field or the Torre.⁹ East of Tar wood in Lies field the land is flat and low-lying.

The main Witney-Oxford road, turnpiked in 1751,¹⁰ cuts across the north-west tip of the

⁹² *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 411-12.

⁹³ *Char. Digest*, H.C. 292-II, pp. 36-7 (1871), lv.

⁹⁴ O.R.O., NC I/2, s.a. 1898, 1899.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* NC III/10-11; NC I/2, s.a. 1919.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* NC I/2, f. 107v.; O.R.C.C., Kimber files.

⁹⁷ O.R.C.C., Kimber files.

⁹⁸ The principal maps used were O.S. Maps 1/25,000, SP 20/30, SP 40/50 (1977-80 edns.); 6", Oxon. XXXII. SW., NW. (1883 and later edns.); 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 6, 10, 14 (1876 and later edns.); Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11 (map and survey *c.* 1793); O.R.O., tithe map.

⁹⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2013, Order in Council 28 Mar. 1868; below, Econ., Loc. Govt., Church.

¹ O.S. *Area Bk.* (1877).

² *Census*, 1891; O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII. SW., NW. (1883 edn.).

³ *Census*, 1931, 1971; O.R.O., RO 1516.

⁴ Above, Cogges, Intro.

⁵ Below, Econ.

⁶ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/4, no. 2.

⁷ Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); below, Stanton Harcourt, Intro.

⁸ Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid and drift, sheet 236 (1982 edn.).

⁹ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 704, 707; cf. *Eng. P. N. Elements* (E.P.N.S. xxxv-xxxvi), ii. 184.

¹⁰ Turnpike Act, 24 Geo. II, c. 28.

parish. In the south a road from Witney to Stanton Harcourt, mentioned in 1616,¹¹ runs south-east. In the 18th and 19th centuries a branch road led from Chapel Bridge Bottom to Beard Mill and Northmoor along the southern side of South Leigh down, but had disappeared by 1900.¹² The village lies mostly along a second minor road from Witney and Cogges to Stanton Harcourt, which was connected with the surrounding fields and roads by a network of lanes and tracks. Moor Lane, running south-west from the village to Rushy common, existed by the 15th century,¹³ and in 1774 the later footpath leading down the east side of Tar wood to the Stanton Harcourt road was a public road 60 ft. wide;¹⁴ Green Lane, later a metalled road, ran from the east end of the village across the green to the Witney–Oxford road. Church End, once the centre of the village but later an isolated cul-de-sac, was connected with the former heath and Witney–Oxford road to the north by Church Lane;¹⁵ Bonds Lane, named from a family holding land there in the late 18th and early 19th century,¹⁶ ran from Church End to South Leigh green and retained some importance into the 20th century.¹⁷ Hill Street or Hill Street Lane, running north from near Bartlett's Farm towards Hill Houses, and Clay Street, running from Home field, south of Witney road, into Cogges, were both mentioned from the 16th century; their names suggest some connexion with the possible Roman or prehistoric trackway running from the river Evenlode to the Windrush.¹⁸

The Witney Railway, a branch of the West Midland Railway, was opened in 1861, with a station in South Leigh at the east end of the village.¹⁹ The company was later merged with the G.W.R. The line remained a single track,²⁰ and was closed to passengers in 1962 and to goods traffic in 1965; it had been dismantled by 1971.²¹ In the late 19th century and early 20th South Leigh was linked by carrier service to Witney,²² site of the nearest money order and telegraph office, although a post office had been opened in the village by 1870.²³ It was formerly in White Cottage opposite Moor Lane, but was

later moved across the road to no. 76; it was closed in 1987.²⁴

There are undated crop marks east of Tar wood in Lies field, and the discovery near Tar Farm of two lead coffins from the reign of Constantine II points to a Romano-British presence in the southernmost part of the parish by the Windrush.²⁵ There is no evidence of early Anglo-Saxon settlement, and South Leigh was not named in Domesday Book; woodland recorded under Stanton Harcourt, however, probably lay in and around Tar wood,²⁶ which later field names show was once much more extensive.²⁷ In 1190 South Leigh was recorded as *Stanton Lega*, denoting a forest clearing colonized from Stanton Harcourt;²⁸ since it then formed part of an escheat worth £8 a year, was divided into yardlands and described as a vill, and had its own chapel,²⁹ its origins presumably date from the 11th century or earlier. Assarting continued throughout the 13th century, and not until the 16th century or the 17th was woodland in the chapelry reduced to its 20th-century proportions. Ward wood, north-east of the modern Tar wood,³⁰ was a pasture ground by 1654,³¹ and Herle's wood, probably to be identified with c. 10 a. of woodland recorded on Stanton Wyard manor in the 14th century,³² was pasture by 1677.³³ Eighteenth-century field-names such as Tar Ward Wood piece suggest that the medieval woodland once extended to South Leigh's eastern boundary, north of Lies field.³⁴

In 1279 there were probably over 40 households in South Leigh, including unlisted free tenants; 31 villeins and 14 cottagers were mentioned, but of those c. 10 apparently lived in Hamstall in Stanton Harcourt parish.³⁵ Early 14th-century contraction was followed by serious mortalities during the Black Death,³⁶ and in 1377 only 91 persons over 14, some probably still living outside South Leigh, were assessed for the poll tax.³⁷ By the 16th century the population seems to have recovered, for 52 persons were assessed for subsidy c. 1524,³⁸ and 142 inhabitants of both sexes swore the Protestation oath in 1642.³⁹ Thirty-eight houses were assessed for hearth tax in 1662; of those the

¹¹ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 760.

¹² Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11; O.R.O., tithe map; *ibid.* Stanton Harcourt incl. award; O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII. SW. (1883 and 1900 edns.).

¹³ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 727.

¹⁴ O.R.O., Stanton Harcourt incl. award.

¹⁵ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11; *ibid.* 22/16/4, no. 2.

¹⁶ O.R.O., land tax assess.; *ibid.* tithe award.

¹⁷ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11; O.R.O., tithe map; *below*.

¹⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 21, ff. 1, 18, 20, 24; O.R.O., incl. award; *ibid.* tithe map; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2123/28, rot. 3; P.R.O., PROB 11/17, f. 62v.; *above*.

¹⁹ Witney Railway Act, 22–3 Vic., c. 46 (local and personal); E. T. MacDermot and C. R. Clinker, *Hist. G.W.R.* (1964), i. 289, 461; O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII. SW. (1883 edn.).

²⁰ MacDermot and Clinker, *Hist. G.W.R.* i. 289–90.

²¹ C. R. Clinker, *Reg. Closed Passenger Stations*, Suppl. no. 5 (1967), 29; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. SP 3808/3908 (1971 edn.).

²² *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.).

²³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh e 5, f. 1; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/20/4, f. 71; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.).

²⁴ Local inf.

²⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 342; County Mus., P.R.N. 8214–5, 12189, 4502, 1541.

²⁶ *Below*, Stanton Harcourt, Intro., Econ.

²⁷ O.R.O., tithe map; cf. B. Schumer, *Evolution of Wychwood to 1400* (Leic. Univ. Dept. Eng. Local Hist. Occas. Pps. 3rd ser. vi), 28, 32.

²⁸ *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 276, 457.

²⁹ *Pipe R.* 1190 (P.R.S. N.S. i), 11; *below*, Econ., Church.

³⁰ O.R.O., tithe map; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11.

³¹ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 821, 849, 925; *ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. d 113, ff. 12v., 19v. It was still wooded in 1589: O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2088, p. 13.

³² *Cal. Pat.* 1301–7, 125; 1391–6, 567; P.R.O., C 135/103, no. 38; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 20, f. 3.

³³ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/19 (copy of Wm. Bosville's will, 1677); cf. *ibid.* c 44/4, c 44/7.

³⁴ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11; O.R.O., tithe map.

³⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 855–7; P.R.O., E 179/161/10; *below*, Stanton Harcourt, Intro.

³⁶ *Below*, Econ.

³⁷ P.R.O., E 179/161/42; *below*, Stanton Harcourt, Intro.

³⁸ *Ibid.* E 179/161/194.

³⁹ *Protestation Returns*, 85–6.



SOUTH LEIGH c. 1793

manor house was assessed on 6 hearths, another on 4, six on 3, and thirty on 1 or 2 hearths.⁴⁰ In 1738 there were said to be about 45 houses in South Leigh,⁴¹ in 1759 and 1771 *c.* 50,⁴² and in 1774 between 30 and 40.⁴³ In 1801 there were 41, housing 240 people.⁴⁴ In the earlier 19th century the population rose; by 1831 there were on average seven people to a house, the highest proportion in the area, and 60 people supported by the parish were living in adjoining parishes for want of houses.⁴⁵ After reaching a peak of 359 in 1851 the population declined sharply in the 1860s and 1870s, largely through emigration,⁴⁶ and continued to fall until the 1950s, despite the enlargement of the parish. After 1951 population increased, partly because of boundary changes but mostly because of the influx of non-agricultural commuters, and by 1981 had reached 402.⁴⁷

The nucleus of the early village was presumably Church End, site of the church and former manor house.⁴⁸ Most later expansion took place further south along the road from Witney to Stanton Harcourt, which ran along the northern boundary of the open fields parallel to Limb brook,⁴⁹ and was described as the king's highway (*regia via*) in 1490.⁵⁰ By then there were houses on the south side of the present Station Road near Moor Lane,⁵¹ and medieval pottery, possibly marking a farmstead site, has been found south of Kimber's brake by the Witney road.⁵² Several cottages along Witney Road and Station Road date from the 17th century or earlier, amongst them Bartlett's (later Wayside Cottage), Shuttles, the Mason Arms inn, Homan's Farm, and (behind Station Farm) Gunns Cottage; in 1792 several other cottages or farmsteads, since destroyed, lay along or just off the same roads. By the mid 17th century there were isolated cottages, perhaps a squatter settlement, at Hill Houses in the north, bordering on the heath, and straggling over the parish boundary into Cogges.⁵³

During the 18th century there was little change in the size or layout of the village, although consolidation of holdings, accelerated by inclosure, produced four or five large commercial farms by the 1790s.⁵⁴ Most were centred on existing homesteads, although Glebe Farm, later Tar Farm, was built on the new glebe allotment before 1830, originally standing on the Witney to Stanton Harcourt road *c.* 500 yd. south of its present site.⁵⁵ In the 1830s cottages

were said to be thinly scattered up and down the village, and a general air of neatness prevailed; the lane to Church End was then flanked with hedgerow elms.⁵⁶ Margery Cross, the junction of Witney Road, Station Road, and the lane to Church End, was so called by the late 19th century,⁵⁷ but the name does not occur earlier and there is no evidence that there was ever any cross or monument.

Most of the early houses and cottages were built of local limestone with stone slate or thatch, an exception being the timber-framed former manor house at Church Farm, described below.⁵⁸ The stone-and-slate house later called South Leigh Manor, north-east of Station Farm, is 17th-century in origin, with a large, internal chimney stack; it probably acquired its name *c.* 1800, when it was temporarily occupied by a tenant who later rented manorial rights and part of the demesne.⁵⁹ About that time a new block was added to the east side of the south end, and a symmetrical south front was formed with lean-to additions at both ends and two-storeyed bay windows; before 1875 the house was divided into three separate tenements, but by 1947 was again a single dwelling.⁶⁰ Tar Wood House, a large stone-and-slate dwelling on the northern edge of Tar wood, built as a farmhouse in 1724 but much extended in the 19th century, lay outside the parish in Stanton Harcourt until 1883.⁶¹

During the 19th century the labour requirements of the new farms and rising population created an urgent need for more houses, and in the 1860s and 1870s Coningsby Charles Sibthorp, the owner of South Leigh, built several pairs of labourers' cottages, among them the group east of Moor Lane which includes Stow Cottage and the Halt (replacing earlier buildings), nos. 76–80, at Church End nos. 69–70, and beyond the station Blue Barn House. They were built of local stone with Broseley tiles, to a standard design by William Wilkinson of Oxford, and each contained three bedrooms, sitting room, kitchen, and offices.⁶² Until then the village drew its water supply from scattered wells along Green Lane and Station Road, at Church End, and near Hill Farm,⁶³ but Sibthorp paid for the supply of piped water to the new cottages from a spring near Station Farm; the system terminated at the Mason Arms inn, however, and was still incomplete *c.* 1922.⁶⁴ The present Tar Farm and cottages date from *c.*

⁴⁰ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, pt. 3, m. 288.

⁴¹ *Secker's Visit.* 145.

⁴² O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 563, f. 61; d 557, f. 61.

⁴³ *Ibid.* d 565, f. 137.

⁴⁴ *Census*, 1801.

⁴⁵ *Census*, 1831 (and note).

⁴⁶ Below, Econ.

⁴⁷ *Census*, 1801–1981. The 1881 figure includes the pupils of St. James's College and is thus artificially high: O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh e 5, f. iv.

⁴⁸ Below, Manors.

⁴⁹ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11.

⁵⁰ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 727.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 727, 729.

⁵² County Mus., P.R.N. 11635.

⁵³ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 95/1; c 125/2, c. 16; Camden, *Britannia* (1695), Oxon. map following col. 252.

⁵⁴ Below, Econ.

⁵⁵ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11; O.S. Map 1", sheet 13 (1830 edn.); O.R.O., tithe map.

⁵⁶ *Youth's Instructor and Guardian*, vol. xvi, no. 182, pp. 37–8; local inf.

⁵⁷ O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII. SW., NW. (1883 edn.).

⁵⁸ Below, Manors.

⁵⁹ i.e. Anthony Gale: O.R.O., land tax assess. 1795, 1801; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11.

⁶⁰ B.N.C. Mun., drawer 107, S. Leigh estate *sale cat.* (1875); below.

⁶¹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 277, docs. *re* Tar Wood House; below, Stanton Harcourt, Econ.; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2013; c 2019.

⁶² Lincs. R.O., Sibthorp 3/2, p. 2; B.N.C. Mun., drawer 107, S. Leigh *sale cat.* and map (1875); W. Wilkinson, *Eng. Country Houses* (1875), pl. 56.

⁶³ O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII. SW., NW. (1883 edn.).

⁶⁴ Lincs. R.O., Sibthorp 3/2, p. 2; B.N.C. Mun., drawer 107, rep. on S. Leigh water supply.

1877,⁶⁵ and Station Farm was apparently rebuilt about the same time, on the site of the earlier homestead.⁶⁶ The farmhouse at College Farm, east of the village near Tar wood, was built c. 1878 after Brasenose College bought part of the South Leigh estate: the earlier farmhouse, called Warners, was converted into cottages and farm buildings.⁶⁷ Other late 19th-century additions to the village included the Glebe House in 1871, Holyrood House, formerly St. James's College, c. 1875, the National school, later the village hall, in 1871,⁶⁸ and the Wesleyan chapel on Witney Road in 1876.⁶⁹

There was a licensed alehouse in South Leigh by 1587,⁷⁰ and in the earlier 18th century there were two; in 1800 there was a public house at Hill Houses.⁷¹ The Sibthorp Arms, mentioned in 1847, may already have been at its later site on Bonds Lane by 1792.⁷² It closed c. 1879 when the present public house, renamed the Mason Arms after the new owner of South Leigh, was opened on the main village street.⁷³

The opening of the station completed the shift of focus from Church End to Witney Road and Station Road, and following the closure of the Sibthorp Arms the buildings on Bonds Lane were converted into a keeper's lodge and cottages.⁷⁴ They were occupied until c. 1934 when they were demolished following a fire, and by 1946 the lane was an overgrown bridlepath.⁷⁵

In the 20th century the largest addition to the village was the Lymbrook Close housing estate, begun in the late 1950s on pasture ground formerly called Birds Hay, north of Station Road.⁷⁶ Other houses were built near the Old Crossing, on Station Road, and, in particular, along Witney Road, and piecemeal building continued in 1986. The former Wesleyan chapel was converted into a private house c. 1970.⁷⁷ St. James's College, built as a preparatory school c. 1875, was an orphanage by 1923, and later a private tutoring college; after the Second World War it was temporarily occupied by nuns from Holy Trinity convent, Oxford. In 1956, renamed Holyrood House, it became a residential psychiatric home under ecclesiastical patronage, and in the late 1970s was taken over by Oxfordshire area health authority. The Glebe House, bought as an extension to the hospital in 1963,

was sold in 1977.⁷⁸ South Leigh remained comparatively untouched by gravel extraction, but by 1922 there were gravel pits near Tar Farm in the south-west, still evident in 1960, and after 1947 pits were authorised south of the Windrush.⁷⁹

Dylan Thomas, the poet, lived in South Leigh Manor from 1947 to 1949.⁸⁰ In the 16th century members of the Harcourt family lived in South Leigh, but apart from a brief period in the early 17th century there was no resident gentry thereafter.⁸¹

In the later 17th century inhabitants of neighbouring towns and villages used to congregate in South Leigh for two days of running, wrestling, and revelling during the mowing of an unspecified meadow. By 1692 the disturbance was so great that the inhabitants petitioned the justices of the peace to suppress the custom, which was of recent origin; it was ordered that no such meetings should be held on Sundays, and that the constable and tithingmen should arrest any disorderly persons.⁸²

MANORS AND OTHER ESTATES. In 1086 South Leigh formed part of the 26-hide manor of Stanton Harcourt held by Odo, bishop of Bayeux.⁸³ When in the earlier 12th century the estate was divided most of the land in South Leigh, including the site of the chapel, was granted by Queen Adela to her cousin Millicent with the manor later held by the Harcourts. The rest was included in 2 hides of land granted by Richard I to Henry de la Wade, which later became the manor of Stanton Wyard,⁸⁴ and South Leigh remained divided between the two main Stanton Harcourt manors throughout the Middle Ages.⁸⁵

In 1604 Sir Walter and Robert Harcourt sold the manor of *SOUTH LEIGH* to John Skinner of Grays Inn.⁸⁶ Although described as a manor and conveyed with manorial rights, the estate was actually a detached township of Stanton Harcourt,⁸⁷ and only after repeated litigation lasting until the 1630s did Skinner establish South Leigh's status as an independent manor with clearly defined boundaries.⁸⁸

In 1628 Skinner sold the manor to Sir Henry

⁶⁵ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/2/204, f. 16; 22/16/8, no. 8; O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII. SW. (1883).

⁶⁶ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11.

⁶⁷ B.N.C. Mun., drawer 167, letter 1 June 1878; *ibid.* drawer 170, farm rep. 1906; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 10 (1899 edn.); below, Manors.

⁶⁸ Not the building incorporated into Holyrood Ho. as stated in Pevsner, *Oxon.* 771.

⁶⁹ Below, Church, Educ., Nonconf.

⁷⁰ P.R.O., SP 12/198, f. 109.

⁷¹ O.R.O., QSR Trin. 1701; *ibid.* vctls' recogs.

⁷² *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847); Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 10 (1877 edn.).

⁷³ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/2/204, ff. 18, 82-3; P.R.O., RG 11/1513; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 10 (1899 edn.); below, Manors.

⁷⁴ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/2/204, ff. 82-3, 149.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* OXF 22/2/207, extracts from S. Leigh valuation lists (Bonds Cottages); A. Grosch, *Sowlye* (1946), 19; *inf.* from Mrs. C. Tipping, Wayside Cott.

⁷⁶ O.S. Map 1/10,000, SP 30 NE/SP 40 NW. (1960, 1972 edns.).

⁷⁷ Below, Nonconf.

⁷⁸ *Inf.* from Mrs. S. Standing, Glebe Ho., Miss G. E. Withycombe, and Oxon. area health authority; *Witney Gaz.* 2 June 1977; below, Church, Educ.

⁷⁹ O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII. SW. (1922, 1960 edns.); *Stanton Harcourt Area Minerals Plan, Consultative Doc.* (Oxon. C.C., 1978), maps 2 and 12; copy in Westgate Libr., Oxf.

⁸⁰ *Collected Letters of Dylan Thomas*, ed. P. Ferris (1985), pp. vii-viii, 658-700; local *inf.*

⁸¹ *Acts of P.C.* 1577-8, 50; P.R.O., PROB 11/39, f. 90 and v.; *ibid.* C 142/85, no. 25; below, Manors.

⁸² O.R.O., QSR Trin. 1692.

⁸³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 404; below, Stanton Harcourt, Manors.

⁸⁴ *Reading Cart.* i, pp. 402-6; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 855-6; below, Stanton Harcourt, Manors

⁸⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 855-7; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 21; *ibid.* MS. Rolls Oxon. 98.

⁸⁶ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 747, 749.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* MS. Rolls Oxon. 98.

⁸⁸ P.R.O., STAC 8/264/14, 8/257/1; *ibid.* E 134/5 Chas. I/Mich. 4; Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 759, 999-1001; above, Intro.; below, Econ.

Marten, judge of the admiralty court and M.P. for Oxford University;⁸⁹ it was leased back to him for 21 years, however, with the right to sublet any part for three lives,⁹⁰ and it seems unlikely that Marten exercised much direct influence locally. In 1637 South Leigh was settled in tail male on George Marten, Sir Henry's younger son, following his marriage to Frances Weld,⁹¹ but in 1641 George and his elder brother Henry, the parliamentarian and regicide,⁹² sold the manor to a London merchant, William Gore of Morden (Surr.) and later of Barrow Gurney (Som.).⁹³ The estate was sold free from encumbrances, but during the next 30 years William and his successors faced several actions from creditors claiming rights in the manor as security on unpaid loans.⁹⁴ The Skinners' interest continued until after 1651, when George Skinner of Colmers, in King's Norton (Worcs.), John Skinner's son, surrendered the manorial records in his possession in return for the continuation of leases granted by him before 4 May 1643.⁹⁵

Later the Gores controlled the manor directly, but were usually non-resident.⁹⁶ On William Gore's death in 1662 South Leigh passed to his son Sir Thomas Gore of Barrow (d. 1675); in 1692 the manor was held in trust by Thomas's son William and others.⁹⁷ William died seised of the manor in 1718,⁹⁸ and by his will left South Leigh to his uncle William Gore, his brother Edward, and others, in trust for discharging specified debts and encumbrances which were the subject an action the following year, with reversion to William's eldest son Thomas and his heirs.⁹⁹ Thomas died in 1728 leaving two under-age sons,¹ but by 1741 the manor was held by Thomas's younger brother William, who died without issue in 1769.² The manor then passed with the Barrow estates to his cousin John Gore, who having little interest in business affairs leased it to his brother, Edward Gore of Kiddington; in 1786 Edward bought the estate outright.³

In 1792 Edward sold the manor to John Sibthorp, M.D., Regius Professor of botany at Oxford University.⁴ Sibthorp had acquired

lands in South Leigh, Stanton Harcourt, and Sutton from the Bosviles the previous year,⁵ partly in the hope of exchanging them with Lord Harcourt for lands in North Hinksey, but primarily as a speculation;⁶ an Act for inclosing South Leigh was already in progress.⁷ During 1793 Sibthorp spent much time in South Leigh supervising the inclosure,⁸ but thereafter was mostly abroad until his death in 1796;⁹ most of his estates, including South Leigh, then passed to his father Humphrey (d. 1797), former Sherardian Professor of botany at Oxford.¹⁰ From Humphrey they descended through the male line of the Sibthorps of Canwick Hall (Lincs.), being held by Humphrey Waldo Sibthorp (d. 1815), Coningsby Waldo Waldo-Sibthorp (d. 1822), Charles de Laet Waldo Sibthorp (d. 1855), M.P. for Lincoln, Gervaise Tottenham Waldo Sibthorp (d. 1861), and Coningsby Charles Waldo Sibthorp.¹¹ None lived in South Leigh, although several maintained a close interest, Humphrey Waldo supporting a day school,¹² and the second Coningsby contributing to the restoration of the church and new parsonage.¹³

In 1875 South Leigh was sold,¹⁴ the larger part (c. 1,430 a.), including the village, being bought by James Mason of Eynsham Hall, who had already acquired extensive lands in the region partly in order to pursue scientific agricultural research.¹⁵ After his death in 1903 his son J. F. Mason sold off parts of the estate piecemeal, including Tar Farm in 1911,¹⁶ Bartlett's Farm in 1919,¹⁷ and several cottages.¹⁸ Homan's Farm and South Leigh Manor, near Station Farm, were sold c. 1958.¹⁹ The rest of the estate was still held by the Mason family, latterly through the Eynsham Estate Co., in 1987. The smaller part of South Leigh in 1875, comprising c. 530 a. of arable land and meadow and six cottages in the village, was bought by Brasenose College, Oxford,²⁰ the lands being consolidated into a single estate centred on the newly built College Farm.²¹ Most of the land and all the cottages were sold to private individuals in 1945, leaving a residue of only 108 a.²²

The manor house in the 18th century was that

⁸⁹ *D.N.B.*

⁹⁰ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 775.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 785.

⁹² *D.N.B.*

⁹³ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 793-4; J. Collinson, *Hist. Som.* (1791), ii. 311.

⁹⁴ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 820, 833-6, 848, 890; cf. *D.N.B.* s.v. Hen. Marten.

⁹⁵ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 798-802, 814.

⁹⁶ *Below.*

⁹⁷ P.R.O., PROB 11/309, ff. 65-7; PROB 11/349, ff. 321v.-326v.; Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 864, 867, 936-7.

⁹⁸ P.R.O., C 78/1318, 3rd item.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹ P.R.O., C 38/463, Rep. of R. Holford 23 Mar. 1741.

² *Ibid.*; Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 1005-14; P.R.O., PROB 11/947, ff. 242v.-244v.

³ P.R.O., PROB 11/947, ff. 242v.-244v.; J. Collinson, *Hist. Som.* (1791), ii. 311; Lincs. R.O., BS 3/Oxon./1; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 279, letters of Edw. Gore.

⁴ Lincs. R.O., BS 3/Oxon./1; *D.N.B.*

⁵ *Below.*

⁶ W. Sussex R.O., Hawkins pps. II/1/174.

⁷ S. Leigh Incl. Act, 32 Geo. III, c. 66 (Priv. Act); *below*, Econ.

⁸ O.R.O., incl. award; Lincs. R.O., 2 Sibthorp 4/34; W. Sussex R.O., Hawkins papers II/1/230, 235; *ibid.* II/2/237, 244; partly cited in M. R. Bruce, 'An Oxfordshire Enclosure: 1791-1794', *Top. Oxon.* xviii (1972).

⁹ *D.N.B.*

¹⁰ Lincs. R.O., 2 Sibthorp 2/5; *D.N.B.*

¹¹ B.N.C. Mun., drawer 107, abstract of title.

¹² O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 707, f. 158; c 433, f. 180; *below*, Educ.

¹³ Lincs. R.O., Sib. 3/2, p. 2; G. Moultrie, *Six Years' Work at Southleigh* (Burford, 1875), 4-5, 7, 15; *above*, Intro.

¹⁴ Copies of *sale cat.* in B.N.C. Mun., drawer 107, and Reading Univ. Arch., OXF. 22/5/67.

¹⁵ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF. 22/2/204, 22/15/6, 22/15/31; *above*, Eynsham, Manors.

¹⁶ Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b 91 (27).

¹⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Misc. N.T. 1/1-5.

¹⁸ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF. 22/2/207, 22/2/210; cf. *ibid.* 22/1/84, letter 3 Jan. 1925.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 22/2/131, f. 90; 22/2/132, f. 88.

²⁰ B.N.C. Mun., 570.

²¹ *Ibid.* 170, farm reps. 1880-1906; *above*, Intro.; *below*, Econ.

²² B.N.C. Mun., 1506.

later called Church Farm,²³ built during the later 16th century perhaps for one of the Harcourt family, and presumably the house in South Leigh mentioned in 1630 which John Skinner occupied when not in London.²⁴ It was let to bailiffs from the mid 17th century,²⁵ and acquired its later name before 1835, when the attached farm was no different from those of other tenant farmers.²⁶ The house, of unusual size and quality for the area, is of eight bays and is the only timber-framed building in the parish. On the north were formerly a two-storey porch and a two-storeyed bay window to the hall; a service room, and a large stack and screens passage, separate the hall and parlour. The upper floor extends the house's whole length, both ends being originally jettied.²⁷ By 1957 the house was roughcast, but in 1974 it was restored and the timbers exposed; early, possibly original decoration survives at the south end of the first floor.²⁸

Much of the land held by Henry de la Wade in the 13th century remained part of Stanton Wyard manor until the late 18th century,²⁹ although on William Boswell's death in 1638 five farms in South Leigh passed to his younger son Edward Boswell or Bosvile of Temple Cowley, and later to Edward's son William, who in 1664 sold them to Sir Thomas Gore to discharge numerous debts.³⁰ Sharpes Farm, with 2 yardlands, 2 closes, and a pasture ground, was sold c. 1693 by William's brother Thomas to Charles Cottington of Fonthill Gifford (Wilts.), from whom it was bought by William Gore in 1706.³¹ In 1791 the remaining Stanton Wyard lands in South Leigh, comprising Herle's Wood farm, the Loanes, and Foots, were sold by the executors of John Bosvile to John Sibthorp with the rest of Stanton Wyard manor, which thus became incorporated into the main South Leigh estate.³² A small farm with 6 lands of arable in Budcroft Close and $\frac{1}{2}$ yard of meadow, also sold by Thomas Bosvile c. 1693, was held as an independent freehold by the Harper family during the early 18th century and by John Nalder, to whom it had descended through marriage, in 1793;³³ an allotment of c. 25 a. awarded to him in South Leigh down at inclosure was sold to Brasenose College in 1917.³⁴

In the early 17th century c. 75 a. of land and a yard of meadow were bought from John Skinner by Richard Parmee of Beard Mill in Stanton Harcourt. Before 1654 the land was sold to William Gore by Parmee's son Richard, who continued to hold it, for a yearly rent, with other lands in South Leigh formerly parcel of Beard Mill.³⁵

ECONOMIC HISTORY. South Leigh had its own fields and meadows by the 13th century.³⁶ Until the late 18th century, however, inhabitants of South Leigh and Stanton Harcourt often held strips in the common fields of both townships, and particularly on the east side of South Leigh in Lies field there was extensive intermixing of holdings with no clear boundary.³⁷ In the 17th century Stanton Harcourt tenants with isolated strips in South Leigh enjoyed common rights there after the harvest,³⁸ and the inclusion in South Leigh of Hamstall piece and part of Hamstall cow common³⁹ perhaps suggests intercommoning. In 1612 the agreement of the inhabitants of Stanton Harcourt and Sutton was required for an order regulating furze-cutting on South Leigh heath,⁴⁰ and following the consolidation of South Leigh into a separate estate in the early 17th century⁴¹ there were repeated disputes over boundaries, jurisdiction, tithes, and common rights.⁴² In 1773 the inclosure commissioners for Stanton Harcourt were empowered to establish a definitive boundary across Lies field and South Leigh down and to consolidate formerly intermixed holdings on one side or the other, after which all intercommoning between South Leigh and Stanton Harcourt was to cease.⁴³ Tenants of Woodstock manor claimed common rights in South Leigh in the mid 16th century, but there is no evidence that the rights were exercised.⁴⁴

The Great field and Little field recorded in the 13th and 15th centuries may have corresponded with parts of Lies field and Tar field respectively,⁴⁵ but most early land grants were divided among unidentifiable furlongs and reveal no obvious balance within the South Leigh fields.⁴⁶ A mid 14th-century extent of the Har-

²³ O.R.O., land tax assess.; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 113, ff. 5v-6; above, Intro.

²⁴ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2, ff. 61v., 71v.; above, Intro.

²⁵ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 850, 990, 993, 1005-14, 2561-2; ibid. MS. Top. Oxon. d 113, ff. 6, 61-63v.; O.R.O., land tax assess.

²⁶ *Oxf. Jnl.* 26 Sept. 1835; cf. O.R.O., tithe award.

²⁷ Cf. Pevsner, *Oxon.* 771; TS. Rep. of Vernacular Architecture Group, Oxon., 1987, p. 49; County Mus., P.R.N. 9109.

²⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 499/2, nos. 4406-7, 7351-7, 7366-8; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 771; above, plate facing p. 124.

²⁹ Below, Stanton Harcourt, Manors.

³⁰ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 879, 881, 896; ibid. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/33, f. 33 and v.; P.R.O., PROB 11/176, ff. 338v.-339v.

³¹ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 45/5, c 47/33; ibid. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 945, 967 a-c.

³² Lincs. R.O., BS 3/Oxon./1; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/33.

³³ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/33; Reading Univ. Arch.,

OXF 22/5/3, abstract of title to lands of Mary Nalder; O.R.O., incl. award.

³⁴ B.N.C. Mun., 571; O.R.O., incl. award; cf. ibid. tithe award.

³⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 113, ff. 1, 46v.; ibid. MS. Ch. Oxon. 864; cf. ibid. 823-5, 828, 844; below, Stanton Harcourt, Econ.

³⁶ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 704-15, 719.

³⁷ Below.

³⁸ P.R.O., STAC 8/264/14, rott. 3-6.

³⁹ O.R.O., tithe map; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11; cf. below, Stanton Harcourt, Intro.

⁴⁰ Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 97, rot. 6.

⁴¹ Above, Manors.

⁴² P.R.O., STAC 8/257/1, 8/264/14; ibid. E 134/5 Chas. I/Mich. 4; Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 759, 774, 999-1001; ibid. MSS. d.d. All Souls c 191/37, 40; c 192/44-7, 51, 55, 58.

⁴³ Stanton Harcourt Incl. Act, 13 Geo. III, c. 102 (Priv. Act), 10-12; O.R.O., Stanton Harcourt incl. award.

⁴⁴ Below, Woodstock, Blenheim (Park to 1705).

⁴⁵ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 704, 707, 715, 722, 727.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 704, 707, 709-10, 713, 715, 719.

court manor indicates a three-course rotation with a third lying fallow, but does not distinguish between lands lying in Stanton Harcourt and those in South Leigh.⁴⁷ In the early 17th century South Leigh was said to have had three fields from time immemorial,⁴⁸ and there were still three in 1662.⁴⁹ Some holdings in the 17th century and early 18th were evenly divided between Home, Tar, and Lies fields,⁵⁰ which were roughly equal in area,⁵¹ although others were divided between Lies field, Tar field, and South Leigh or Lies down, and sometimes included substantial acreages in Stanton Harcourt's fields.⁵²

The meadowland lay in the extreme south-west of the parish on both sides of the river Windrush.⁵³ It was separated from the village by the open fields, and in 1633 the manor court ruled that Land mead, north of the Windrush, should not be thrown open for common grazing before the crops had been carried from Tar field.⁵⁴ The extent of the medieval meadowland is unknown, although references are frequent.⁵⁵ In the 13th century Little moor, Land mead, and 'Schitescotehale' were lot meadows,⁵⁶ and division by lot continued in the 16th century.⁵⁷ In 1662 there were three common meadows, presumably Land mead, Little moor, and, south of the Windrush, Great mead.⁵⁸ The inclusion of part of Hardwick meadow within South Leigh by the 18th century⁵⁹ may indicate some sharing of meadowland with Hardwick's inhabitants, and for a time in the mid 17th century Ducklington meadow was apparently undivided from South Leigh's Great mead.⁶⁰ In the 13th century two grants of *c.* 15 a. of arable each included *c.* 3 a. of meadow,⁶¹ and from the 16th century the standard allotment with a yardland of *c.* 30 a. was a yard of meadow, said in 1658 to be 6 a.⁶² Less uniform medieval holdings were also recorded, however, and many 17th-century tenants held additional parcels of meadow.⁶³

In the 17th century there was common pasture on the west in Lies moor, later called South Leigh moor or Rushy common, and on the north-east in South Leigh green.⁶⁴ In the Middle Ages rough pasture was also available in the extensive woodland:⁶⁵ in 1235 Richard de Har-

court granted Henry de la Wade commons for 16 cattle in Stanton Harcourt and in 'Piriho' wood, probably Tar wood, in return for agistment for his pigs in Henry's woods of Stanton, probably Herle's wood in South Leigh.⁶⁶ Underwood in Herle's wood was valued in 1303 at 3s. a year, which by 1349 had risen to 6s. 8d., and by 1420-1 to 10s. 6d.⁶⁷

During the 13th century both the woodland and the waste were eroded through vigorous assarting. In 1227 Hawise de Grey impleaded Richard de Harcourt for inclosing part of the 'pasture', presumably common waste, and converting it to arable, and received common rights in the new closes once the corn was carried.⁶⁸ Some years later Henry de la Wade, lord of Stanton Wyard, recognized Richard's rights in the assarts of Leigh and 'Piriho' in return for common rights after the harvest and a promise not to grub or assart further without consultation.⁶⁹ By 1677 Herle's wood was a pasture ground held by a tenant farmer,⁷⁰ but in 1663 South Leigh manor still included 10 a. of woodland,⁷¹ and in 1792 there were isolated plantations in Hamstall piece and Snakes Hole corner, Sharpes close, Great breach, and elsewhere.⁷² Between 1793 and 1795, following parliamentary inclosure, over 3,000 trees, mostly pollard elms, were felled to provide fencing,⁷³ and in the early 19th century there were two major auctions of oak, elm, and ash.⁷⁴

Many medieval assarts remained separate from the common fields, forming a band of irregular closes with 'breach' and 'sart' names across the north of the township and around Tar wood.⁷⁵ In the 17th century the closes bordering on South Leigh heath were still known collectively as the Assarts, and during an inquiry into manorial services it was suggested that they might still owe a yearly rent of 11s. 2d. to the Crown, payable in 1279 from certain assarts in Stanton Harcourt.⁷⁶ In the 16th and 17th centuries most were let as pasture grounds or leys,⁷⁷ although Parsons breach (and later Ellins sart) were lammas grounds,⁷⁸ and in 1662 Thomas Ayres was growing oats in the 'Sauts'.⁷⁹

Despite medieval assarting, South Leigh retained extensive heathland across the north part

⁴⁷ P.R.O., C 135/94, no. 10.

⁴⁸ Ibid. STAC 8/264/14, rot. 1.

⁴⁹ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 864.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 895, 961, 970.

⁵¹ O.R.O., tithe map; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11.

⁵² O.R.O., Gen. XXVII/i/1; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/4; below, Stanton Harcourt, Econ.

⁵³ O.R.O., tithe map; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11; Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 703, 715.

⁵⁴ Wilts. R.O., 3/2.

⁵⁵ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 703-5, 707, 713, 715, 719.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 715, 719.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 731. ⁵⁸ Ibid. 864; O.R.O., tithe map.

⁵⁹ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11.

⁶⁰ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 851.

⁶¹ Ibid. 704-5.

⁶² Ibid. 744, 885, 914, 918, 939, 961, 971, 979; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 113, ff. 7v., 13v., 31v.

⁶³ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 707, 713, 773, 856, 910, 912, 926, 940, 949.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 747, 755, 864, 895; ibid. MS. Rolls Oxon. 97, rott. 2-3; Wilts. R.O., 3/2; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2123/28; ibid. incl. award; ibid. tithe map; ibid. Cogges incl. award

(1787).

⁶⁵ Above, Intro.

⁶⁶ Oxon. Fines, 99-100; cf. ibid. 128-9; below, Stanton Harcourt, Econ.

⁶⁷ P.R.O., C 143/44, no. 15; ibid. C 135/103, no. 38; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 20, f. 3.

⁶⁸ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 712.

⁶⁹ Oxon. Fines, 99-100, 128-9.

⁷⁰ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/19 (copy of Wm. Bosville's will, 1677).

⁷¹ Ibid. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 870-1.

⁷² Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11.

⁷³ W. Sussex R.O., Hawkins pps. II/1/230, II/2/244.

⁷⁴ Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/10, pt. 2: *sale cats.*

⁷⁵ O.R.O., tithe map; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11.

⁷⁶ P.R.O., E 134/5 Chas. I/Mich. 4; Rot. Hund. (Rec. Com.), ii. 856.

⁷⁷ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 734, 736, 789, 821-2, 830, 849, 901, 903, 912, 949, 954, 966, 983; ibid. MS. Top. Oxon. d 113, *passim.*

⁷⁸ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 941; ibid. MS. Rolls Oxon. 97, rott. 2d.-3; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2088, p. 32.

⁷⁹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 76/1/11.

of the parish until the parliamentary inclosure.⁸⁰ In the early 17th century furze-cutting was generally allowed from 2 February and fern-cutting from 14 September,⁸¹ although in 1612 the inhabitants of South Leigh, Stanton Harcourt, and Sutton agreed that no furze should be cut for three years.⁸²

The size of the medieval yardland is unknown, but in the 17th century yardlands on South Leigh manor were usually reckoned at 30 a. exclusive of meadowland. Those on Stanton Wyard manor may have been larger, and in 1605 yardlands in South Leigh belonging to the rectory estate were reckoned at only 15 a.⁸³ South Leigh was already divided into yardlands by the late 12th century,⁸⁴ and by 1279 had a fully developed manorial economy. There were then c. 10 villein yardlanders and 12 half-yardlanders, each owing labour services and money rents of 4s. 2d. and 2s. 1d. respectively; on the Harcourt estate in South Leigh there were also 13 cottagers, of whom two held their tenements freely for small rents while the rest owed labour services and rents of between 3s. and 4s.⁸⁵ Other free tenants were not listed, but in 1293 a total of £9 4s. 6d. was due from free tenants of the Harcourt manor, some of whom presumably held lands in South Leigh.⁸⁶ In the early 13th century Alexander de la Frith held $\frac{1}{2}$ hide freely in South Leigh of Richard de Harcourt,⁸⁷ while in 1315 Henry de Grey held a house and 100 a., including 5s. rent from two cottagers.⁸⁸ In 1323 the 16 free tenants on Stanton Wyard manor paid £17 16s. a year.⁸⁹

Besides their services on the demesne,⁹⁰ customary tenants in South Leigh of both manors owed services in the royal park at Woodstock, including mowing South Leigh meadow there and cutting browse wood for the deer in winter.⁹¹ In the early 17th century John Skinner, lord of South Leigh manor, advised his tenants to discontinue the Woodstock services, which by then were occasionally commuted for 9s. 6d. a year for mowing and an unknown amount for browsing, raised from all the tenants.⁹²

South Leigh was assessed with Hamstall for the subsidies of 1316 and 1327. Contributors numbered 38 and 57 respectively, most of whom were apparently South Leigh inhabitants.⁹³ Omitting John Wyard, lord of Stanton Wyard, who in 1327 was taxed on goods in South Leigh worth £12 10s., the value of movables taxed

ranged from 14s. 8d. to 93s. 4d. in 1316, and from 10s. to 96s. in 1327. Most people were taxed on goods worth between 20s. and 50s. In 1316 the highest contributor was John Maykyn, but by 1327 he was only the fourth highest behind Wyard, Henry atte Hulle, and John Hicks. Over all, the average value of movables assessed rose from 33s. 7d. in 1316 to 38s. 8d. in 1327, Wyard's contribution excepted.

As elsewhere, a period of expansion in the 13th century may have been followed by contraction or stagnation, and on Stanton Wyard manor between 1323 and 1349 the number of villeins fell from 23 to 13. Another seven died during the Black Death, and on the Harcourt manor in 1349 lands of villeins and cottagers formerly rendering £30 a year lay vacant and untilled.⁹⁴ Most mortalities seem to have been at South Leigh, where the population had not recovered by 1377.⁹⁵ By the 16th century most families in South Leigh mentioned in the Middle Ages had disappeared, although the Hornes and Hawkinses survived c. 1534.⁹⁶

By the 17th century wheat, rye, peas, beans, barley, oats, and vetches were all grown, wheat being the commonest and most valuable crop, followed by barley, oats, peas, and beans.⁹⁷ Markets included Woodstock, Witney, and perhaps Burford.⁹⁸ From the beginning mixed farming formed the basis of the economy, and sheep were probably important at South Leigh, as at Stanton Harcourt, throughout the Middle Ages.⁹⁹ In the 1540s John Seacole, described in 1546 as a woolman,¹ was twice taxed on £40-worth of goods in South Leigh,² and in 1552 left a flock of 100 ewes there and lands in Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, and Wiltshire.³ In the 17th century about half of those for whom probate inventories survive owned some sheep. John Brooke (d. 1624), Henry Parmee (d. 1639), and William George (d. 1672) each left more than 80,⁴ while Richard Wastie (d. 1664) had a flock of 110.⁵ In 1608 Richard Parmee was fined for pasturing 160 sheep above his allowance on common pasture in South Leigh.⁶ Most testators also left two cows or more, and several left pigs.⁷ In 1633 the stint on South Leigh green and in the common fields was 60 sheep and 12 cows per yardland.⁸

Copyhold tenure was superseded by leasehold during the early 17th century.⁹ The earliest leases were for 99 years determinable upon two

⁸⁰ Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797); O.R.O., incl. award, tithe map.

⁸¹ Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 97, rott. 1-2.

⁸² Ibid. m. 6.

⁸³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 113, ff. 7v., 8v., 13v.-15v.; *ibid.* MS. d.d. All Souls c 244/50, p. 2; below, Stanton Harcourt, Econ.

⁸⁴ *Reading Cart.* i. 402-3.

⁸⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 855-7; cf. P.R.O., E 179/161/10.

⁸⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, p. 67; P.R.O., E 152/4, rot. 4.

⁸⁷ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 708.

⁸⁸ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* v, p. 284; P.R.O., C 134/36, no. 7. The tenancy lapsed in the late 14th cent.: Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 721.

⁸⁹ P.R.O., C 145/90, no. 8.

⁹⁰ Below, Stanton Harcourt, Econ.

⁹¹ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 714; below, Woodstock, Blenheim (Park to 1705).

⁹² P.R.O., E 134/5 Chas. I/Mich. 4.

⁹³ *Ibid.* E 179/161/8-10; below, Stanton Harcourt, Intro., Econ.

⁹⁴ P.R.O., C 145/90, no. 8; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ix, pp. 146, 305.

⁹⁵ P.R.O., E 179/161/8-10; E 179/161/42; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 856-7; below, Stanton Harcourt, Intro.

⁹⁶ P.R.O., E 179/161/9, 175, 194.

⁹⁷ Based on a study of S. Leigh wills and inventories in O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon.

⁹⁸ P.R.O., SP 12/198, f. 107.

⁹⁹ Below, Stanton Harcourt, Econ.

¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xxi (2), p. 99.

² P.R.O., E 179/162/235, 253.

³ *Ibid.* PROB 11/35, f. 264 and v.

⁴ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 5/1/47, 144/3/2, 27/2/8.

⁵ *Ibid.* 300/6/37. ⁶ Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 97, rot. 3d.

⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon., S. Leigh inventories *passim*.

⁸ Wilts. R.O., 3/2; cf. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 21, f. 11.

⁹ Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 97, rott. 1d., 2d.; P.R.O., C 2/Jas. I/C 24/3; Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 729, 731, 734, 736, 744-5, 751 sqq.

or three lives,¹⁰ although after William Gore acquired the manor in the mid 17th century periods of 10 years or less also became common.¹¹ Leases were regularly renewed,¹² and from the late 16th century to the mid 18th several yeoman families in South Leigh survived as tenants for several generations.¹³ There were 16 tenants holding at rack rent in 1722, and 21 holding for quitrents; by 1771 total income from rack rents had risen marginally, but in 1773 rents generally were said to have been unaltered for a century.¹⁴

By the mid 17th century c. 17 tenant farmers of South Leigh manor had holdings of 30 a. or more, and there were 28 cottagers and other smallholders. Besides their yardlands in the common fields, almost all held parcels of old inclosure ranging from c. 7 a. to 30 a.¹⁵ Several larger farms were already beginning to emerge. The manorial farm, which included a consolidated block of old inclosures around the farmhouse, was held in 1657 by William Yateman for £117 a year,¹⁶ and continued in the hands of tenant farmers until the late 18th century.¹⁷ Richard Parmee of Beard Mill in Stanton Harcourt held 91 a. of arable and 2 yards of meadow in South Leigh.¹⁸ Thomas Hart held two farms rated together at £50, and 71 a. scattered throughout various old inclosures.¹⁹ William George and Robert Foster farmed comparable holdings,²⁰ and in 1662 Robert and his brother Thomas were taxed on 3 and 4 hearths respectively, among the highest assessments in South Leigh.²¹

During the 18th century the holdings of several old-established yeoman families such as the Colliers, Talbots, and Fosters were gradually absorbed into larger estates,²² and by 1792 there were six farms in South Leigh over 100 a. They included Bartletts (115 a.), the manorial (later Church) farm (174 a.), those later known as Homans and Warners, and a large amalgamation of 467 a. held (with Warners) by Richard Francis, centred on the later Station Farm.²³ Tar farm, originally Glebe farm, appeared in the earlier 19th century.²⁴ Despite such amalgamations there seems to have been little consolidation of strips in the open fields before inclosure, and in 1773 many holdings still lay scattered throughout the fields of both South Leigh and Stanton Harcourt.²⁵

Wheat, barley, peas, and beans were still being grown in the mid 18th century, but apparently no turnips, clover, or other new crops.²⁶ The meadows were said to be in good condition in 1755,²⁷ but in 1756 the barley on the clay land was poor following excessive rainfall,²⁸ and in 1769 areas of the sheep commons were ill drained, causing footrot; in 1773 tenants claimed that South Leigh down was the only field in the parish suitable for sheep in a wet year.²⁹

In 1773 the inclosure commissioners for Stanton Harcourt suggested inclosing South Leigh under one bill with Stanton Harcourt; the plan was abandoned following disagreements over proposed boundaries and allotments between Edward Gore, supported by his tenants, and the Harcourts.³⁰ In 1792 some two thirds of the chapelry, comprising 1,366 a., was still uninclosed, and parliamentary inclosure was finally carried out in 1793.³¹ John Sibthorp, the new owner of South Leigh, was awarded 6 a. for manorial rights and 1,233 a. in 18 allotments; the bishop of Oxford (as rector of South Leigh and Stanton Harcourt) received 65 a. for glebe, and John Nalder 25 a. for his freehold tenement. Cottage allotments comprised 9 a., divided among ten tenants.³² In 1795 the cottagers claimed additional common rights, which Sibthorp challenged.³³

The tithes were not commuted at inclosure because of opposition from the lessee of the rectory estate.³⁴ In 1792 Sibthorp declared himself determined 'to lay down with grass seed every acre that I can' in order to avoid tithes, and by October 1793 he had converted 10 a. of his demesne to grassland and was preparing to sow another 20 a. the following spring.³⁵ The same year he complained that his cottagers on the heath had ploughed up their ground in defiance of him.³⁶ Tithe-payment in kind prompted complaints from South Leigh farmers, and in 1815 Humphrey Sibthorp, then owner of South Leigh, paid the lessee c. £11,000 for the tithes and glebe lands in South Leigh for the remainder of the lease.³⁷

Inclosure did not produce immediate improvement. In 1793 Sibthorp wrote that there would be little grass or hay, and that the war was depressing local markets.³⁸ In 1795 the hay crop on the uplands was so light that he feared his

¹⁰ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 755, 758, 763-4, 772-3, 777-8, 786-9, 792, 798-9, 802.

¹¹ Ibid. 821, 830, 849-52, 861, 866, 880, 882, 895, 910, 912, 914, 918.

¹² Ibid. 755, 758, 801-2, 902-3, 906-8, 940, 943, 968, 974, 976.

¹³ P.R.O., E 179/161/194; *Protestation Returns*, 85-6; Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 990; O.R.O., land tax assess. 1760.

¹⁴ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 990, 993; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Harcourt c 279, letter 19 Jan. 1773.

¹⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 113, *passim*.

¹⁶ Ibid. ff. 5v.-6, 61v.-63v.

¹⁷ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 990, 993; O.R.O., land tax assess.; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11.

¹⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 113, f. 46v.; cf. below, Stanton Harcourt, Econ. ¹⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 113, f. 11v.

²⁰ Ibid. ff. 7v., 15v., 20v., 63v.

²¹ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, pt. 3, m. 288; cf. *Hearth Tax Oxon.* 109.

²² Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 990-1; O.R.O., land tax assess.

²³ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11.

²⁴ Above, Intro.

²⁵ Above; O.R.O., Stanton Harcourt incl. award.

²⁶ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 1007, 1009, 1011, 1014.

²⁷ Ibid. 1011.

²⁸ Ibid. 1009.

²⁹ Ibid. 1014; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 279, letter 30 Mar. 1773.

³⁰ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 279.

³¹ O.R.O., incl. award; M. R. Bruce, 'An Oxon. Enclosure', *Top. Oxon.* no. 18 (1972); above, Manors.

³² O.R.O., incl. award.

³³ W. Sussex R.O., Hawkins pps. II/2/244.

³⁴ Ibid. II/1/192; Bruce, *Top. Oxon.* no. 18 (1972). Part of Land mead became tithe-free at the inclosure of Stanton Harcourt: Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11; below, Stanton Harcourt, Econ.

³⁵ W. Sussex R.O., Hawkins pps. II/1/192, 217, 235.

³⁶ Lincs. R.O., 2 Sibthorp 4/34.

³⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 662, ff. 147-8; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 200, f. 59; W. Sussex R.O., Hawkins pps. II/4/500; B.N.C. Mun., drawer 107, abstract of title, 1875. The tithes were officially commuted 1848: O.R.O., tithe award.

³⁸ Lincs. R.O., 2 Sibthorp 4/34.

tenants would be unable to pay their rent.³⁹ Presumably the problems were overcome, and by 1815 South Leigh yielded a good income.⁴⁰ The agricultural improvements of the late 18th and early 19th century are reflected in a lease of Hill Farm to Thomas Slatter in 1810, which included detailed instructions about crops, rotations, fallows, and fertilizers, all designed to keep the arable in good order.⁴¹

In 1848 there were six farms in South Leigh of over 100 a., including Church farm and the later Station farm of over 400 a. The Glebe or Tar farm comprised 93 a. Only 18 a. were not let to tenants, consisting of scattered plantations and cottage allotments. All the farms had at least a third of their land in pasture or meadow, two being predominantly pastoral.⁴² Sheep farming continued to be important throughout the 19th century; in 1854 South Leigh was noted for its cross-bred Oxford Down and Cotswold flocks, bred by William Gillett of Church farm or Station farm, and greatly admired at Birmingham shows.⁴³ The trend towards pastoral farming continued, and by the early 20th century nearly all the principal farms were predominantly pastoral.⁴⁴ The chief exception was College farm in the south-east, deficient in pasture land but worked as one unit with Station farm during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.⁴⁵ In 1883 a report recommended that 100 a. of arable adjoining the new College farmhouse should be converted to permanent grass, and in 1880 c. 30 a. of meadowland by the Windrush, which had been turned unsuccessfully into arable, was reconverted into pasture.⁴⁶ In 1883 livestock on the combined College and Station farms comprised 40 horses (including 26 workers), 80 horned cattle (including 40 milch cattle), 70 hogs, and 400 sheep. Wool accumulated over the previous few years was valued at £1,000.⁴⁷

In the 1860s or early 1870s at least 12 families emigrated to New Zealand,⁴⁸ and in 1878 all but two of the farms were vacant.⁴⁹ John Bryan, tenant of College and Station farms, suffered particularly badly from the agricultural depression, losing £5,000 capital in the first five years of his tenancy through successive crop failures.⁵⁰ Drainage was inadequate, and the principal landlords undertook to drain the land at their

own expense, besides allowing rent-relief.⁵¹ Bryan's finances never fully recovered, and he died still insolvent in 1914.⁵²

The Agricultural Labourers' Union was active in the village during the 1870s.⁵³ According to the vicar attendances at meetings were never large and interest had faded by c. 1875.⁵⁴ In 1894 the Fabian William Hines addressed a meeting on South Leigh green on the workers' struggle for life and liberty.⁵⁵

During the 20th century mixed farming continued, with an increasing emphasis on dairy and dry cattle. In c. 1930 Church farm, Station farm, Ivy farm (run with the Mason Arms inn), and Hill farm were all predominantly dairy and wheat farms.⁵⁶ During the Second World War some of the pasture land was ploughed up by order, but had mostly been reseeded by 1949.⁵⁷

The usual rural tradesmen are recorded from the 16th century, including carpenters,⁵⁸ blacksmiths,⁵⁹ and in 1640 a 'painter'.⁶⁰ Members of the Drewett family were tailors in 1664 and 1697,⁶¹ and from the 16th century to the 18th successive members of the Shepherd family were narrow-weavers.⁶² In 1723 John Harwood, a Cogges brickmaker living at Hill Houses, was paying 1s. 6d. a year for the right to dig clay on the waste.⁶³

In 1851 there was a blacksmith, a carpenter, and a machine-maker with his own shop, employing five men;⁶⁴ there was still a smithy near Homans Farm in 1924.⁶⁵ In 1881 there was a plate-layer, the station-master, and a porter;⁶⁶ James Phipps, station-master in the 1880s and 1890s,⁶⁷ was a local man, one of a family recorded in South Leigh since the 16th century.⁶⁸ There was a grocer's shop by 1871,⁶⁹ and in 1891 there were three shops.⁷⁰

During the 20th century the building of the Lymbrook Close estate and several modern houses along the main Witney to Stanton Harcourt road⁷¹ increased the number of non-agricultural workers, many working outside the village in Witney, Eynsham, or Oxford. Most of the local crafts and trades had disappeared by 1987, when the village shop and post office was closed.⁷²

An allusion to a water grist-mill in 1712 probably refers to Beard Mill in Stanton Har-

³⁹ W. Sussex R.O., Hawkins pps. II/2/244.

⁴⁰ Lincs. R.O., 2 Sibthorp 3/3.

⁴¹ O.R.O., MS. Chap. VII/1/1.

⁴² O.R.O., tithe award.

⁴³ C. Read, 'Oxon. Farming', *Jnl. R. Agric. Soc.* xv. 230. The elder Wm. Gillett farmed at Station Fm., the younger at Church Fm.: O.R.O., tithe award.

⁴⁴ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/2/207.

⁴⁵ B.N.C. Mun., 170, farm reps. 1883, 1906; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/2/205.

⁴⁶ B.N.C. Mun., 170, farm reps. 1880, 1883.

⁴⁷ Ibid. farm rep.

⁴⁸ G. Moultrie, *Six Years' Work at Southleigh* (Burford, 1875), 15, 24.

⁴⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 344, ff. 373-4.

⁵⁰ B.N.C. Mun., 170, farm rep. 1880.

⁵¹ Ibid.; Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/67, rep. on Railway farm 2 June 1883.

⁵² B.N.C. Mun., 170, *passim*.

⁵³ Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 24; *Agric. Trade Unionism in Oxon.* ed. P. Horn (O.R.S. xlviii), 50-1, 65, 76.

⁵⁴ Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 24.

⁵⁵ Advertisement in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/10, pt. 2.

⁵⁶ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/2/207.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 22/5/67, letter re Hill farm, 18 Nov. 1949; B.N.C. Mun., 1506; *sale cat.* 1945.

⁵⁸ *Witney Ct. Bks.* 1538-1610 (O.R.S. liv), 91; Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 807.

⁵⁹ *Witney Ct. Bks.* 208; O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. i. 283, 306.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 26/2/33.

⁶¹ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 876; O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. i. 70 b.

⁶² O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 58/3/19, 149/3/5, 150/1/6; *ibid.* Mor. XLII/iv/1; *Witney Ct. Bks.* 166.

⁶³ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 990 b; cf. *ibid.* 991-2; above, Cogges, Econ.

⁶⁴ P.R.O., HO 107/1731.

⁶⁵ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/5/67; lease 10 Dec. 1924; cf. O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII. SW. (1900 edn.).

⁶⁶ P.R.O., RG 11/1513.

⁶⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh e 5, ff. 96v., 131v.; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883, 1887).

⁶⁸ P.R.O., E 179/161/175, 184, 194; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 113, f. 63v.

⁶⁹ P.R.O., RG 10/1450.

⁷⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1891).

⁷¹ Above, Intro.

⁷² Local inf.

court.⁷³ In 1792 there was no trace of a mill in South Leigh.⁷⁴

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. In the 16th century and probably earlier there were two tithings in South Leigh attached to the manors of Stanton Harcourt and Stanton Wyard.⁷⁵ Tenants of the Harcourt manor owed suit to the courts leet and baron of Stanton Harcourt until the creation of an independent South Leigh manor in 1604,⁷⁶ although from the mid 16th century the courts held separate sessions for South Leigh, which had its own tithingmen, constable, taster, and probably hayward.⁷⁷ In 1604 John Skinner, lord of the new manor,⁷⁸ instituted a separate court leet with view of frankpledge and court baron, held during the 17th century in October and (usually) April;⁷⁹ by 1769, however, there was said to be no court to oblige tenants to clear their drains and watercourses.⁸⁰ In 1605 several grants of copyhold previously made in the court baron of Stanton Harcourt were ratified in the South Leigh court;⁸¹ thereafter business was confined to the election of officers and regulation of agricultural affairs.⁸² Tenants in South Leigh of Stanton Wyard manor remained in a separate tithing after 1604, owing suit to the Stanton Wyard court baron and view of frankpledge.⁸³

In 1633 South Leigh's manorial officers comprised a constable, two tithingmen, two field overseers, a hayward, a cowherd, and a taster.⁸⁴ The haywards of South Leigh and Stanton Harcourt shared jurisdiction in Lies field and Lies down, where land held of both manors lay intermingled.⁸⁵ Following the separation of South Leigh manor there were several disputes over boundaries and jurisdiction in Lies field and west of Tar wood in Tar field, in which the independence of South Leigh as an ancient township was vigorously defended.⁸⁶

By the mid 15th century there were two chapelwardens,⁸⁷ one later appointed by the incumbent of Stanton Harcourt, the other by the parish.⁸⁸ Their income derived from sale of herbage in the churchyard and rents from four church houses, supplemented by occasional rates, of which 25 were raised between 1708 and 1799. During the 18th century rent for the houses was occasionally paid by the overseers, who from 1782 to c. 1816 paid a fixed annual

sum of £3 3s. for all the houses.⁸⁹ In 1770-1 the wardens' right to dispose of loppage from the churchyard for repair of the houses was challenged by the bishop as rector of Stanton Harcourt,⁹⁰ and from 1772 income from the churchyard was no longer recorded.⁹¹ The houses were sold in 1881.⁹²

There were two overseers by 1685, when there was a house at Church End belonging to the poor worth 20s. a year.⁹³ In 1776 the parish spent £34 on poor relief and in 1783-5 an average of £62. By 1803 expenditure had doubled to £134, or c. 11s. per head of population; the poor were then being farmed, which perhaps accounts for a figure relatively low for the area. In the 1810s, when there was a particularly sharp rise in population, the cost per head rose to peaks of c. £3 6s. in 1813 and 1814, and by 1817 was still c. £2 5s.; total expenditure was £867 in 1813 and £647 in 1817. The rate per head fell to c. 15s. in 1822 and rose to c. £1 4s. in 1831 when the total outlay was £415. Throughout the period of distress in the early 19th century expenditure in South Leigh was amongst the highest in the area.⁹⁴

In 1803 there were 15 adults on regular out-relief and 10 persons in a workhouse on Green Lane; £10 was spent on materials to employ paupers on out-relief. In 1813-15 there were 29-36 people on regular out-relief and 6-10 in the workhouse.⁹⁵ By 1831 there was no workhouse,⁹⁶ but 60 people supported by the parish were living in adjoining parishes because of lack of houses.⁹⁷

After 1834 South Leigh formed part of Witney poor law union, and after 1894 of Witney rural district. In 1974 it became part of West Oxfordshire District.⁹⁸

CHURCH. In or before 1176 Richard de Camville granted South Leigh church and 2 yardlands to Reading abbey.⁹⁹ The abbey had earlier acquired Stanton Harcourt church from Queen Adela, and Richard de Camville's grant perhaps followed a successful attempt by the monks to settle the status of South Leigh church; certainly South Leigh was by then, and remained thereafter until 1868, a dependent chapelry of Stanton Harcourt.¹ The chapelry's glebe and tithes were absorbed in the Stanton Harcourt

⁷³ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 975; below, Stanton Harcourt, Econ.

⁷⁴ Reading Univ. Arch., OXF 22/16/8, no. 11.

⁷⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 21 (Stanton Wyard); *ibid.* MS. Rolls Oxon. 98.

⁷⁶ P.R.O., STAC 8/257/1; STAC 8/264/14, rot. 2; *ibid.* E 134/5 Chas. I/Mich. 4; Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 749.

⁷⁷ Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 98.

⁷⁸ Above, Manors.

⁷⁹ Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 97; *ibid.* MSS. Ch. Oxon. 988-9,

994; O.R.O., Palm I/1; Wilts. R.O., 3/2.

⁸⁰ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 1014.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* MS. Rolls Oxon. 97, rott. 1d., 3; above, Econ.

⁸² Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 97; *ibid.* MS. Ch. Oxon. 994.

⁸³ Below, Stanton Harcourt, Local Govt.

⁸⁴ Wilts. R.O., 3/2.

⁸⁵ P.R.O., STAC 8/264/14, rott. 3-6; above, Econ.

⁸⁶ P.R.O., STAC 8/257/1; STAC 8/264/14; Bodl. MSS.

Ch. Oxon. 759, 999-1001.

⁸⁷ P.R.O., SC 6/960/11; *Visit. Linc.* ii (L.R.S. xxxv), 55.

⁸⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh b 6, s.a. 1726; *ibid.* MS.

Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 180.

⁸⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh b 6.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 654, ff. 70, 73-74v.; *ibid.* MS.

Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 26, ff. 401, 478, 480; *ibid.* MS. d.d.

Par. S. Leigh b 6, s.a. 1772.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh b 6; cf. *ibid.*, S. Leigh tithe

award.

⁹² *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh b 6, ff. 124v.-126.

⁹³ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 142, f. 405; *ibid.* MS.

d.d. Par. S. Leigh d 7.

⁹⁴ *Poor Abstract, 1804*, pp. 406-7; 1818, pp. 360-1; *Poor*

Rate Returns. H.C. 556, p. 138 (1822), v; H.C. 334 Suppl.

App. p. 174 (1825), iv; H.C. 83, p. 161 (1830-1), xi; H.C.

444, p. 157 (1835), xlvii.

⁹⁵ *Poor Abstract, 1804*, pp. 406-7; 1818, pp. 360-1; O.S.

Map 1", sheet 45 (1833 edn.).

⁹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 181. ⁹⁷ *Census*, 1831.

⁹⁸ *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 147-II, p. 202, (1840), xviii;

O.R.O., RO 3251, pp. 201-3; RO 3267.

⁹⁹ *Reading Cart.* i, pp. 402-3.

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 404-5; *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 31; below.

living,² whose incumbents served South Leigh in person or through stipendiary curates or chaplains. The chapel had burial rights by the early 16th century and probably from the outset, since the grant to Reading abbey included land for a cemetery;³ the font is 15th-century, and the chapel was presumably baptismal throughout the Middle Ages.⁴ In 1506 the chaplain was expressly required to administer all the sacraments to South Leigh's inhabitants.⁵ By the mid 15th century the chapel had its own wardens, already with an independent income;⁶ in the 18th century they paid a 'church tax' of 4s. 4d. to the churchwardens of Stanton Harcourt, and a 'priestship' of 8s. a year to the lay rector.⁷ In the Middle Ages South Leigh inhabitants were required to contribute to the upkeep of Stanton Harcourt church, but were refusing to do so in 1330; in the late 18th century certain lands in South Leigh owed charges totalling 9s. towards repairs of Stanton Harcourt church.⁸

In 1868 South Leigh was created a separate parish and the advowson vested in the bishop of Oxford,⁹ who remained patron in 1987. The net value of the new benefice in 1870 was only £70, partly derived from c. 11 a. of glebe,¹⁰ but in 1871, 'after much skirmishing' with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the living was allotted a tithe rent charge of c. £237.¹¹ In 1894 the net value was only c. £175.¹² A brick vicarage house in Italianate style with a three-storeyed tower, designed by John Gibbs of Oxford, was completed in 1871;¹³ it was sold c. 1963, when the Cottage at Church End was acquired as a vicarage.¹⁴ After 1970 there was no resident vicar, and the parish was served by a priest-in-charge; from 1980 to 1983 the cure was vacant, and in 1987 was served from Cogges.¹⁵

In 1506 the vicar of Stanton Harcourt was required to maintain a perpetual chaplain at South Leigh out of his own income of £16 13s. 4d.¹⁶ The curate in 1530, Humphrey Richards, may have served South Leigh full time, since there was a second curate to assist the vicar at the mother church.¹⁷ Some chaplains may have

resided, for in 1584 the vicar claimed to own houses in South Leigh which were being detained from him.¹⁸ In 1584 the chapel was served by John Wright, the curate of Stanton Harcourt, who administered the sacrament and catechized so far as time and leisure allowed; he did not preach there, however, the only recent sermon having been delivered by the vicar of Eynsham.¹⁹ Curates served South Leigh throughout the 17th century,²⁰ but by 1738 the vicar of Stanton Harcourt bore sole responsibility for both churches, residing at Stanton Harcourt and performing one service with a sermon at South Leigh every Sunday, administering communion there four times yearly, and occasionally visiting on other days of the week to perform baptisms or burials.²¹ The arrangement continued until South Leigh became a separate parish,²² although during the early 19th century both villages were served together by non-resident stipendiary curates.²³ From 1816 Thomas Symonds, residing at Eynsham, received £100 a year for the two cures.²⁴

Gerard Moultrie, the first vicar of South Leigh, had Tractarian sympathies, and was a well known writer and compiler of hymn tunes; an energetic pastor, he exchanged his former benefice of Barrow Gurney (Som.) for that of South Leigh to pursue an interest in rural education.²⁵ Besides establishing the National school and St. James's College he instituted a surpliced church choir, a clothing club for labourers, and a lending library, increased the number of weekly services from one to fourteen in summer and ten in winter, and secured the restoration of the church in 1872.²⁶ By his own account church attendance, originally low, rose sharply, but the number of communicants remained small, and Dissent persisted.²⁷ Arthur East, vicar from 1885 to 1912, improved the fabric and furnishings of the church, and completed the restoration in 1877–8.²⁸ Frank Freeman, vicar 1934–56 and a former naval chaplain, donated ecclesiastical furnishings acquired on his foreign travels,²⁹ paid for electric lighting

² Below, Stanton Harcourt, Church.

³ P.R.O., PROB 11/17, f. 62 and v.; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 179, f. 248; 181, f. 96; *Reading Cart.* i, pp. 402–3; *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* i. 128.

⁴ Below.

⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2091: copy of Stanton Harcourt vicarage ordination; cf. 'Visit. Oxon. 1540', O.A.S. Rep. (1930), 292–3.

⁶ P.R.O., SC 6 900 11; *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* ii. 55; above, Local Govt.

⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh b 6, *passim*.

⁸ Lincs. R.O., Episc. Reg. v, f. 427; O.R.O., Stanton Harcourt incl. award; below, Stanton Harcourt, Local Govt.

⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2013: Order in Council 28 Mar. 1868.

¹⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2013: cert. by G. Moultrie 4 June 1870; cf. *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh e 5, ff. iv, 178v–9.

¹¹ *Lond. Gaz.* 28 Apr. 1871, p. 2077; Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 4; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh e 5, ff. 178v–9.

¹² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh e 5, ff. 176v–7.

¹³ Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 5, App.; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2013.

¹⁴ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2013: docs. concerning sale of the Cottage; docs. in possession of Mrs. S. Standing, Glebe Ho., S. Leigh; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1935, 1939); below.

¹⁵ *Oxf. Dioc. Yr. Bk.* (1969 and later edns.).

¹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2019: copy of Stanton Harcourt vicarage ordination.

¹⁷ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* ii. 55.

¹⁸ *Archd. Ct. 1584* (O.R.S. xxiii–xxiv), ii. 210.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* i, pp. ix, 93–4; ii. 210.

²⁰ Oldfield, 'Clerus Oxf. Dioc.'

²¹ *Secker's Visit.* 114–16; O.R.O., TS. transcripts of S. Leigh par. regs.

²² *Wilb. Visit.* 135; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 563, ff. 61–3; d 565, f. 137; d 577, ff. 96–7; d 581, f. 82; b 38, f. 180; c 2013: Order in Council 28 Mar. 1868.

²³ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 549, pp. 128, 224; c 662, ff. 5–6; d 705, ff. 258–9; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 26, ff. 483, 486.

²⁴ Bodl. MS. Don. e 137, pp. 93 sqq.; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 577, ff. 96–7; above, Eynsham, Church; below, Stanton Harcourt, Church.

²⁵ Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 4; *Ch. Times*, 19 July 1872; *Oxoniensia*, xlvi. 141; cf. Moultrie, *Family Prayer. A Lecture* (1868); *Hymns and Lyrics* (1867).

²⁶ Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, *passim*; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 104, ff. 310, 318–25, 333–4; below; below, Educ.

²⁷ Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 4–5, 22; below, Non-conf.

²⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2208, nos. 27, 36; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 105, ff. 211–12; below.

²⁹ *Witney Gaz.* 15 Apr. 1955.

and a heating system, and left the Cottage, subsequently acquired as a new vicarage house, to the Church Diocesan Board in 1962.³⁰

At the Dissolution there was a chantry in South Leigh church, endowed with 1 a. of land rendering 6d. yearly for the finding of a light.³¹ In 1564 the land, then held by Sir John Harcourt, was granted at farm to John Smith and Richard Duffield of London.³²

The church of *ST. JAMES THE GREAT*³³ comprises chancel with north chapel, nave with north aisle, south porch, and west tower.³⁴ The earliest parts are late 12th-century: in the chancel they include an external string course, a reset tympanum over the south doorway, a pillar piscina set against the south wall, two altar brackets, and a window reset in the north wall.³⁵ Part of the east wall, which retains its medieval wall paintings, is probably also 12th-century, and a narrow rectangular window, now lost but formerly in the south wall of the chancel, west of the doorway, may have been of similar date.³⁶ The chancel arch, constructed partly with re-used 12th-century masonry,³⁷ dates from c. 1300, when the nave was possibly enlarged or rebuilt; the south doorway of the nave is of c. 1400.

During the later 15th century the church was extensively altered, much of the work being done by masons employed by William Orchard at Oxford and Stanton Harcourt, presumably while the chapelwardens were leasing the manorial quarry at North Leigh, from 1463 or earlier until 1485 or later.³⁸ About that time the north aisle of three bays and the north chapel were added, new windows were inserted in the nave, and the embattled tower with turret staircase was completed; the tower arch is earlier and probably 14th-century. The incorporation into the west face of the tower of a broken 12th-century tympanum, the abacus of which was found in the foundations in 1872,³⁹ suggests that 12th-century work survived in the nave until the rebuilding. The porch, probably also 15th-century,⁴⁰ was similar to its modern replacement, but windowless.⁴¹ Other 15th-century alterations included the insertion of new windows in

the south and east walls of the chancel. The tracery of the easternmost nave window is modern, the original tracery having been destroyed by 1806.⁴²

In 1710 the chancel ceiling was renewed,⁴³ and in 1812 the nave roof was repaired and possibly replaced,⁴⁴ perhaps lowering its pitch.⁴⁵ In 1871 the church was ruinous, and in 1871–2 the chancel was partly rebuilt to designs by Ewan Christian,⁴⁶ and the nave restored to plans by Clapton C. Rolfe of Reading. The stone piers of the chancel arch were rebuilt, the north chapel roof was reset on new laths, and the medieval porch was rebuilt, incorporating the remains of a 15th-century holy-water stoup.⁴⁷ Heating was also installed.⁴⁸ In 1887–8 the woodwork in the tower and the roofs of the nave, aisle, and side chapel were replaced, and the parapet was reset, to plans by H. Wilkinson Moore.⁴⁹ The tower clock was installed in 1905; Arthur East, the vicar, is reported to have made the face, which was repainted and regilded c. 1953.⁵⁰ The inner oak doors to the nave, designed by Sebastian Comper and commemorating villagers killed in the Second World War, were fitted in 1946. In 1959 the chancel was repaved.⁵¹

The font is 15th-century; in the 19th century it was coverless, and stood opposite the south doorway.⁵² In 1987 it was at the west end; the cover was designed by Sebastian Comper in 1948.⁵³ The pulpit was given in 1710 by William Gore,⁵⁴ and its stone base was replaced by a wooden one in 1936.⁵⁵ The screen in the north aisle is 15th-century, and the chancel screen incorporates 15th-century tracery; in 1710 an Italian cornice with the arms of Queen Anne was added to it,⁵⁶ but was replaced in 1872 by a painted wooden crucifix designed by Ewan Christian and painted by Gibbs and Moore of London.⁵⁷ The church was repewed in 1871–2.⁵⁸ The organ, built in 1890, was moved from the nave to the tower archway in 1936; the case was designed by Comper.⁵⁹ In 1987 a low wooden chest, dated 1780, stood in the nave.

Fifteenth-century wall-paintings were discovered in 1871;⁶⁰ the earliest were, over the chan-

³⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2013; faculty pps.; *ibid.*: docs. re sale of the Cottage.

³¹ *Chant. Cert.* 34.

³² P.R.O., E 318/47/2507, rot. 5.

³³ Dedication recorded in 1439: *Cal. Papal Reg.* ix. 56.

³⁴ Descriptions in Parker, *Guide*, 167–9; O.A.H.S. *Proc.*

N.S. iii. 27–31; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 769–70; exterior views, 1806–1961, in Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 68, no. 486; b 89, no. 174; b 220, f. 73; c 522, f. 14v.; c 499/2.

³⁵ See Parker, *Guide*, 167; O.A.H.S. *Proc.* N.S. iii. 29–30.

³⁶ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. b 220, f. 73; a 68, no. 486.

³⁷ Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 7.

³⁸ P.R.O., SC 6/960/11; SC 6/961/3; J. Harvey, *Eng. Medieval Architects* (1984), pp. xlix, 222–3; R. H. C. Davis, 'Cat. Masons' Marks', *Jnl. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* [3rd ser.], xviii. 48–75; O.A.S. *Rep.* (1938), 72–3, 77–9.

³⁹ O.A.H.S. *Proc.* N.S. iii. 30. ⁴⁰ Parker, *Guide*, 168.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*; Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. b 220, f. 73; a 68, no. 486; b 89, no. 174.

⁴² Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. b 220, f. 73; c 522, f. 14v.; Parker, *Guide*, 168.

⁴³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh b 6, s.a. 1710.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 102, ff. 332–3; b 42, f. 24v.; Parker, *Guide*, 169; Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 6, 8.

⁴⁵ J. G. Waller, 'On recent discoveries of wall-paintings at

S. Leigh', *Arch. Jnl.* xxx. 56.

⁴⁶ Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 5–9.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 7–9; *Ch. Times*, 19 July 1872; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2208, no. 27 (letter of 9 Nov. 1886); see Bodl. MS. Don d 141, f. 2; Parker, *Guide*, 168.

⁴⁸ Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 7.

⁴⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2208, nos. 27, 36; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 105, ff. 211–12.

⁵⁰ *Witney Gaz.* 15 Apr. 1955 (copy in O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh b 8, p-r).

⁵¹ Faculty in O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2013.

⁵² Parker, *Guide*, 169; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 68, no. 485.

⁵³ Faculty in O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2013.

⁵⁴ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh b 6, s.a. 1710.

⁵⁵ Faculty in O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2013; for the old base see *Oxf. Times*, 20 June 1903.

⁵⁶ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh b 6, s.a. 1710; Parker, *Guide*, 168.

⁵⁷ *Ch. Times*, 19 July 1872; J. Sherwood, *Guide to Chs. of Oxon.* 171.

⁵⁸ Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 7; *Ch. Times*, 19 July 1872.

⁵⁹ *Witney Gaz.* 15 Apr. 1955; Faculty (1936) in O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2013.

⁶⁰ Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 7; Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/10: newspaper cutting 30 Dec. 1871.

cel arch, a Doom, the upper part of which had been destroyed when the roof was lowered, on the north wall the mouth of hell and tree of evil, and on the south wall St. Michael weighing souls. Slightly later and inferior in quality were figures of St. Clement, on the north wall of the nave, and of the Virgin, originally part of an Annunciation, on the east wall of the chancel. All except the mouth of hell were heavily restored by Burlison and Grylls, and the soul-weighting was redrawn at twice its original size; a restoration in 1933 revealed traces of the earlier painting, still visible in 1988.⁶¹

Fragments of 15th-century glass survive in the east window of the north chapel, where they were transferred from the east window of the chancel in 1872. They were then said to have been complete until 'some years ago'.⁶² There are smaller 15th-century fragments in other windows.⁶³ The east window of the chancel, given c. 1872, depicts John the Baptist, an allusion to John Wesley having preached in the church.⁶⁴

A brass on the south wall of the nave depicts William Seacole of South Leigh (d. 1557); in the 17th century it was in the north aisle and included Seacole's four sons and three daughters.⁶⁵ Lost monuments include a marble to Robert Seacole (d. 1512) and his wife Alice, and inscriptions to William Spier (d. 1702) and Charles Smith (d. 1728).⁶⁶ The plate includes a pewter flagon, probably early 18th-century.⁶⁷ On the processional cross is a 14th-century brass figure of Christ, dug up in a garden in 1860.⁶⁸ In 1634 the parish clerk was arrested for trying to sell 'six small pieces of brass' with inscribed letters to a Woodstock brazier, who recognized them as church goods.⁶⁹

The ring of eight bells dates from 1907; there were formerly three bells dating from the early 18th and the early 17th century. The saunce is 14th-century.⁷⁰

NONCONFORMITY. James Barfoot, who in 1574 bequeathed a tenement in South Leigh to his son William, was a member of a recusant family in North Leigh.⁷¹ Mary Skinner, wife of the lord of South Leigh, was fined repeatedly for recusancy between c. 1621 and 1630; three other inhabitants, including Skinner's daughter, were fined c. 1625.⁷²

No nonconformists were returned in 1676, but in 1682 there were two Quakers named Shepherd, two Anabaptists, William Anker and Thomas Barfoot, and possibly an Anabaptist schoolteacher. In 1697 Barfoot was willing to subscribe the Articles but asked for a licence for a meeting house.⁷³ In 1738 there was no meeting house in the parish, but about a third of the inhabitants were Anabaptist; the number was said to be decreasing.⁷⁴ Between 1759 and 1771 five long-established Baptist families were reported to attend the meeting house at Cote, in Bampton. A visiting teacher was occasionally preaching in a farmhouse in 1805. The five Baptist families 'did not avow their sect' in 1808 but continued to be reported up to 1834.⁷⁵

In 1771 John Wesley preached at South Leigh, traditionally in the house of a man named Winter who had heard Wesley's first sermon in the church in 1725.⁷⁶ In the early 19th century it was reported that half the families in the village were dissenters.⁷⁷ In 1817 Methodists met in a private house, probably one of two registered for the purpose in 1814.⁷⁸ They were said not to be making much headway, although dissenters included several of the principal farmers.⁷⁹ In 1828 Jonathan Harris's house was registered, and in 1837 the Methodist group in the village had seven members; in 1831 it was claimed that more would attend services if a larger site was found, and over 40 children from the village regularly attended the Wesleyan Sunday school in Witney.⁸⁰

William Widdows's cottage at Church End was later used for meetings and seated 180, presumably in outbuildings; it was served from Witney, and in 1851 average attendance at the evening service was 100.⁸¹ The group remained fairly small, rarely exceeding 20, but in 1876, when membership was only 11, a small stone chapel in the Gothic style, designed by Charles Bell, was built.⁸² In 1878 many people attended both church and chapel.⁸³ Membership leaped suddenly from 11 to 62 in 1883, and although two years later it had fallen to 38 it remained above 20 until the end of the century. Thereafter there was a gradual decline to single figures until the union of Methodist churches in 1932; in 1942 there were 17 members. By 1968 monthly but not Sunday services were held in the chapel, which was sold c. 1969 and converted into a private house.⁸⁴

⁶¹ J. Edwards, 'A "Fifteenth-Cent." Wall Painting at S. Leigh', *Oxoniensia*, xlviii. 131–42; *Arch. Jnl.* xxx. 52–6; cf. *Oxoniensia*, xxxviii. 99; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 770; O.A.H.S. *Proc.* N.S. iii. 27–9.

⁶² Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 6; Parker, *Guide*, 168.

⁶³ Pevsner, *Oxon.* 770; Parker, *Guide*, 168.

⁶⁴ Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 6, 10; *Ch. Times*, 19 July 1872; below, Nonconf.

⁶⁵ *Par. Colln.* 272; O.A.H.S. *Proc.* N.S. iii. 30; Bodl. G.A. *Oxon.* c 317/10, pt. 2 (newspaper cutting 30 Dec. 1871).

⁶⁶ *Par. Colln.* 272–3; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 220, f. 73 and v.

⁶⁷ Evans, *Ch. Plate*, 99–100.

⁶⁸ O.A.H.S. *Proc.* N.S. iii. 31; *Witney Gaz.* 15 Apr. 1955; County Mus., P.R.N. 4606.

⁶⁹ Woodstock Boro. Mun. 77/2, 24 Sept. 1634.

⁷⁰ *Ch. Bells Oxon.* iii. 200–2.

⁷¹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 3/1/18; above, N. Leigh, Nonconf.

⁷² 'Oxon. Recusants', O.A.S. *Rep.* (1924), 33, 35, 42, 52–4, 56; above, Manors.

⁷³ *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 33, 35, 61 n.; O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. viii. 802.

⁷⁴ *Secker's Visit.* 145.

⁷⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 557, f. 61; d 560, ff. 81v.–82; d 563, ff. 61v.–62; d 565, ff. 137v.–138; d 569, f. 103; d 571, f. 99; b 39, f. 306.

⁷⁶ *Wesley's Jnl.* ed. N. Curnock, i. 59–60; v. 432; *Youth's Instructor and Guardian*, vol. xvi, no. 182, pp. 37–8.

⁷⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 707, f. 158v.; c 433, f. 180.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* d 577, f. 96v.; c 644, ff. 141, 155.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* d 581, f. 82v.; d 707, f. 158.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* c 645, f. 106; O.R.O., Witney and Faringdon Meth. Circuit, I/1/a, s.a. 1837; *Youth's Instructor and Guardian*, vol. xvi, no. 182, pp. 37–8.

⁸¹ *Ch. and Chapel, 1851*, no. 398; O.R.O., tithe award and map.

⁸² O.R.O., Witney and Faringdon Meth. Circuit, I/1/b–e; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 770.

⁸³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 344, f. 373v.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* Witney and Faringdon Meth. Circuit, I/1/e–i, VIII/1, XI/5/a; County Mus., P.R.N. 840; local inf.

South Leigh was put on a Primitive Methodist preaching plan in 1846 and camp meetings were held there. Meetings held in a private house in 1850 presumably continued, since in 1861 the Quarterly Meeting gave permission for South Leigh to acquire land for a chapel, but nothing came of it. There was a proposal that there should be preaching in the village in 1921.⁸⁵

EDUCATION. In 1682 a claim that there was an Anabaptist school teacher in South Leigh was denied.⁸⁶ In 1727 the curate or vicar of Stanton Harcourt was renting a schoolroom in one of the church houses at South Leigh.⁸⁷

Between 1805 and 1829 the Sibthorp family paid for the teaching of between 12 and 20 children under the age of 10, mostly in the winter months.⁸⁸ There was then no Sunday school, and although dissent was strong there was no nonconformist school.⁸⁹ The Sibthorps' school closed in 1829, and in 1831 there was said to be no means of education in the village.⁹⁰ An unendowed school for a few children was mentioned in 1834,⁹¹ and in 1852 a Sunday school was supported by subscriptions.⁹² A day and Sunday school existed in 1854,⁹³ but thereafter there was no mention of any school until 1871, when St. James's National school was built for 80 children,⁹⁴ and a government grant was obtained. The Sibthorp family gave 1 a., a new cottage rent-free for the teacher, and more than half of the building cost; the site was conveyed to the vicar and churchwardens in 1871.⁹⁵ The school initially had a roll of 41 and an average attendance of 35 children and infants. It was frequently found to be inefficient and the government grant was often withheld; no boy stayed long enough at school to learn to read fluently.⁹⁶

Attendance was 62 in 1890 and 1902.⁹⁷ In 1904 the roll was 102 but attendance only 50;⁹⁸ by 1912 the roll was down to 58. The effect on pupils of the dark and gloomy school building was reported upon unfavourably in 1922 and

1938.⁹⁹ The school was reorganized as a junior school with an average attendance of 17 in 1931; the seniors went to Witney. Attendance had not improved by 1938 and the school closed in 1946.¹

About 1875, primarily to improve the literacy of his choirboys, the vicar started a successful private preparatory school, St. James's College.² By 1923 it had become an orphanage.³

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. Sir Thomas Gore by will proved 1675 and Thomas Guyes by will proved 1692 each gave £10 to be invested for the poor.⁴ Lawrence Betts by will proved 1680 gave £5 to provide Easter doles,⁵ and John Hart (probably d. 1650) gave £50 to provide coats for the poor at Christmas.⁶

Those sums, together with £2 presumably donated in his lifetime by John Spier (d. 1720),⁷ were used c. 1692 to buy copyhold land at Hailey, in Witney, exchanged at inclosure in 1824 for c. 11 a. The expense of fencing consumed the rent of £8 p.a. for several years, but by Christmas 1819 twelve coats were given to twelve men and money was distributed at Easter.⁸ The rent rose to £33 a year by 1871 and was spent on clothing.⁹

Richard Talbot by will proved 1724 gave £10, the interest to be distributed in bread the last Sunday in January.¹⁰ The charity was invested in 1765 in c. 3 a. in Eynsham,¹¹ which yielded between 17s. and £1 7s. rent in the 19th century.¹² The profits of timber sales were distributed in coal or added to the clothing account, but in 1809 more than half of £17 raised from timber was lost through the insolvency of a bank.¹³

A Scheme of 1916 amalgamated the charities of 'Sir Thomas Gore and others' with that of Richard Talbot. A Scheme of 1977 provided that the income should be used for relief in need; the Witney land was then yielding c. £83, and the Talbot charity, still invested in Eynsham land in 1943, was by then represented by c. £78 of bonds.¹⁴

⁸⁵ Ibid. Witney and Faringdon Meth. Circuit, II/i/a-b, d; XII/1/d.

⁸⁶ Bp. Fell and Nonconf. 33, 35.

⁸⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh b 6, s.a. 1727.

⁸⁸ Ibid. d 569, f. 103; *Educ. of Poor Digest*, H.C. 224, p. 726 (1819), ix B.

⁸⁹ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 707, f. 158v., c 433, f. 180.

⁹⁰ Ibid. b 38, f. 181.

⁹¹ Ibid. b 39, f. 306.

⁹² *Gardner's Dir. Oxon.* (1852).

⁹³ *Wilb. Visit.* 135.

⁹⁴ Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 5, App.; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883); O.R.O., T/S Plans 51; O.S. Map 1/2,500, XXXII.10, 56. After 1946 it became the village hall. Pevsner, *Oxon.* 771 erroneously states that it is part of Holyrood House.

⁹⁵ Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 5, App.; P.R.O., ED 7/161/86.

⁹⁶ P.R.O., ED 7/161/86; Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 10-12, App.

⁹⁷ *Public Elem. Schs. Return*, H.C. 403, p. 216 (1890), lvi; *List of Schs. under Admin. of Bd.* [Cd. 1277], p. 201, H.C. (1902), lxxix.

⁹⁸ *Public Elem. Schs. 1906*, [Cd. 3182], p. 529, H.C. (1906), lxxxvi.

⁹⁹ O.R.O., T/SL 47, i. 19, 195; ii. 36.

¹ Inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.

² Moultrie, *Six Years at S. Leigh*, 10-14, 16-20; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 771; above, Intro.

³ O.R.O., T/SL 47, i. 222.

⁴ P.R.O., PROB 11/349, ff. 321v.-326v.; PROB 11/409, ff. 134v.-135v.

⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 7/2/18.

⁶ *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 412; for John Hart (d. 1650) see O.R.O., par. reg. transcript.

⁷ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 151/1/4 does not mention the gift.

⁸ *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 412.

⁹ *Char. Digest*, H.C. 292-II, pp. 36-7 (1871), lv.

¹⁰ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 67/4/25.

¹¹ Ibid. MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh b 8 (1).

¹² *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 412; *Char. Digest*, pp. 36-7.

¹³ *10th Rep. Com. Char.* 412.

¹⁴ O.R.C.C., Kimber files; B.N.C. Mun. 1287 (letter 22 Dec. 1943).

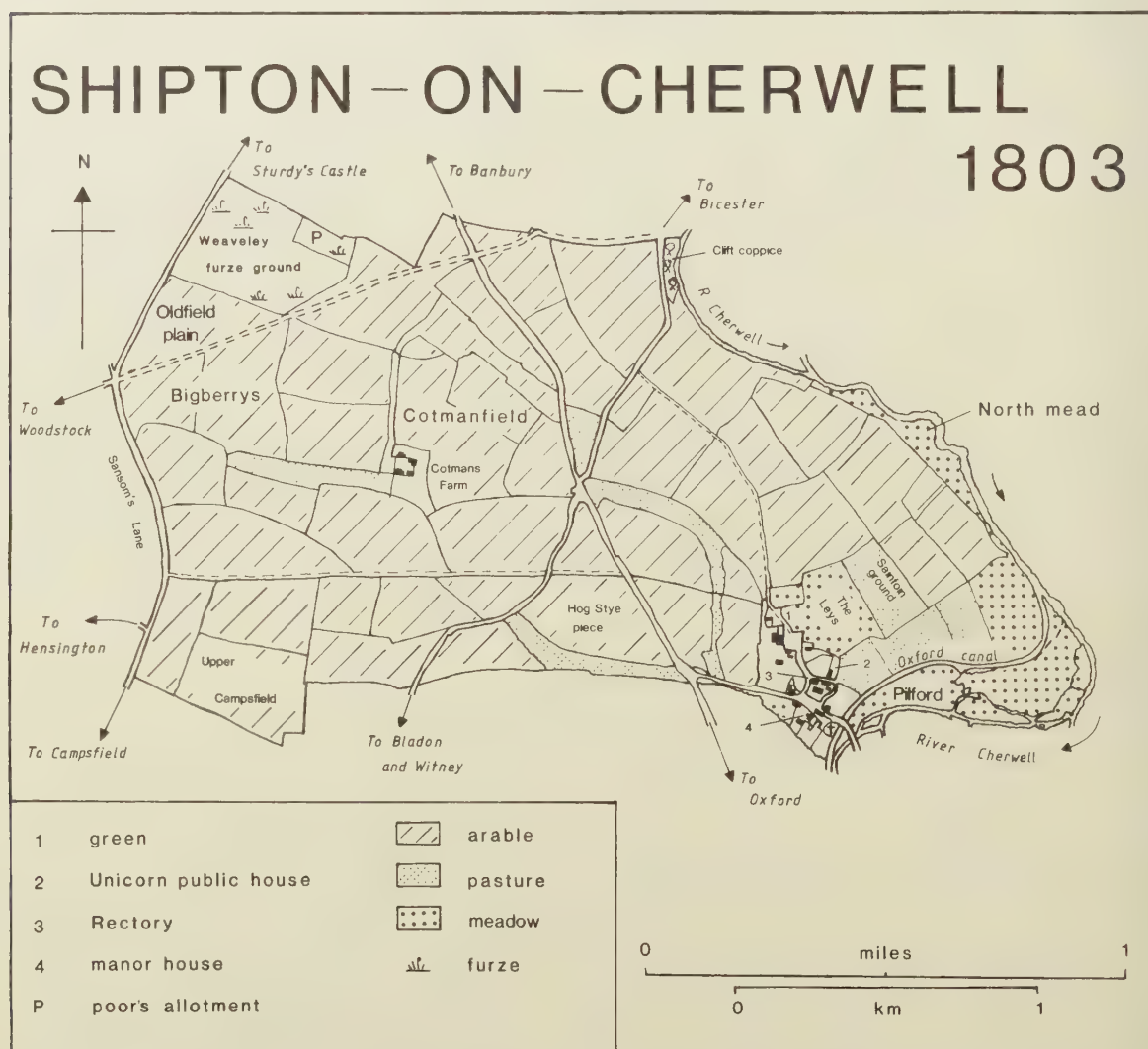
SHIPTON-ON-CHERWELL

SHIPTON-ON-CHERWELL parish covered 1,058 a. on the west bank of the Cherwell, *c.* 8 miles north of Oxford and *c.* 2 miles east of Woodstock; it was bounded by minor roads or tracks from Woodstock to Tackley and from Steeple Barton towards Oxford on the west and by a stream and field boundaries on the north and south.¹⁵ In 1955 it was united with the civil parish of Thrupp, formerly a hamlet of Kidlington, to form the new civil parish of Shipton-on-Cherwell and Thrupp (1,724 a. or 698 ha.).¹⁶ The following article deals with the parish as it existed until 1955.

A 5-hide estate at Shipton granted to Eynsham abbey in 1005 seems to have extended slightly further west than the later parish. Its boundary,¹⁷ starting in the south-east corner, ran from the Cherwell westwards, along a small

once part of the road from Steeple Barton towards Oxford and represented in 1984 by a short stretch of the road from Campsfield to Hensington. The 11th-century western boundary ran west of the later one, along a lost way to Bladon and thence to Bigberry, Bica's *burh*, just south of the point at which Sansom's Lane crosses the Hensington to Tackley road. It then followed another road to the Weaveley boundary. The northern boundary, like that of the modern parish, ran due east back to the Cherwell, which then, as later, formed the eastern boundary.

The change in the western boundary probably took place in the later 11th century or the 12th, perhaps as part of a general reorganization of estate boundaries in the area caused by the creation of Woodstock (later Blenheim) park.¹⁸ Agreements reached by the lords of the manor



stream, to the southern end of the valley called Shipton Slade. From there it continued westwards along field boundaries to the Wood Way,

¹⁵ O.S. Map 6", SP 41 NE. (1955 edn.). The contribution of Dr. R. P. Beckinsale, who wrote an earlier draft, is gratefully acknowledged.

with Oseney abbey between 1220 and 1223, in 1261, and in 1263 about rights in the Cherwell and its adjoining meadows in the south-east

¹⁶ Census, 1961.

¹⁷ J. Cooper, 'Four Oxon. Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries', *Oxoniensia*, I. 18-20.

¹⁸ Above, Bladon, Intro.

corner of the parish may have followed a dispute over the exact course of the boundary there. Certainly in 1618 Milham (7 a.) south-east of Shipton church was claimed by both Shipton-on-Cherwell and Hampton Gay.¹⁹

Most of the parish lies on the cornbrash with the underlying forest marble exposed in the gullies made by three small streams, all of them much reduced by modern drainage and farming methods, which combine to flow into the Cherwell in the south-east corner of the parish. There is some alluvium and river gravel along the Cherwell in the south-east, but in the north the river has cut into the valley bank, forming a steep slope of white limestone of the great oolite series. The stone and gravel have been exploited for cement-making since 1927.²⁰ The land rises fairly steadily from 65 m. in the Cherwell valley in the south-east to 100 m. by the Weaveley boundary in the north-west.²¹

The Banbury–Oxford road, an important early route, runs through the parish; it was turnpiked in 1755 and disturnpiked in 1875.²² In the Middle Ages it crossed the stream in the centre of the parish by a rocky causeway which gave its name to Stantebridge, later Stanbridge, furlong.²³ The Witney–Bicester road, called the ridgeway in the 13th and 14th centuries,²⁴ runs across the parish from south-west to north-east; it was turnpiked in 1751 and disturnpiked in 1870.²⁵ In the Middle Ages another important route, the Salt Street, crossed the south-west corner of the parish to join the Banbury road just north of Thrupp village.²⁶ It had disappeared by the later 18th century. An old road from Woodstock to Bicester survived as a track across the northern part of the parish in the 19th century,²⁷ but only the western portion remained in 1984. Minor roads or paths linked Shipton village with Woodstock, Tackley, and Hampton Gay. The Woodstock Way, running almost due west near the southern boundary of the former parish, was marked by a footpath in 1984, as was the road through Pilford (a name meaning the ford over a small stream, presumably the Cherwell) to Hampton Gay. The footpath which had replaced the Tackley road by the later 18th century has been quarried away.²⁸

The Cherwell at Shipton came under the jurisdiction of water bailiffs, presumably the royal officers who controlled the Thames west of Staines, in the 16th and 17th centuries.²⁹ A

wharf on the Oxford canal, which follows the Cherwell along the eastern and south-eastern boundary of the parish, was opened in 1787.³⁰

The Great Western Railway line along the eastern edge of the parish was opened in 1850; the nearest station, first called Woodstock road and later Kirtlington, was near Enslow bridge, about a mile north of Shipton village.³¹ A branch line to Woodstock was built through the middle of the parish by the Woodstock Railway Co. in 1889 and 1890 and opened in 1890; it was sold to the G.W.R. in 1897. A halt at Shipton, just west of the Banbury road, was opened in 1929. The line was closed in 1954 and the track lifted in 1958.³²

Woodstock and Oxford were the markets to which Shipton looked in the 16th century, and no doubt earlier.³³ No carriers' carts ran from Shipton itself in the 19th century, but presumably carriers from further north stopped in the parish. There was a post office, at Bunker's Hill by the cement works, by 1931.³⁴

In 1867 the only water supply in the village came from a well near a pigsty, and even that sometimes dried up in summer. Mains water was supplied c. 1947.³⁵ Gas reached the village in 1924.³⁶

Two long barrows survived in the north of the parish, near the Banbury road, until c. 1970, and there were traces of three other possible barrows in the same area; the medieval field names Langelowe, Littelowe, Brokenlowe, and Copedelowe referred to those or other nearby barrows.³⁷ There was a Romano-British settlement, occupied from the 2nd to the 4th century, on the patch of gravel north of the modern village, and a few Anglo-Saxon finds have been made in the same area.³⁸

Field names, combined with the archaeological evidence, suggest a number of small, scattered settlements in the parish in the earlier Anglo-Saxon period, some of them extending into neighbouring parishes. Bica's *burh*, on the western boundary, was presumably a small fortification, perhaps simply a fortified house. The personal name Bica implies that it dated from the 9th century or earlier,³⁹ and it may already have been deserted when it was recorded on the estate boundary in 1005. Immediately north of Bigberry was an area called the Old field, part of which was later in Weaveley in Tackley parish,⁴⁰ which may have been associated with the *burh*.

¹⁹ *Oseney Cart.* vi, pp. 102–4.

²⁰ Below, Econ.

²¹ *Geol. Surv. Map*, 1" solid and drift, sheet 236 (1938 edn.); *O.S. Map* 1/10,000, SP 41 NE. (1980 edn.).

²² 28 *Geo.* II, c. 46; 38 & 39 *Vic.* c. 194; Grundy, *Saxon Oxon.* 58.

²³ *Magd. Coll. Mun.*, Shipton-on-Cherwell 7^b, 24; *New Coll. Arch.*, 495; cf. *P.N. Glos.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 83.

²⁴ *Magd. Coll. Mun.*, Shipton-on-Cherwell 7^b, 21, 31; *New Coll. Arch.*, 12653.

²⁵ 8 *Geo.* III, c. 41; 32–3 *Vic.* c. 90.

²⁶ *Magd. Coll. Mun.*, Shipton-on-Cherwell 1^b, 6^a, 14^b, 24, 26; above, Kidlington, Intro.

²⁷ *Sale Cat.* 1862: copy in *Bodl. G.A. Oxon.* b 85b (43).

²⁸ *Sale Cat.* 1803: copy in *Bodl. G.A. Oxon.* fol. A 266(41); *Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon.* 103; *New Coll. Arch.*, 495.

²⁹ P.R.O., E 134/16 *Jas.* I/Mich. 29; A. Yarranton, *England's Improvement* (1677), 65, 180–4.

³⁰ H. J. Compton, *Oxf. Canal*, 37. The statement (*ibid.* 32)

that the Cherwell was navigable in 1777 appears to be based on a misunderstanding of J. L. Hogreve, *Beschreibung der in England angelegten schiffbaren Kanäle* (Hanover, 1780), 104.

³¹ E. T. MacDermot and C. R. Clinker, *Hist. G.W.R.* i. 155.

³² R. Lingard, *Woodstock Branch*, *passim*.

³³ P.R.O., SP 12/198, f. 99.

³⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1931).

³⁵ *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202–I], p. 343, H.C. (1868–9), xiii; O.R.O., Misc. Shipton I/1, p. 33.

³⁶ *Oxf. and District Gas Co. 1818–1948*, p. 14: copy in *Bodl.* 1795 d 308.

³⁷ *Magd. Coll. Mun.*, Shipton-on-Cherwell 6^a, 10^b, 14^b, 15^b, 20, 26, 31.

³⁸ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 297, 342, 372; *Oxoniensia*, vi. 88; *County Mus.*, P.R.N. 1307.

³⁹ M. Redin, *Uncompounded Pers. Names in Old Eng.* 85.

⁴⁰ *New Coll. Arch.*, 495; *Sale Cat.* 1803; P.R.O., C 3/426, no. 9; *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 23–5.

East of Bigberry, on or near the stream which flows past Shipton Slade Farm, was Sittitrop or Fititrop, recorded as a field name in the 1220s, 1310, and 1623.⁴¹ The first element is obscure, but the second is 'thorp', a farm or hamlet. Two furlong names ending in 'ton', Walton recorded in the 13th and 14th centuries and Hilton not recorded until 1588,⁴² may also mark early farmsteads or hamlets, although the meaning 'inclosure' is also possible. The first element of Walton, which lay somewhere near the junction of the Banbury and Bicester roads, might be 'waele', a well or stream, which would fit the topography, or 'weala', 'of the Britons' or 'of the (British) serfs'.⁴³ Hilton was on high ground further north, just west of the Banbury road. No trace of any of those settlements or possible settlements survives on the ground, nor is there any evidence of early inclosures except around the later village.

By the beginning of the 13th century, if not earlier, settlement was concentrated on or near the site of the modern village, the remainder of the parish, except for areas of permanent grass at Campsfield in the south-west and Old Field plain in the north-west, being divided into arable fields.⁴⁴ In 1086 a total of 11 unfree tenants and 8 *servi* was recorded on the two Shipton manors.⁴⁵ There are no 13th- or 14th-century surveys of the parish, but the names of 21 landowners or occupiers in the 1240s can be recovered from terriers in St. John's hospital deeds, and 20 heads of households had enough goods to be assessed for subsidy in 1316.⁴⁶ Only 43 adults paid poll tax in 1377, and there had been little if any increase in population by 1642, when 23 men over 18 took the protestation oath, or by 1676 when there were 45 adults in the parish.⁴⁷ Eighteenth-century curates reported between 15 and 18 houses and cottages, and in 1801 the population of 106 occupied 18 houses.⁴⁸ The population rose sharply from 104 in 1811 to 147 in 1821 and then remained fairly steady until the last quarter of the 19th century when it began to fall, reaching a low point of 71 in 1891.⁴⁹ There were no outlying farms until after inclosure in 1768 when Cotman Farm, later Shipton Slade Farm, was built near the site of an earlier field barn; three labourers' cottages were built near the farmhouse c. 1860.⁵⁰ The opening of the cement works in the parish in 1929 increased the population to 166 in 1931 and to 264 in 1951, the last year for which separate figures are available. The population of

the new civil parish of Shipton-on-Cherwell and Thrupp in 1971 was 402.⁵¹

Shipton-on-Cherwell village lies in the extreme south-east of its parish, approached by a narrow lane from the Banbury road; unlike the Thames valley villages to the south it is built on cornbrash, although there is a patch of gravel a short distance to the north. Most of the houses are mid 20th-century council houses. The church stands on the top of a steep slope above the Oxford canal which there follows a minor stream of the Cherwell; it always marked the south-east edge of the village. Both manor houses stood near it, the surviving Shipton Manor to the west, the lost Scorchbeef's Manor to the north-west. In the 17th-century there was at least one house on the south side of the lane to the Banbury road, west of Shipton Manor, and several others on the north; the village then also extended considerably further on the north-east than later, along both sides of a road to Tackley. It had probably been even larger in the Middle Ages.⁵² In 1662, when 13 householders paid tax on 40 hearths, there was at least one substantial house, taxed on five hearths, in addition to the manor house and the rectory house; it may have been the one occupied by Thomas Rathbone's nephew in 1612.⁵³ There was a green on the north or north-east edge of the village from the 16th to the 19th century and probably also in the Middle Ages, as the surname at Green was in use before 1234.⁵⁴

The only 19th-century additions to the village were a bailiff's house on its northern edge and the school and school-house on the east side of the north-south street, all built shortly before 1862.⁵⁵ In 1867 most of the 21 cottages in the village were very poor, 15 of them having only two rooms, and the poor housing combined with the unsatisfactory water supply resulted in outbreaks of typhoid fever.⁵⁶ Three cottages were declared unfit for human habitation in 1913,⁵⁷ and all but one or two of the 19th-century cottages had gone by 1984. Sixteen semi-detached council houses were built north of the village in Jerome Way in 1947-8, and another 34 were built in 1953.⁵⁸ In the late 1920s the Shipton Cement Co. built 18 houses at Bunker's Hill for its workers.⁵⁹ One public house, the Unicorn or the Unicorn's Head, was recorded from 1782 until 1807; it stood in the village, just north of the rectory house.⁶⁰

The water-colour painter William Turner of Oxford spent some time in Shipton-on-Cher-

⁴¹ Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell 26; New Coll. Arch., 491, 12667.

⁴² Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell 4^b, 6^a, 6^b, 14; New Coll. Arch., 495, 12653.

⁴³ P.N. Oxon. (E.P.N.S.), ii. 470-1; Ekwall, *Eng. Place-Names*. (1960), 494-5.

⁴⁴ Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell, *passim*.

⁴⁵ V.C.H. Oxon. i. 405, 428.

⁴⁶ Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell 1^b, 10^b, 14; P.R.O., E 179/161/8.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., E 179/202/59; *Protestation Return*, 90; *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 423.

⁴⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 26, f. 314; Bodl. MS. Top. Eccles. e 1, f. 99; *Secker's Visit.* 133; *Census* 1801.

⁴⁹ *Census*, 1811-91.

⁵⁰ Blenheim Mun., box 127; *Sale Cat.* 1803; *Rep. Com. on*

Children and Women in Agric. 343.

⁵¹ *Census* 1901-71.

⁵² New Coll. Arch., 4829; Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell 13^b; Ch. Ch. Mun., Shipton 1-2.

⁵³ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 287; *ibid.* PROB 11/123 (P.C.C. 45 Lawe).

⁵⁴ New Coll. Arch., 495; *Sale Cat.* 1803; Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell 6^b.

⁵⁵ *Sale Cat.* 1862.

⁵⁶ *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* p. 343.

⁵⁷ New Coll. Arch., 8943.

⁵⁸ O.R.O., Misc. Shipton I/1, pp. 38, 53, 143.

⁵⁹ O.S. Map 6", SP 41 NE. (1955 edn.); inf. from Blue Circle Industries PLC.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., vctrlrs' recogs.; Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 6 Oct. 1786; *Sale Cat.* 1803.

well after his uncle and guardian, William Turner, bought the manor in 1804. The younger William was married in Shipton in 1824 and buried there in 1862.⁶¹ In a major railway accident at Shipton in 1874, the crowded London to Birmingham express was derailed as it crossed the Cherwell just east of the village. Several carriages plunged down a steep embankment into the meadows between the river and the canal, killing 34 people and seriously injuring a further 65.⁶² An 'Oxfordshire Historical Pageant' performed in the manor house grounds in 1931 included scenes by John Buchan and A.L. Rowse.⁶³

MANORS AND OTHER ESTATES. Five hides at Shipton-on-Cherwell were among the estates granted to Eynsham abbey at its foundation in 1005, but the only abbey property recorded in the parish later was a rent of 10s. a year from the mill, which was exchanged with Robert de Gardino between 1213 and 1228 for land at South Stoke.⁶⁴ It was claimed c. 1100 that 5 hides at Shipton had belonged to Evesham abbey in the time of Abbot Aethelwig (1058–77) but had been taken from his successor by Odo of Bayeux.⁶⁵ There may have been some truth in the claim, but in 1086 Odo held only 2½ hides, which were held of him by Ilbert; Hugh de Grantmesnil held another 2½ hides which had been held by Aluric before the Conquest.⁶⁶ It appears that the original 5-hide estate had been divided into two shortly before or after the Norman Conquest.

The overlordship of Hugh de Grantmesnil's manor of *SHIPTON* passed, with that of Sibford Gower,⁶⁷ from Hugh to his son Ives, who mortgaged it to Robert de Beaumont, earl of Leicester. On Ives's death in 1102 Robert took possession of the estate, which remained in his family, passing to his great grandson Robert FitzParnel, earl of Leicester. From Robert FitzParnel the overlordship passed to his sister and coheir Margaret (d. 1235) wife of Saher de Quincy, earl of Winchester, and to her son Roger, of whom ½ knight's fee in Shipton-on-Cherwell was held in 1242–3.⁶⁸ On the death of Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester, in 1264 his estates were divided among his three daughters, Shipton passing to Helen, wife of Alan la Zouche, of whom the manor was held in

1284–5.⁶⁹ From Helen the overlordship passed to her grandson, another Alan la Zouche, who held it at his death in 1314, and to his younger daughter Maud and her husband Robert Holand, Lord Holand.⁷⁰ Maud was succeeded by her son Robert (d. 1373) who was succeeded by his granddaughter Maud, wife of Sir John Lovel, of whom the manor was held in 1400.⁷¹ Maud died in 1423, holding the ½ fee in Shipton, and was succeeded by her grandson William Lovel, Lord Lovel, who with his wife Alice was seised of two views of frankpledge in Shipton-on-Cherwell in 1454–5.⁷² There is no further record of the Lovel overlordship. In 1569 the overlord was Edward Stanley, earl of Derby. He was succeeded by his son Henry (d. 1593) and grandson William Stanley, who held a court for the manor in 1620.⁷³

A mesne lordship appears to have followed that of Ardley.⁷⁴ Ralph son of Roger gave 5s. in Shipton to Godstow abbey at its foundation in 1138–9;⁷⁵ the lord in 1201 was Robert son of Ralph, c. 1217 his son Ralph son of Robert, and in 1222–3 Ralph's brother Guy son of Robert.⁷⁶ Guy's son John FitzWyth was mesne lord in 1284–5,⁷⁷ but the mesne lordship was not recorded thereafter.

The demesne lord in 1201 was William son of Ralph, who was succeeded before c. 1217 by Roger son of Ralph;⁷⁸ both may have been brothers of the mesne lord Robert son of Ralph, and they seem to have been followed by Robert's son and successor Guy son of Robert, who appears to have held Shipton in demesne in the 1220s and 1230s.⁷⁹ Before 1241, however, Guy granted the manor to John of Paulton, who was lord in 1242–3.⁸⁰ The Paultons, whose chief lands lay in Somerset and Wiltshire, held Shipton for c. 200 years. John was succeeded before 1245 by Roger of Paulton who held until 1261 or later.⁸¹ In 1268 and 1284–5 Thomas de St. Vigore was lord, perhaps in right of his wife or by lease, for at his death in 1295 he held no land in Oxfordshire.⁸² John Paulton seems to have been lord in 1298 and 1307, but in 1314 Maud Paulton and her son Roger held the manor.⁸³ In 1332 and 1346 another John Paulton was lord;⁸⁴ he was presumably the John Paulton who held Lake in Wilsford (South) and Oare in Wilcot (Wilts.) and Ower in Eling (Hants). If so, he or a son of the same name was alive in 1361 but had been succeeded by his son Robert before 1374.⁸⁵

⁶¹ L. Herrmann, 'William Turner of Oxf.' *Oxoniensia*, xxvi/xxvii. 312–18.

⁶² *Illustrated London News*, 2 Jan. 1875; L. T. C. Rolt, *Red for Danger* (4th edn.), 77–81.

⁶³ O.R.O., Misc. Budd. IV/7.

⁶⁴ *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 25–7, 156.

⁶⁵ R. R. Darlington, 'Aethelwig Abbot of Evesham', *E.H.R.* xlviii. 188–9; cf. M. Gelling, *Early Chart. Thames Valley*, p. 125.

⁶⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405, 428.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* x. 234.

⁶⁸ *Bk. of Fees*, ii. 821.

⁶⁹ *Feud. Aids*, iv. 156.

⁷⁰ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* v, p. 255; *Cal. Close*, 1313–18, 116–17, 155.

⁷¹ P.R.O., C 137/22, no. 29; *Complete Peerage*, vi. 528–32.

⁷² P.R.O., C 139/6, no. 51; *Inq. p.m.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 264.

⁷³ B.L. Add. Roll 59146; P.R.O., C 142/350, no. 59.

⁷⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* vi. 8–9.

⁷⁵ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, p. 29.

⁷⁶ *Oxon. Fines*, p. 20; *Rot. Welles*, i (L.R.S. iii), 54; *Oseney Cart.* vi, p. 103.

⁷⁷ *Feud. Aids*, iv. 156.

⁷⁸ *Oxon. Fines*, p. 20; *Rot. Welles*, i. 54.

⁷⁹ *Magd. Coll. Mun.*, Shipton-on-Cherwell 8^b, 10^a, 27.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 21, 30; *Bk. of Fees*, ii. 821.

⁸¹ *Rot. Grosse*. (L.R.S. xi), 488; *Oseney Cart.* vi, pp. 103–4.

⁸² *Cal. Chart. R.* 1257–1300, 100; *Feud. Aids*, iv. 156; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, p. 148.

⁸³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 55, f. 62; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* v, p. 255; P.R.O., E 179/161/10.

⁸⁴ *Magd. Coll. Mun.*, Shipton-on-Cherwell 19^b (1); *Feud. Aids*, iv. 177.

⁸⁵ *V.C.H. Hants*, iv. 551; *V.C.H. Wilts.* vi. 214; x. 195; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xi, p. 169; xiv, p. 82.

Robert's son Robert held Shipton-on-Cherwell at his death in 1400, and was succeeded by his brother William, who sold it in 1447 to Ralph Boteler, Lord Sudeley (d. 1473).⁸⁶ Shipton-on-Cherwell was one of the manors assigned in 1496 to Lord Sudeley's great-nephew, Sir John Norbury, who in 1497 settled it on his granddaughter Jane Halywell and her husband Edmund Bray, later Lord Bray.⁸⁷ Edmund Bray died in 1539, and in 1546 Jane, with her second husband Urian Brereton and her son John Bray, Lord Bray, sold Shipton-on-Cherwell to Henry Rathbone and his son Thomas.⁸⁸

Henry Rathbone died in 1557, and Thomas died in 1594 leaving Shipton to his younger son John (d. 1614) who was succeeded by his daughter Alice.⁸⁹ Alice married Robert Standard of Whitehill in Tackley (d. 1660), and the manor passed to her son (d. 1698) and grandson (d. 1705), both called Robert Standard.⁹⁰ The last Robert left a son, another Robert Standard (d. 1706), and a daughter Barbara who, on coming of age in 1720, settled the manor on herself and her heirs with reversion to her maternal uncle Adolphus Meetkerke, a settlement confirmed by her will made in 1722.⁹¹ Barbara Standard was declared a lunatic in 1730 and died unmarried in 1767 when, earlier attempts by her father's family to nullify the settlements of 1720 and 1722 having failed, the manor passed to Adolphus Meetkerke of Rushden (Herts.), son of Barbara's uncle, who had died in 1732.⁹² The younger Adolphus was succeeded in 1784 by his son, another Adolphus, who in 1804 sold Shipton-on-Cherwell to William Turner. Turner was succeeded in 1853 by his son Vincent John, who sold the manor in 1867 to Joseph Prior of Woodstock, acting for the duke of Marlborough.⁹³ The Blenheim estate still owned most of the land in 1984, but the manor house and park were sold in 1915, and acquired in 1920 by Frank Gray, former Liberal M.P. for Oxford. Gray alarmed some of his neighbours by using the Manor for the rehabilitation of young tramps. The house was sold on Gray's death in 1935, and passed through several hands before being bought in 1971 by the entrepreneur Richard Branson.⁹⁴

Shipton-on-Cherwell Manor is a large, irregular house of two storeys with gabled attics. In its centre is a 17th-century range, probably built by one of the Standard family as a cross-wing to a house which had its main range on the north. In 1660 the house contained a parlour, hall, six

chambers, kitchen, cellar, pantry and buttery.⁹⁵ The northern range was rebuilt in the 18th century and was extended westwards in the early 19th century when there was some internal refitting, presumably by William Turner. Later in the 19th century the house was extended southwards, probably again by Turner or possibly by V. J. Turner's tenant H. Cole.⁹⁶ The 19th-century work presumably included the insertion of three 16th-century fireplaces in the main rooms. Frank Gray greatly extended the kitchen wing on the north side of the house⁹⁷ and appears to have renewed much of the exterior stonework. Richard Branson renovated the house and converted the outbuildings into recording studios. William Turner created a park around the house, acquiring in 1811 common rights in Kidlington which, at inclosure soon afterwards, were commuted for a block of land immediately south and west of the house.⁹⁸ Richard Branson dammed the small stream which had formed the parish boundary, creating a lake in front of the house.

The overlordship of the estate held by Ilbert de Lacy of Odo of Bayeux in 1086, later called *SCORCHEBEEF'S* after its 13th-century undertenants, passed to Ilbert on Odo's forfeiture in 1088. It then followed the same descent as Ilbert's Cassington manor,⁹⁹ becoming part of the honor of Pontefract held by the earls of Lincoln and the dukes of Lancaster. In 1235–6 the $\frac{1}{2}$ knight's fee was held of John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, and in 1284–5 and 1311 of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln.¹ On the death of Henry of Grosmont, duke of Lancaster, in 1361, the $\frac{1}{2}$ fee was assigned to his daughter Maud, but on her death the following year it reverted to his surviving daughter Blanche and her husband John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. In 1401–2 it was held of the duchy of Lancaster, but in 1486 the tenure was unknown.²

By c. 1200 the demesne lord was Simon Scorchbeef who was succeeded by his son Geoffrey and by Geoffrey's son Simon who held from c. 1220 to c. 1250.³ In 1283 and 1284 John Scorchbeef was lord, but in 1284–5 the manor was held by Maud Scorchbeef, perhaps his widow.⁴ By 1311 she had been succeeded by another John Scorchbeef who held until 1336 or later.⁵ In 1349 John's son Thomas granted his land in Shipton-on-Cherwell to his brother Nicholas, who at once sold it to Philip of Brize Norton who sold it to John de la Chaumbre of Baldon.⁶ John died c. 1402 and was succeeded

⁸⁶ P.R.O., C 137/22, no. 29; *ibid.* CP 25(1)/191/28, no. 12; *Complete Peerage*, xii (1), 421.

⁸⁷ *Cal. Close*, 1500–9, p. 68.

⁸⁸ P.R.O., CP 25(2)/34/230, no. 39; *Complete Peerage*, ii, 287.

⁸⁹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 187, f. 149; *ibid.* 55/1/36; P.R.O., C 142/350, no. 59.

⁹⁰ *Par. Colln.* 257–8; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 61/2/2, 62/4/41.

⁹¹ Blenheim Mun., box 122; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 93, f. 289.

⁹² New Coll. Arch., 1506; Blenheim Mun., boxes 123, 125.

⁹³ *V.C.H. Herts.* iii. 267–8; Blenheim Mun., boxes 123, 125.

⁹⁴ Inf. from Estate Office, Blenheim Palace, and from Mr. I. Pearson, Shipton Manor; F. Gray, *The Tramp*, 62–70;

V.C.H. Oxon. iv. 254.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 61/2/2. ⁹⁶ *Sale Cat.* 1862.

⁹⁷ O.R.O., Misc. Budd. IV/6.

⁹⁸ W. Wing, *Annals of Kidlington*, 5–6; O.R.O., Kidlington incl. award.

⁹⁹ Above.

¹ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 448; *Feud. Aids*, iv. 156; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* v, p. 156.

² *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xi, p. 109; *Cal. Close* 1360–4, 208; *Feud. Aids*, vi. 625–6; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* Hen. VII, i, pp. 32–3.

³ Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell 1, 2^b, 4^b, 10^b, 11^b, 14^b; *Oseney Cart.* vi. 102.

⁴ Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell 6; New Coll. Arch., 12660; *Feud. Aids*, iv. 156.

⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* v, p. 156; New Coll. Arch., 12658.

⁶ New Coll. Arch., 12655, 12665–6.

by his son William Baldon (d. 1419) who was followed by his son Thomas Baldon (d. 1437).⁷ From Thomas the manor passed to his daughter and coheir Agnes, whose husband William Brome of Holton was lord in 1454 and 1457; in 1469 it was settled on Agnes and her second husband Geoffrey Gate and Agnes's heirs.⁸ Robert Brome, presumably Alice's son, died seised of the manor in 1486 and was succeeded by his son Christopher who died before 1510.⁹ Christopher's son John, who came of age in 1514, sold the manor in 1532 to four men acting for New College, Oxford.¹⁰ New College leased the estate in three portions, Scorchebeef's farm, Chittam's, and Hanwell's, to a succession of tenants. From 1588 Scorchebeef's, from 1629 Chittam's, and from 1666 Hanwell's were leased to the holder of the other Shipton manor, until 1901 when the duke of Marlborough gave up the tenancy.¹¹ The bulk of the college estate was sold to Shipton Syndicate Ltd. in 1921.¹²

The Scorchebeef manor house stood north of the church, on or near the site occupied in 1984 by the outbuildings of Shipton Manor. The medieval house was burnt down in the earlier 16th century and rebuilt by New College's lessee Henry Bailey before 1564. By c. 1623 it had been demolished.¹³ The site was assigned to Adolphus Meetkerke at inclosure in 1768.

The hospital of St. John the Baptist, Oxford, acquired an estate of over 100 a. in Shipton-on-Cherwell in the 13th century, mainly between c. 1230 and 1257, by a series of small gifts or purchases from Simon Scorchebeef and other members of his family, from his tenants, notably Peter of Shipton, and from the rector, Walter.¹⁴ In 1454 the hospital leased its estate to William Brome for 99 years, and in 1457 it sold the freehold to him and the land was reabsorbed into the Scorchebeef manor.¹⁵

Between 1220 and 1230 Peter of Shipton and Parnel his wife granted the Templars 4 a. in Shipton-on-Cherwell, which passed to the Hospitallers.¹⁶ In 1544 the estate, a croft and 5½ a., was granted, with Hensington manor, to Sir Robert Tyrwhitt and Thomas Kydall, who sold it the same year to Jerome Westall.¹⁷ The estate, then 12 a., descended with Hensington manor until in 1629 John Whitton sold it to Henry Coles and William Abbot.¹⁸ In 1662 Alice, widow of William Abbot, sold to Robert Standard 12 a. formerly in the tenure of John Whitton or Henry Coles,¹⁹ and the land was absorbed into the Standards' manor.

Between c. 1270 and 1280 Adam son of Thomas of Kidlington granted Oseney abbey a

messuage and 6½ a. of land in Shipton-on-Cherwell. The estate passed to Christ Church which sold it to V. J. Turner in 1859.²⁰

Two acres given to support anniversaries in the church were granted in 1552 to John Wright and Thomas Holmes, two London speculators, who sold them in 1553 to Thomas Parret of Oxford. Parret sold the land in 1561 to Henry Coles of Shipton, whose widow Catherine sold it in 1610 to Ralph Claris; Claris sold the 2 a. to New College in 1619.²¹

ECONOMIC HISTORY. By the 16th century the arable at Shipton-on-Cherwell was divided between Court field (c. 550 a.) in the south and east and Town field (c. 420 a.) in the north and west. The names suggest a division between demesne and tenants' land, and indeed four fifths of Court field was composed of manorial demesne or glebe while in Town field the lords of the manor had only a few acres. In the north-west corner of the parish was Old field (c. 35 a.), which does not seem to have been part of the Town field by which it was surrounded; the lord of the manor held a block of 15 a. there, the remainder being held by tenants.²²

Surviving 13th-century terriers suggest a similar, although possibly less clear cut, division between an area of predominantly manorial demesne in the south and east and the peasants' or cotman land in the north and west.²³ Old field was recorded only once,²⁴ and that in a way consistent with its being distinct from the cotman land. Most terriers which divided land into fields divided it into a north and a south field, but two terriers, one of demesne and one of tenants' land, divided land between east and west fields,²⁵ the east field in most respects being equivalent to the north field and the west to the south. As a two-course rotation of crops was practised,²⁶ it seems that the demesne and the cotman land were each divided into two fields, the demesne probably into south-east and north-east, the cotman land into north-west and south-west, the parts of each being usually called north and south fields. About 1245, however, 9½ a., apparently all of demesne, were divided among north, south, east, and west fields.²⁷ The demesne and the cotman land were presumably cultivated separately, so that there were in effect two field systems in the parish. As the demesne lands of both manors lay intermingled with each other in the same field, the division between lords' and tenants' land presumably dated from before the division of the

⁷ Ibid. 12671, 12664; *V.C.H. Oxon.* vii. 172.

⁸ Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell 1^a; New Coll. Arch., 12662; *Cal. Close* 1468-76, 66.

⁹ *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, i, pp. 32-3; *Cat. Anct. D.* v, pp. 396-7.

¹⁰ New Coll. Arch., 12670.

¹¹ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 1873-1934, *passim*; New Coll. Arch., 8943.

¹² Inf. from the New Coll. Land Agent, Mr. C. B. Harwood.

¹³ O.R.O., incl. award; Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 1877, 1898.

¹⁴ Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell 1, 1^b, 2, 3^b, 4, 10, 10^b, 10^c, 12^a, 12^b, 14, 15, 19, 24, 26, 29.

¹⁵ Ibid. 1^a; New Coll. Arch., 12662.

¹⁶ *Sandford Cart.* ii, pp. 212-13; Corpus Christi Coll. Oxf. MS. 320, f. 26.

¹⁷ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (2), pp. 185, 418.

¹⁸ P.R.O., C 142/303, no. 131; Blenheim Mun., box 122.

¹⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 122; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 62/4/41.

²⁰ *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 137; Blenheim Mun., box 123; abstract of title.

²¹ New Coll. Arch., 4828.

²² Ibid. 495.

²³ Para. based on Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell, *passim*.

²⁴ Ibid. 6; *Sandford Cart.* ii, pp. 212-13.

²⁵ Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell 17, 20.

²⁶ Ibid. 14.

manor in the mid 11th century. Possibly the demesne or Court field was originally the field for a manorial settlement on or near the site of the surviving village, the cotman land or Town field was the field for a separate settlement at Fititrop or Walton (although Walton itself was in the later Court field). If Old field was indeed an old field it may have been associated with a small settlement or house at Bigberry (Bica's *burh*); such a field apparently once extended into the neighbouring township of Weaveley the south-west corner of which was called Old field in the early 17th century.²⁸

In the 16th and 17th centuries the Town field was usually divided into Copilow field (c. 112 a.), an unnamed second field (182 a.), and the third or Cotman field (125 a.), but in 1623 and 1666 the second field was divided between Fulwell Dap field (c. 60 a.) and Salter's Way field (c. 122 a.).²⁹ There is no evidence as to how the fields were cultivated. No divisions were recorded in the Court field, but in 1614 a total of 221 a. out of c. 300 a. of arable on the manorial demesne was under crop,³⁰ perhaps suggesting a four-course rotation. Probably soon after 1588, when he acquired the lease of New College's Scorchebeef's farm, John Rathbone inclosed the southern part of Court field, between the village and the river, extinguished rights of common, and converted it to pasture. The inclosure was presumably carried out before 1596 when Rathbone was one of the targets of the abortive uprising against rich inclosing landlords,³¹ and was apparently done without the consent, or at least without the co-operation, of New College, who later complained that Rathbone had merged much of their land with his own freehold. The college was able to prevent further inclosure in 1667.³² There was some consolidation of strips in the Town field, reducing the number of yard- ($\frac{1}{4}$ a.) and $\frac{1}{2}$ -a. strips in that field.³³

The parish contains comparatively little meadow. Nevertheless, the total of only 6 a. of meadow, 4 a. on Hugh de Grantmesnil's manor and 2 a. on Ilbert de Lacy's, recorded in 1086³⁴ appears too low even for demesne meadow. Thirteenth-century grants and leases, mainly by the Scorchebeef family, included 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. of meadow, and in 1486 there were 11 a. of meadow, presumably in demesne, on the former Scorchebeef manor.³⁵ The demesne meadow of both manors, in the 13th century and later, was in the south-east, in the Hurst (later c. 17 a.) and Pilford (later c. 11 a.); the villein yardlands presumably had meadow in Cotman mead (later North mead, 18 a.) to the north.³⁶

Until inclosure in 1768, most of Pilford and the whole of North mead and Arcram (a small meadow north of North mead) were lot meadow. There were eight lots, belonging to eight yardlands in the fields, so that two-

yardland tenements owned two lots, tenements of less than a yardland shared lots, which were called the cross, the horseshoe, the ship, the three-score, the two-score, the slit, the hole, and the white loaf. The lots were drawn five times for Pilford, first for acres, then for yards (quarter-acres), then twice for half-acres, and finally once for shrows or small lots; in the draw for yards the three-score, usually attached to Fletcher's tenement, belonged to Christ Church. North Mead and Arcram were divided into five and four draughts of the same lots, for the same tenements. Most of the Hurst, which had been lot meadow in the 13th century, belonged in the 16th century and later to the two manorial demesnes, although Chittam's and Slatter's tenements and the rector also held between 1 a. and 3 a. of meadow there. The New College and Rathbone or Standard demesne meadow there each comprised 5 a., which alternated each year. Two small meadows by the Cherwell south of Pilford, called the Lakes, similarly alternated between the two manors. Cotman Hook, between North mead and Arcram, was divided among four tenants, two of whom held no other meadow, by lot, but not by the same lots as Pilford, North mead and Arcram.³⁷

In 1086 there was said to be 3 furlongs of pasture on Hugh de Grantmesnil's manor but only 3 a. on Ilbert de Lacy's.³⁸ Perhaps this was demesne pasture only, for there was later extensive pasture at Campsfield in the south-west, and at Oldfield plain in the north-west, and in 1486 there were apparently 100 a. of pasture on the Scorchebeef manor alone.³⁹ Further small areas of pasture, Crowell moor and Chinad-deswell moor, both on the small stream which rises near the northern boundary of the parish, were recorded in the earlier 13th century, and in 1556 there was more extensive pasture at Crowell moor and Bigberry.⁴⁰ By 1588 there were leys, apparently permanent pasture, east of the village in Leys furlong and Cause furlong (later Sainfoin ground) in the Court field, and in the north part of the Town field, near one of the barrows, an area 'always called our sheep common'. Oldfield plain in the north-west was also sheep common, and Campsfield in the south-west was 'common to all'. The Fern pasture in the south-east was several, presumably to the lords of the manors, from Lady Day to Lammas, after which the lord had commons for 18 cattle, New College (for Scorchebeef's farm and another $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland) for 16 cattle, Chittam's for 8 cattle, the rector for 6, and William Slatter's tenement for one. An area in the north-east of the Court field, called the Furze or the Ley Furze, was presumably rough pasture.⁴¹ Further pasture in the green (recorded in 1558), and in four moors (recorded c. 1623), Crowell moor, Ginger moor, Hog Stye moor, and Fittrope moor, seems to have been omitted from the

²⁸ P.R.O., C 3/426, no. 9.

²⁹ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 1889, 1908.

³⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 25, f. 231v.

³¹ J. Walter, 'Oxon. Rising', *Past and Present*, cvii.

³² New Coll. Arch., 1505, 1507, 8941; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 25, ff. 228-233v.

³³ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 1889; Blenheim Mun., box 122.

³⁴ V.C.H. Oxon. i. 405, 428.

³⁵ Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell, *passim*; *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, i, pp. 32-3.

³⁶ Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell, *passim*.

³⁷ New Coll. Arch., 495; Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 1908.

³⁸ V.C.H. Oxon. i. 405, 428.

³⁹ *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, i, pp. 32-3.

⁴⁰ Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell 1^b, 26; New Coll. Arch., 7000.

⁴¹ New Coll. Arch., 495.

terrier of 1588.⁴² Between 1588 and 1695 several furlongs in the Town field and the whole of Old field were converted to pasture, and leys were created elsewhere in the field, notably in the north-east in Long furlong and Henning yard furlong.⁴³

In 1607 a half-yardland holding had commons for 20 sheep in the fields, implying a stint of 40 sheep to the yardland, but in 1685 the two yardlands of glebe had common for only 60 sheep.⁴⁴ In 1705 the stint for a yardland was 30 sheep commons, 4 cow commons in the field, and 2 horse commons.⁴⁵ Tenements with cow commons in the Fern seem to have had fewer cow commons in the field; in 1685 the rector had 4 horse commons but only 2 cow commons.⁴⁶

In 1086 Hugh de Grantmesnil's manor, said to contain land for 4 ploughteams, was cultivated by 4 serfs with 2 teams in demesne and 2 villeins and 3 bordars with a third team on the tenants' land. On Ilbert de Lacy's manor, said to be land for 3 ploughteams, there were 2 teams and 4 serfs in demesne, but none was recorded on the tenants' land.⁴⁷ There are no later surveys of either manor, but the total of 7 Domesday ploughlands is very close to the 29 fiscal yardlands recorded in 1705.⁴⁸ Ten yardlands, perhaps villein or copyhold land, and one freehold of unknown size were recorded on the Paulton manor in 1400,⁴⁹ and it seems likely that the early Paultons, whose main estates lay outside the county, had alienated part of the demesne. Between 1400 and 1441 William Paulton acquired land, perhaps a ploughland, in Bletchington, and that land descended with, and was presumably farmed with, Shipton-on-Cherwell until 1596.⁵⁰ The Scorchebeefs and their tenants made large grants, mainly to St. John's hospital and other religious houses, in the earlier 13th century, and although much of the land was restored to the manor when the hospital sold its estate to William Brome in 1457, the demesne remained small, only c. 4 yardlands in the early 16th century.⁵¹ In the 16th century there were 8½ copyhold yardlands on the Rathbone manor, 5½ on the New College manor; the New College yardlands remained stable but those on the Rathbone manor were constantly divided up and recombined into different estates, sometimes being let in fractions of only ⅓ yardland.⁵² A demesne yardland on the Scorchebeef manor contained 45½ acres in the early 13th century; in the 17th century most yardlands contained between 30 a. and 36 a., but New College's Chittam's holding, always described as 2 yardlands, was 100 a.⁵³

The name Shipton (sheep settlement)⁵⁴ im-

plies an early specialization in sheep farming, and a large area of common pasture might perhaps explain the excess of ploughlands over ploughteams recorded in 1086. By the 13th century, however, arable farming, suggested by the field names Banlond (bean land), Oat hill, and Flexlands (flax land), seems to have predominated; the furlong called 'flithe' (hay) may have been former meadow.⁵⁵ The unusually large number of field acres to the yardland may have been the result of early medieval conversion from pasture to arable.

Sixteenth- and 17th-century evidence suggests mixed farming, most men having a few sheep, one or two cows, and some corn, chiefly wheat and barley, as well as poultry and bees; a hemp plot was recorded in 1666, and sainfoin was grown by 1695.⁵⁶ The tenant farmers on the whole seem to have relied on crops rather than livestock. William Cecil who held 2 yardlands (c. 60 a.) of New College, in 1625 left 5 cattle worth £9, compared with 20 a. of winter corn worth £16, corn in his yard worth £5, c. 7 a. of peas and vetches worth £3 13s. 4d., horses worth £12, and carts and other implements worth £2 6s.⁵⁷ That same year the rector, Richard Newberry, left wheat and maslin worth £12 13s. 4d., barley worth £10, peas and vetches worth £2, and horses and ploughs worth over £12.⁵⁸ In 1711 Robert Symons, who farmed 4 yardlands (144 a.), left wheat, barley and peas worth £26, oats and vetches worth £5, and horses worth £4 10s., but only 2 cows worth £3 10s. and 30 sheep worth £7 10s.⁵⁹ William Slatter, however, who held 37 a., left 5 cows and 3 calves worth £10, 76 sheep worth £9, and corn worth only £14 at his death in 1610, and Thomas Hayes (d. 1694) left only 8 cows worth £34, 13 sheep and lambs worth £5 10s., and cheese-making equipment.⁶⁰

On the demesne, the Rathbones and the Standards practised mixed farming with a bias towards sheep. John Rathbone's widow Anne was accused in 1617 of having turned a tenement into a sheephouse, perhaps the Sheephouse close by the Cherwell recorded in 1623.⁶¹ The remainder of the demesne was under crop: 105 a. of barley, 51½ a. of wheat, 30 a. of peas, 21 a. of maslin, and 14 a. of oats in 1614.⁶² Robert Standard in 1660 was said to have left 4,617 sheep (presumably an error for 617 or 417; they were worth only £159) and £40-worth of wool, as well as 9 cows and £50-worth of hay; the total value, £283, was slightly greater than that of his corn, c. £125-worth of barley, c. £85-worth of wheat and maslin, £94-worth of peas, and 40 a. of wheat and maslin in the fields worth £60.⁶³ John Rathbone seems to have introduced rabbits

pp. 393-401; Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 1889, 1908; New Coll. Arch., 487.

⁵⁴ *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 281.

⁵⁵ Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell, 6^b, 16, 14^b, 24, 30.

⁵⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. *passim*; P.R.O., SP 12/198; Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 1908; Blenheim Mun., box 122.

⁵⁷ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 296/1/131.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 47/2/43.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 63/2/2.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 167/3/37.

⁶¹ New Coll. Arch., 494; Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 1889.

⁶² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 25, f. 231v.

⁶³ Ibid. MS. Wills Oxon. 61/2/2.

⁴² Ibid. 7000; Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 1898.

⁴³ Blenheim Mun., box 122.

⁴⁴ New Coll. Arch., 8941.

⁴⁵ Blenheim Mun., box 122.

⁴⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 142, pp. 393-4.

⁴⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405, 428.

⁴⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 122.

⁴⁹ P.R.O., C 137/22, no. 29.

⁵⁰ Ibid. CP 25(1)/191/28, nos. 12, 29; CP 25(2)/34/230, no.

⁵¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* vi. 64.

⁵² New Coll. Arch., 3103.

⁵³ Ibid. 3778; B.L. Add. Rölls 59146.

⁵⁴ Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell 14^b; Blenheim Mun., box 122; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 142,

on his demesne; sheephouse close was also known as conyger or the warren.⁶⁴

The parish appears to have been relatively prosperous in the earlier Middle Ages. Fourteen people were assessed for subsidy in 1307, at £1 os. 3d., individual assessments ranging from John of Paulton's 5s. 9d. to 4½d. In 1316, when 20 people were assessed at a total of £2 16s., there was a similar range of individual assessments from Maud Paulton's 12s., by far the highest in the parish, to 9d. In 1327 only 17 people were assessed, at a total of £3 13s. 8d., and individual assessments ranged from 15s. to 12d., but the distribution of wealth was somewhat more even than in 1307 or 1316, with the freeholder Roger Fouk assessed at 12s. and two others at 6s.; John Paulton and John Scorchebeef were both assessed at only 4s.⁶⁵ In 1334 the parish was assessed at £4 10s. 8d., above average for the hundred.⁶⁶ There was a decline in the later Middle Ages; the sale of the St. John's hospital property in 1457, after a century of demesne leases, may be significant; in 1509–10 Oseney abbey leased its small Shipton property at a much reduced rent to John Shepherd, possibly tenant of the Brome manor, because no better tenant could be found, and about the same date the rent of the Hospitallers' small estate was reduced from 4s. to 2s.⁶⁷

In 1524 one man, Richard Osbaldeston, presumably tenant of one of the manors, was assessed for subsidy on £10-worth of land. The eight or nine men assessed then or in 1523 on between £9- and £2-worth of goods were probably copyholders; they included William Chittam who held 2 yardlands of New College in 1540 and Robert Whiting who held another 2 yardlands of the same manor. Six or seven men were assessed at the labourer's rate.⁶⁸

The Rathbones and their successors lived in the parish and farmed their demesnes as well as an increasing amount of the copyhold and leasehold land. In 1588 John Rathbone had New College's Chittam's tenement in his own hands, as well as both manorial demesnes, a total of c. 435 a.; the rest of the parish, apart from the c. 61 a. of glebe, was divided among 11 tenants whose holdings ranged from 59 a. to 3½ a.⁶⁹ By 1695 Robert Standard had c. 560 a. in his own hands, and six tenants held a total of c. 300 a. in holdings ranging from 144 a. to 3½ a.⁷⁰ Robert's successor, another Robert Standard, returned to a policy of leasing, which continued throughout the 18th century under his non-resident successors; in 1705 the demesne, estimated at 15 yardlands, was leased to Edward Eagleton, the other holdings remaining more or less as they had been in 1695. By 1728 the tenants' land had been consolidated into two farms, one appar-

ently equivalent to the 144-a. holding of 1695, the other an amalgamation of three earlier holdings.⁷¹ By 1762 the parish, excluding the glebe, was let in two farms, the manor farm and Cotman, later Shipton or Shipton Slade, farm, an arrangement which continued until after the sale of the parish to William Turner in 1804.⁷²

Although the Standards and the Meetkerkes in turn controlled virtually the whole of Shipton, they made no inclosures after the late 16th century until in 1768 Adolphus Meetkerke obtained an Act for the inclosure of the entire parish. The Act divided c. 853 a. of former open field land between Meetkerke (444 a.), New College (324 a.), the rector (182 a. for glebe and tithe), Christ Church (5 a.), and the poor (4 a. of furze); it also redistributed 24 old inclosures (156½ a.) between Meetkerke, New College, and the rector.⁷³ The inclosure, which was carried out at Meetkerke's instigation and expense, raised the value of the New College estate by c. £134 a year,⁷⁴ and presumably raised that of Meetkerke's land in proportion. As Meetkerke had decided by 1785 to sell the estate,⁷⁵ it is unlikely that he invested much money in it in the late 18th century, but William Turner, 'a skilled agriculturalist' who farmed most of the parish himself from 1805 until 1845, carried out improvements, including dressing the soil with lime. His tenant from 1845 to 1860 carried out a programme of drainage and other work, but towards the end of his tenancy allowed the land to deteriorate. Later an undertenant, by cross cropping and other poor husbandry, allowed the land to fall into a 'most foul and dilapidated state'.⁷⁶

Inclosure may have accelerated a move towards arable rather than mixed farming; a lease of the glebe in 1781 provided for extra rent to be paid for land converted to arable, and by 1803 there were said to be 771 a. of arable in the parish, compared with 88 a. of pasture and 87 a. of meadow. There had been some increase in the area of pasture by 1862 when there were apparently 754 a. of arable, 138 a. of pasture, and 88 a. of meadow.⁷⁷ The presence of three shepherds in the parish in 1871 may reflect an increase in pasture, and in 1914 only half the cultivated land was arable. In 1883 the arable was cultivated on a four-course rotation, (1) two-thirds turnips or vetches, one third beans, peas, or pulse, (2) barley or oats, (3) grass, (4) wheat or other corn or grain; in 1914 the main crops were barley (26 per cent of the cropped area) and wheat (17 per cent), but oats (13 per cent) and potatoes (3 per cent) were also grown. There were over 100 cattle and 400 sheep on the permanent pasture, but the number of sheep had declined since 1909.⁷⁸ The bulk of the parish continued to be

⁶⁴ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 1889.

⁶⁵ P.R.O., E 179/161 8, 9.

⁶⁶ R. E. Glasscock, *Subsidy 1334*, 242.

⁶⁷ Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell 1^a, 5^b, 20^b; *Oseney Cart*. vi, p. 234; Corpus Christi Coll. MS. 320, f. 26.

⁶⁸ P.R.O., E 179/161/175, 198; New Coll. Arch., 494, 3778.

⁶⁹ New Coll. Arch., 495.

⁷⁰ Blenheim Mun., box 122.

⁷¹ Ibid.; New Coll. Arch., 5501.

⁷² O.R.O., land tax assess.

⁷³ Ibid. incl. Act; there is no award.

⁷⁴ New Coll. Arch., 1504.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ *Sale Cat*. 1862; newspaper cutting in Bodl. copy of Parker, *Guide*, facing p. 72*; Blenheim Mun., box 125; *ibid.* box of 18th- and 19th-cent. deeds for Shipton and Wolvercote.

⁷⁷ *Sale Cats*. 1803, 1862.

⁷⁸ P.R.O., RG 10/1448; Blenheim Mun., box of 18th- and 19th-cent. deeds; Orr, *Oxon. Agric.* statistical plates.

farmed in one unit, first by the tenants of the manor house and later by those of Shipton Slade farm.⁷⁹ In 1984 almost all the land was arable.

Until the 20th century Shipton was an agricultural community, served by a few craftsmen such as the carpenter recorded in 1614, the tailor recorded in 1647, the wheelwright who died in 1658, and the weaver, a member of a long established Shipton family, who died in 1706.⁸⁰ There is no further record of the annual three-day fair at the feast of St. Cross, granted to Thomas de St. Vigore in 1268.⁸¹

There was a mill on Hugh de Grantmesnil's manor in 1086. Two people surnamed at mill were assessed for subsidy in 1316 and 1327, and a third was recorded in 1341,⁸² but there is no clear record of the mill thereafter. It had probably disappeared by 1400, although mills were listed among the appurtenances of the manor in two 17th-century marriage settlements.⁸³ Fisheries on both manors survived into the 17th century; in 1625 Robert Standard was alleged to have taken fish worth 70s., including eels, pike, perch, and roach, from his fishery.⁸⁴

A wharf was opened at Shipton on the new Oxford canal in 1787; the canal company employed a lock-keeper, and boatmen were recorded between 1813 and 1838.⁸⁵ A few women, two in 1851 and eight in 1881, were employed in gloving, and a further two or three women worked at the Hampton Gay paper mill, but most working women in the 19th century were employed as agricultural labourers.⁸⁶ In 1984 there was a firm in the village hiring small skips.

The rector owned a quarry at Chinaddeswell, perhaps near the Banbury road, in 1226-7. The field name Stanidelve, recorded in 1234 and c. 1245, and the surname Mason (*cementarius*) borne by two men in the earlier 13th century⁸⁷ confirm that there was early quarrying in the parish. It continued in the 16th century when there were Stonepit and Slattpits furlongs.⁸⁸ In 1881 New College leased two plots of ground near the Cherwell to Benjamin Parrot, tenant of the manor house, to dig stone, and Parrot was still operating the quarry in 1901.⁸⁹ In 1927 the Oxford and Shipton Cement Co. was set up to exploit the land along the Cherwell acquired from New College in 1921. The works were begun in 1928 and started production in 1929; in 1934 they were acquired by Alpha Cement Ltd., which in 1938 was taken over by Associated Portland Cement Manufacturers, which changed its name to Blue Circle Industries in

1978. Numbers employed rose from c. 230 in 1934 to c. 320 in 1968 but had fallen to 124 by 1984.⁹⁰

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. The medieval overlords, like their 16th-century successors, presumably held courts for their manors. The overlords of the Paulton manor held view of frankpledge: in 1314 Alan la Zouche died seised of the view of Maud Paulton's tenants, and in 1454-5 William and Alice Lovel had two views a year in Shipton.⁹¹ Views were held in 1569 for Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, and in 1620 for his successor William Stanley; the courts elected a constable and tithingman and ordered the mounding of the 'common park', perhaps the pound. By 1647, however, view of frankpledge had passed to the tenants in demesne, Robert and Alice Standard. From 1569 the the Rathbones and their successors the Standards held a manorial court or court baron which made some agricultural bylaws, chiefly about the grazing of sheep and cattle, dealt with transfers of copyhold land, and amerced tenants for encroachments.⁹² Robert Standard's estate at his death in 1698 included a view of frankpledge and court baron,⁹³ but there is no further record of either court. From 1540 or earlier New College similarly held courts which dealt with transfers of copyhold and with some agricultural offences, made bylaws, and amerced tenants for encroachments and for neglect of buildings; in 1553 a plea of trespass was heard. Seventeenth-century courts seem to have dealt mainly with copyholds. The last recorded court was held in 1706.⁹⁴

In 1642 there were two churchwardens, and two overseers; there was usually only one churchwarden in the 18th and 19th centuries.⁹⁵ The parish spent £24 10s. on poor relief in 1776, an average of £27 a year between 1783 and 1785, and £98 or c. 18s. a head of population in 1803. In 1813 the rate had risen to c. £1 16s. a head, a total of £201, but, surprisingly, it fell by about a half in 1815, and in the subsequent depression it remained at 14s. a head, one of the lowest rates in the area. It went down to c. 8s. in 1823, and to c. 6s. and c. 7s. in 1831 and 1832, exceptionally low figures. Total expenditure in 1831 was only £51. In 1803 there were six able-bodied adults on regular out-relief; in the period 1813-1815 numbers fell from 14 to 10.⁹⁶

The vestry's functions were taken over by a

⁷⁹ P.R.O., HO 107/890, 1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1448; RG 11/1511; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1847 and later edns.).

⁸⁰ P.R.O., PROB 11/284, P.C.C. 673 Wootton; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 25, f. 31v.; B.L. Add. Roll 59147; par. reg. transcript, p. 71; copies in Bodl. and O.R.O.

⁸¹ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1257-1300, 100.

⁸² *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 428; P.R.O., E 179/161/8,9; *Cal. Close*, 1341-3, 143.

⁸³ P.R.O., C 137/22, no. 29; Blenheim Mun., box 122.

⁸⁴ New Coll. Arch., 3103; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 33, f. 210.

⁸⁵ H. Compton, *Oxf. Canal*, 37; par. reg. transcript, pp. 61-3.

⁸⁶ P.R.O., HO 107/890, 1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1448; RG 11/1511.

⁸⁷ Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell 1^b, 4^b, 6, 6^b,

14, 16; New Coll. Arch., 495.

⁸⁸ New Coll. Arch., 495.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 8942-3.

⁹⁰ Oxf. and Shipton Cement Ltd. *Prospectus*: copy in Westgate Libr., Oxf.; *Oxf. Mail*, 18 Feb. 1974; inf. from Mr. K. R. Maltas, acting works general manager, and from Mrs. V. Sandon-Humphries.

⁹¹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* v, p. 255; *Inq. p.m.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 264.

⁹² B.L. Add. Roll 59146.

⁹³ Blenheim Mun., box 122.

⁹⁴ New Coll. Arch., 489, 490, 494, 3778, 7000.

⁹⁵ *Protestation Returns*, 90-1; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 100, ff. 129-250.

⁹⁶ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, pp. 406-7; 1818, pp. 360-1; *Poor Law Returns*, H.C. 556, p. 139 (1822), v; H.C. 334, p. 174 (1825), iv; H.C. 83, p. 161 (1830-1), xi; H.C. 444, p. 157 (1835), xlvii.

parish meeting in 1894; in 1946 a joint parish council for Shipton-on-Cherwell and Thrupp was set up.⁹⁷

Shipton-on-Cherwell was part of Woodstock poor law union from 1834 and of Woodstock rural district from 1894. In 1932 it was included in Ploughley rural district, and in 1974 in Cherwell district.⁹⁸

CHURCH. There was a church at Shipton-on-Cherwell by the later 12th century.⁹⁹ Its medieval invocation was to the Holy Cross; in the early 18th century the parish wake was held on the second Saturday after latter Lady Day (8 September), which was the first or second Saturday after the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September), but the connexion with latter Lady Day may imply that the invocation had already changed to St. Mary.¹ In 1786 and 1846 the church was St. Mary's, but in 1851 and 1876 its patron was said to be St. Jerome.² Since 1892, if not earlier, it has again been Holy Cross.³ The ecclesiastical parish was coterminous with the civil parish until 1952 when the northern part of Kidlington parish, broadly but not exactly the same as the township of Thrupp, was transferred to Shipton-on-Cherwell ecclesiastical parish. The south-western part of the new parish was transferred to Bladon in 1953.⁴ In 1986 the benefice, with that of Yarnton, was united with Begbroke.⁵

The living is a rectory, the advowson of which descended with Shipton manor from 1217 or earlier. In 1217 the demesne lord and patron, Roger son of Ralph, was excommunicate, so the mesne lord, Ralph son of Robert presented.⁶ In 1545 the presentation was made by Alice Baldwin who had inherited a turn granted by Urian Brereton and his wife Jane Halywell,⁷ but John Rathbone presented in 1559 and the advowson descended with the manor to the Standard family.⁸ A turn had been granted before 1675 to Robert Perrott of North Leigh, and in 1719 the presentation was made by two men who seem to have been trustees for Barbara Standard, a minor.⁹ In 1720 Barbara Standard conveyed the advowson to her maternal uncle Adolphus Meetkerke, but no vacancy occurred until 1780 when, as a result of a sale of the next presentation in 1777, the patron was Samuel Rash of East Dereham (Norf.)¹⁰ Adolphus

Meetkerke presented in 1787, but in 1813 the patron was Mary Payne of Kidlington. For the rest of the 19th century the lords of the manor presented regularly, but the advowson was not sold with the manor house, and the duke of Marlborough remained patron.¹¹ From 1986 patronage of the united benefice was shared with Brasenose College and the Charles Wolfson Charitable Trust.¹²

The rectory, comprising tithes and 2 yardlands of glebe, was valued at £4 in 1254, at £4 6s. 8d. in 1291, and at £12 gross in 1526 and 1535.¹³ At inclosure in 1768 the rector was allotted 182 a. for his glebe and tithe.¹⁴ In 1831 the living was worth £320 a year gross, £310 net, and in 1862 the rent from the glebe amounted to c. £224 a year, but by 1893 the agricultural depression had reduced its value to £177.¹⁵ The glebe was slightly altered by the sale of c. 1 a. to the Great Western Railway Co. in 1847 and the purchase of c. 5 a. north of the rectory house with Lodge cottage on the main road from the duke of Marlborough in 1878; in 1910 50 a. were sold to the rector, George Duncan, in his private capacity.¹⁶

The rectory house was said to be in ruins c. 1520.¹⁷ In 1634 it comprised six bays of building as well as a detached kitchen and other outbuildings; it seems to have been altered before 1685 when the house comprised only five bays, still with a detached kitchen.¹⁸ The house, or part of it, was let as the glebe farmhouse in the 18th century;¹⁹ it was repaired, presumably for the rector's use, in 1800 and in 1817–18.²⁰ In 1875 extensive repairs were carried out under the supervision of E. G. Bruton, and the house was extended westwards, enlarging and heightening the front rooms.²¹ The house was sold in 1952.²²

The first recorded rector was Richard, priest of Shipton, c. 1185.²³ The medieval rectors were undistinguished, and none before the 16th century is known to have had any connexion with Oxford university. Robert of Chesterton, presented in 1230–1, was ordered to study singing; his successor William de Greynville was the only known pluralist rector before the 16th century.²⁴ The 14th-century incumbents included Roger Paulton (presented in 1298), a member of the family which held the manor and advowson, and Roger Fouk (1328–49 or later), whose family were local freeholders. John, parson of Shipton, was among those accused of

⁹⁷ O.R.O., RO 604.

⁹⁸ *Census*, 1851; O.R.O., RO 15, 263.

⁹⁹ *Oseney Cart.* vi, p. 41.

¹ *Par. Colln.* 257.

² J. Bacon, *Liber Regis*, 806; *Archit. Antiq.* p. 72*; *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 385; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVII. 5 (1880 edn.).

³ *Crockford* (1892).

⁴ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1732/1; c 1874.

⁵ *Ibid.* c 2085/2.

⁶ *Rot. Welles*, i (L.R.S. iii), 54.

⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 105, p. 18.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 198; Blenheim Mun., box 122.

⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. d 10, f. 55; *ibid.* Cal. Presentation Deeds, 1st ser., f. 79.

¹⁰ Blenheim Mun., box 122; O.R.O., Cal. Presentation Deeds, 1st ser., f. 79; *Oxf. Jnl.* 20 Dec. 1777.

¹¹ O.R.O., Cal. Presentation Deeds, 1st ser., f. 79; 2nd ser., f. 76; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2002; *Oxf. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1984).

¹² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2085/2.

¹³ Lunt, *Val. Norw.* 367; *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 31; *Subsidy* 1526, 267; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 184.

¹⁴ O.R.O., incl. Act.

¹⁵ *Rep. Com. on Eccl. Revenues* [67], pp. 786–7, H.C. (1835), xxii; *Sale Cat.* 1862; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 359, f. 373.

¹⁶ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Shipton-on-Cherwell c 2, item c; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2002; Blenheim Mun., box of 18th and 19th-cent. deeds for Shipton and Wolvercote.

¹⁷ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* i (L.R.S. xxxiii), 127.

¹⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 142, pp. 393, 397.

¹⁹ e.g. *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Shipton-on-Cherwell c 2; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 565, ff. 87–8.

²⁰ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 100, ff. 195, 223, 227.

²¹ *Ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2002; d 761, f. 189v.

²² *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Shipton-on-Cherwell c 2, item e.

²³ *Oseney Cart.* vi, p. 41.

²⁴ *Rot. Welles*, ii (L.R.S. vi), 34; *Rot. Grosse.* (L.R.S. xi), 488.

breaking and entering Sir John Haudlo's manors in 1322, and Roger Fouk was outlawed briefly in 1349 for a trespass against the justice William Shareshull.²⁵ There was an altar of St. Mary in the church by c. 1225 when a light before it was endowed with 6d. a year,²⁶ but there is no later record of it.

The parish seems to have been in a poor state c. 1520, the rector non-resident and the rectory leased to a layman;²⁷ the rector may already have been John Cornish, rector from 1526 or earlier until his death in 1545. He was a graduate and pluralist who spent at least part of his time in Oxford; Shipton was served by curates in 1526 and 1530, and the rectory was farmed by a layman in 1544.²⁸ Cornish's successor, Robert Collmer (1545–59) was another graduate and pluralist, but he seems to have lived at Shipton, perhaps farming the glebe, and he asked to be buried in the chancel there.²⁹ His immediate successors, also graduates, were similarly resident. John Gill (1559–87), who also served Hampton Gay, conformed to the Elizabethan settlement.³⁰ One of his parishioners showed puritan leanings: William Webb gave his daughter the puritan name Faith, and made a strongly protestant declaration of faith in his will dated 1573.³¹ Richard Newbury, rector 1592–1625, brought several tithe suits against the Rathbones and later the Standards; he wrote or witnessed several parishioners' wills.³² The next rector, Philip French (1625–75), lived on his other living of Chesterton and seems to have left Shipton-on-Cherwell to curates.³³ His successor, Stephen Pomfret (1675–1718) served the church as curate in 1673; he lived in the parish, and in 1685 the only criticism of the church was that it lacked a bible.³⁴

William Deane, who held the living for 61 years from 1718, resided at least part of the time until 1738 when he became ill; by 1759 he was of unsound mind and seems to have remained so until his death, aged over 90, in 1780.³⁵ In 1756, on the petition of the churchwarden and two leading parishioners, the living was sequestered.³⁶ Deane's immediate successors were also non-resident, so that from 1738 until 1803 the church was served by a succession of curates, most of them fellows or members of Oxford colleges, although the Revd. John Pudsey Sydenham of Hampden Manor, Kidlington, served the church on several occasions between 1773 and 1786. William Winder, curate from

1738, had sufficiently close connexions with the parish to be buried there in 1753, and in 1756 the parishioners expressed satisfaction with the care and diligence of the curate, although the sequestration order that year alleged that the cure was totally neglected.³⁷ In 1796 the curate lived at Woodstock and also served Westcott Barton.³⁸ Services, twice with one sermon on Sundays and Communion three or four times a year, were usual for the period, but the number of communicants fell from 20 in 1738 to 8–10 in 1790.³⁹ By 1796 the number of Sunday services had been reduced to one in the winter, and by 1808, despite the presence of a resident rector, to one all the year round; by 1811, when the rector had been disabled by a stroke, Communion services had been reduced to two a year.⁴⁰

Thomas Slatter, rector 1813–31, increased the number of Communion services to four a year, but did not restore the second service on Sundays.⁴¹ His successor H. J. Passand made few changes. There was only one service, attended by 38 adults and 21 Sunday School children, on Census Sunday in 1851, but in 1854 there were two Sunday services at which congregations averaged 60, a 'decided increase' over the previous two years. Communion was celebrated four times a year for the 16 communicants.⁴² Bishop Wilberforce found Passand an unsatisfactory incumbent, lacking gravity, associating too much with the 'lower class of farmers', and sometimes appearing either mad or drunk.⁴³

Illness forced Passand to leave the parish in 1864, and by 1866 his curate had increased the number of Communion services to one a month.⁴⁴ Improvement continued under Passand's successors, George Brown (1867–74) who was responsible for the repair or partial restoration of the church in 1869, and Henry William Yule (1874–98) who also served Hampton Gay and was domestic chaplain to the duke of Marlborough. Both congregations and communicants increased until c. 1884, but remained static or fell slightly thereafter.⁴⁵ Yule's successor, George Duncan, held the living for nearly 50 years, until 1947, serving it in plurality with Hampton Gay. He increased the number of Communion services to one a week in 1899, but reduced them again to one a fortnight in 1902.⁴⁶ On his resignation there was some difficulty in finding a priest willing to serve the poorly endowed living, even in plurality with a neigh-

²⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 55, ff. 62, 91; *Cal. Pat.* 1321–4, 169, 319; *Cal. Close* 1349–54, 88.

²⁶ *Magd. Coll. Mun.*, Shipton-on-Cherwell 18.

²⁷ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* i (L.R.S. xxxiii), 127.

²⁸ *Subsidy* 1526 (O.H.S. lxiii), 267; *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* ii (L.R.S. xxxv), 55; Emden, *O.U. Reg.* 1501–40, 139; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 179, f. 31.

²⁹ Emden, *O.U. Reg.* 1501–40, 131–2; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 183, ff. 2, 227.

³⁰ O.A.S. *Rep.* (1912), 99; *Alum. Oxon.* 1500–1714, ii. 567.

³¹ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 185, f. 213v.; 25/1/25.

³² *Ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 24, f. 265; c 25, f. 228; *ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 33, f. 210; c 118, f. 18; *ibid.* MSS. Wills Oxon. 47/2/43; 50/1/73; 55/3/38; 59/4/19.

³³ *Alum. Oxon.* 1500–1714, ii. 535; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 55, ff. 275, 289; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 23/2/22; *Protestation Returns*, 90; *V.C.H. Oxon.* vi. 101.

³⁴ *Alum. Oxon.* 1500–1714, iii. 1178; *Par. Colln.* 257;

O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 708, f. 113; *ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 145/2/34.

³⁵ *Secker's Visit.* 133; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 557, f. 21; d 560, f. 41.

³⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 434, ff. 34v.–36.

³⁷ *Ibid.*; par reg. transcript, f. 73.

³⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Eccles. e 1, f. 99.

³⁹ *Secker's Visit.* 133; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 560, f. 41; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 26, f. 314.

⁴⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Eccles. e 1, f. 99; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 571, f. 81; d 573, f. 77.

⁴¹ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 577, f. 84; d 579 f. 59; d 581, f. 72; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 100, f. 227.

⁴² *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 385; *Wilb. Visit.* 128.

⁴³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 550, f. 50.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* c 332, f. 388; d 178, p. 439.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* c 344, f. 363; c 347, f. 373; c 350, f. 358; c 353, f. 368; c 359, f. 373; d 761, f. 189v.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* c 365, f. 357; c 368, f. 353.

bouring parish, but H. A. McCann, rector of Begbroke, finally accepted it and held it until 1980. In 1984 the church was served by the rector of Bladon as priest in charge.⁴⁷

The church of the *HOLY CROSS*, completely rebuilt in 1831, comprises chancel, nave with north porch, and west tower. The medieval church comprised a chancel with north chapel and a nave with south porch and bellcot but no tower.⁴⁸ The north chapel may have been added to the earlier nave and chancel by c. 1225, if it contained St. Mary's altar, recorded then.⁴⁹ At least one window, at the west end of the north wall of the nave, was inserted in the 13th century, and most of the windows were replaced in the 14th century. Wheat and barley were left to the repair of the church in 1544 and 1558.⁵⁰

The plan of the church demolished in 1831 was unusual in that the chancel was not centrally placed at the east of the nave; the south wall of the nave and the south wall of the chancel were aligned, but the north wall of the chancel seems to have run from about two thirds of the way along the east end of the nave, and the north wall of the north chapel projected several feet beyond the north wall of the nave, resulting in a chancel and north chapel of roughly equal width. Despite a statement c. 1880 that a Saxon chancel arch had survived until 1831,⁵¹ the most plausible explanation for the unusual plan seems to be that the chancel and north chapel were rebuilt in the 17th century, perhaps by the first Robert Standard, who may have wished to enlarge the north chapel, used as a mortuary chapel by the lords of the manor, at the expense of the chancel; one early 19th-century drawing of the church appears to show 17th-century east windows in both chancel and chapel. The north chapel had only the east window, and was walled off from the chancel and nave, access being by a single door.⁵²

Minor repairs were carried out during the 18th century and the early 19th,⁵³ but in 1831 the church was demolished and rebuilt to designs by the artist William Turner of Oxford at the expense of his uncle, William Turner, lord of the manor.⁵⁴ Some materials from the old church, notably the porch, were re-used in the new one. The church was restored in 1869, when the walls and roofs were repaired, the chancel was floored with Minton tiles, the altar being built up on two steps, the pews were renewed, and the doors replaced; the architect was Charles Buckenridge.⁵⁵

The monuments include four from the old

church: wall plaques in the chancel to John Rathbone (d. 1614), and to the rector Stephen Pomfret (d. 1718), the latter with a skull and hourglass, and two 18th-century floor-slabs in the nave. There are also memorials on the chancel window sill to the rector H. J. Passand (d. 1867) and on the north wall of the chancel to William Turner (d. 1853), lord of the manor. In the north wall of the chancel is a 14th-century tomb recess, presumably from the old church, and in the floor beneath it a 12th- or 13th-century coffin lid. A medieval stone child's coffin lies by the east wall; it was discovered built into the bellcot of the medieval church in 1831.⁵⁶

The two small bells both date from the mid 16th century and presumably came from the medieval church.⁵⁷ The plate includes an Elizabethan chalice with paten cover.⁵⁸

NONCONFORMITY. Apart from three recusants in 1577,⁵⁹ no nonconformists were recorded in the parish until 1823 when the rector reported a few 'Independents'.⁶⁰ Primitive Methodist attempts to establish a congregation in the parish in the 1840s were ultimately unsuccessful.⁶¹ A Baptist family was reported in 1869, and in 1873 or 1874 a Baptist preaching station was opened. It was served alternately with one at Thrupp until the opening of the chapel at Thrupp in 1876.⁶²

EDUCATION. No school was recorded in Shipton-on-Cherwell until 1808 when William Turner and the rector paid an old woman to teach c. 20 children in an evening school.⁶³ In 1815 there was a day school, attended by 4 boys and 5 girls, and the parish clerk taught 20 children in a Sunday school.⁶⁴ A day school attended by 20 children and supported by their parents was reported in 1817 and 1833 but had ceased by 1854 when only the Sunday school survived.⁶⁵

In 1854 a school was built on land belonging to V. J. Turner; it was supported by children's pence, by Turner or his tenant, and by New College.⁶⁶ In 1868 the day school was attended by 12 boys and 17 girls, and a further 13 working boys attended a night school; the rector would not admit boys under 12 to the night school, considering they should be at day school.⁶⁷ Attendance at the day school had fallen to 12 boys and 8 girls by 1871, although the

⁴⁷ Ibid. c 2002; *Oxf. Dioc. Year. Bk.* (1984).

⁴⁸ Description based on drawings in Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 68, nos. 466–8; d 794, ff. 66–9; *ibid.* MSS. Don. c 90, p. 297; d 140, f. 4; below, plate facing p. 477.

⁴⁹ Magd. Coll. Mun., Shipton-on-Cherwell 18.

⁵⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon 179, f. 30v.; 183, f. 227.

⁵¹ Ibid. MS. d.d. Par. Shipton-on-Cherwell c 3, item g.

⁵² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 794, f. 69; O.R.O., MS. Oxf.

Dioc. c 435, pp. 327–8; *Par. Colln.* 257–8.

⁵³ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 100, ff. 129–206; c

154, ff. 41v., 80v.; d 13/2, f. 18v.

⁵⁴ H. M. Colvin, *Biog. Dict. Brit. Archit.* 845.

⁵⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. e 104, ff. 297–8.

⁵⁶ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Shipton-on-Cherwell c 3, item

g.

⁵⁷ *Ch. Bells Oxon.* iv. 374.

⁵⁸ Evans, *Ch. Plate*, 152–3.

⁵⁹ 'Returns of Recusants 1577', *Miscellanea* xii (Cath. Rec. Soc. xxii), 110.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 581, f. 70.

⁶¹ Ibid. Witney and Faringdon Meth. Circ. Rec. (uncat.),

Witney Prim. Meth. Circuit Q.M. min. bk. 1843–9.

⁶² Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 385; *Oxf. Times*, 2 Dec.

1876; *Woodstock Herald and Charlbury Messenger*, Jan. 1876.

⁶³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 707, ff. 150–1.

⁶⁴ Ibid. c 433, f. 174.

⁶⁵ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, H.C. 224, p. 729 (1819), ixB; *Educ.*

Enq. Abstract, H.C. 62, p. 754 (1835), xlii; *Wilb. Visit.* 128.

⁶⁶ *Wilb. Visit.* 128; *Sale Cat.* 1863: copy in Westgate Libr.,

Oxf.; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 70, p. 205.

⁶⁷ *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202–I],

pp. 334, 336, H.C. (1868–9), xiii.

school could accommodate 33.⁶⁸ The building seems to have been enlarged in the 1870s, and in 1880, when a government grant was first received, it had room for 41 children although only 10 attended.⁶⁹ Attendance rose to 18 in 1890 and to 24 in 1906, but in 1926, despite local protests, the school was closed because of low numbers.⁷⁰ The building, then in ruins, was demolished c. 1969.⁷¹

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. The inclosure Act of 1768 allotted 4 a. of furze to the poor for fuel. By 1967 the land had long ceased to be used for that or any other charitable purpose, and the trustees applied to the Charity Commissioners for a scheme to regulate its use. Under a Scheme of 1969 the land was leased, and the rent, £52 in 1979, applied to relief in need.⁷²

STANTON HARCOURT

STANTON HARCOURT,⁷³ a large parish formerly comprising 3,740 a., lies between the rivers Thames and Windrush c. 2½ miles (4 km.) south of Eynsham and 6 miles (9½ km.) west of Oxford; it includes the villages of Sutton and West End, and in the Middle Ages there were settlements at Pinkhill in the north-east and at Hamstall (later Armstalls Farm) in the north-west.⁷⁴ The name, meaning Stone *tun*, probably refers to the prehistoric stone circle known as the Devil's Quoits, formerly south-west of Stanton Harcourt village; the suffix, from the family which held the main manor, had been added by the mid 13th century.⁷⁵ Until the 12th century the parish included Northmoor; South Leigh remained a chapelry until 1868, but was a separate township with its own boundaries from the Middle Ages.⁷⁶

The ancient parish was mostly compact in shape with, on the north, two tongues projecting into Eynsham parish around Hamstall and Pinkhill, and on the south-west a tongue of meadow land projecting into South Leigh; it also included, in South Leigh, a detached block of 283 a. which contained Tar wood, and another 8 a., formerly Parson's wood. A third detached portion, 2 a. of meadow, lay in Northmoor parish near Newbridge Mill. All the detached areas were removed from Stanton Harcourt civil parish between 1883 and 1885, reducing its area to 3,447 a.; in 1932 a further 53 a. of meadow land in the south-west were transferred to South Leigh, reducing Stanton Harcourt to 3,394 a. (1,374 ha.).⁷⁷

On the east the ancient boundaries followed the Thames from north of Bablock Hythe to Pinkhill Lock.⁷⁸ On the west the early boundary

with Bampton parish,⁷⁹ described in 1318, followed the Windrush to Beard Mill; it then followed a path, probably running south-east and roughly parallel to the river, as far as 'Wyrllak', a watercourse apparently in the Linch hill area which flowed through Northmoor to the Thames.⁸⁰ Later the boundary followed Medley brook, a meandering stream straightened in the mid 19th century, and the river Windrush.⁸¹ On the north the boundary with Eynsham, described c. 1005,⁸² ran up Limb brook to Tilgar's ditch, possibly the northward turn west of Foxley Farm which in the 19th century brought Armstalls within Stanton Harcourt parish. The deviation probably represents the outline of an estate of 1 hide perhaps formerly in Eynsham but incorporated into Stanton by the early 12th century;⁸³ the hide was later divided between Eynsham abbey and one of the Stanton Harcourt manors,⁸⁴ but there is no evidence that the division involved any realignment of the parish boundary. Elsewhere the boundaries followed fields, although on the west, where the holdings of Stanton Harcourt and South Leigh tenants lay intermingled, they remained confused until inclosure in 1774.⁸⁵

Much of the parish, including Stanton Harcourt, West End, and parts of Sutton, lies on the river gravels of the Summertown-Radley and Thames flood-plain terraces. The nature of the soil was reflected in 18th-century field names such as In the gravel and Gravel allotment; in the 19th century the soil was said sometimes to form a hard conglomerate, which damaged ploughs and could be reduced only by blasting.⁸⁶ On the Thames flood-plain are extensive alluvium deposits, which extend west along

⁶⁸ *Returns relating to Elem. Educ.* H.C. 201, p. 322 (1871), iv.

⁶⁹ *Rep. of Educ. Cttee. of Council (1880-1)*, [C. 2948-I], p. 663, H.C. (1881), xxxii; P.R.O., ED 7/101/180.

⁷⁰ *Public Elem. Schs. Return*, H.C. 403, p. 215 (1890), lvi; *List of Schs. under Admin. of Bd. 1901-2* [Cd. 1277], p. 201, H.C. (1902), lxxix; *Public Elem. Schs. 1906* [Cd. 3182], p. 529, H.C. (1906), lxxxvi; O.R.O., Misc. Shipton I/1, p. 34; T/SL 44/i.

⁷¹ County Museum, P.R.N. 714.

⁷² O.R.C.C., Kimber files and report.

⁷³ Much research for this article was undertaken by Mr. A. Tomkinson, whose help with the text is gratefully acknowledged.

⁷⁴ O.S. Maps 1/25,000, SP 40/50 (1981 edn.); 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 10-12, 14-16, XXXVIII. 2-4, 6-7 (1876 edn.); 6", Oxon. XXXII. SE., SW., XXXVIII. NE., NW. (1883 and later edns.); Harcourt estate office, map of 1819.

⁷⁵ P.N. Oxon. (E.P.N.S.), ii. 282; *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 287; *Feud. Aids*, iv. 163.

⁷⁶ Above, S. Leigh; below, Church. Northmoor is reserved for treatment in a later vol.

⁷⁷ O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII. NW., SW. (1883 and later edns.); O.S. *Area Bk.* (1877); *Census*, 1881-91, 1951; O.R.O., RO 277; *ibid.* Stanton Harcourt incl. award.

⁷⁸ Cf. P.N. Berks. (E.P.N.S.), iii. 731. 2.

⁷⁹ Reserved for treatment in a later vol.

⁸⁰ Exeter Cathedral Arch., D. & C. MS. 2865 (ref. from Dr. J. Blair); O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 51/4/10; below, Econ.

⁸¹ Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797); below, Econ.

⁸² *Eynsham Cart.* i., pp. 23-4; Grundy, *Saxon Oxon.* 33-6; above, Eynsham, Intro.

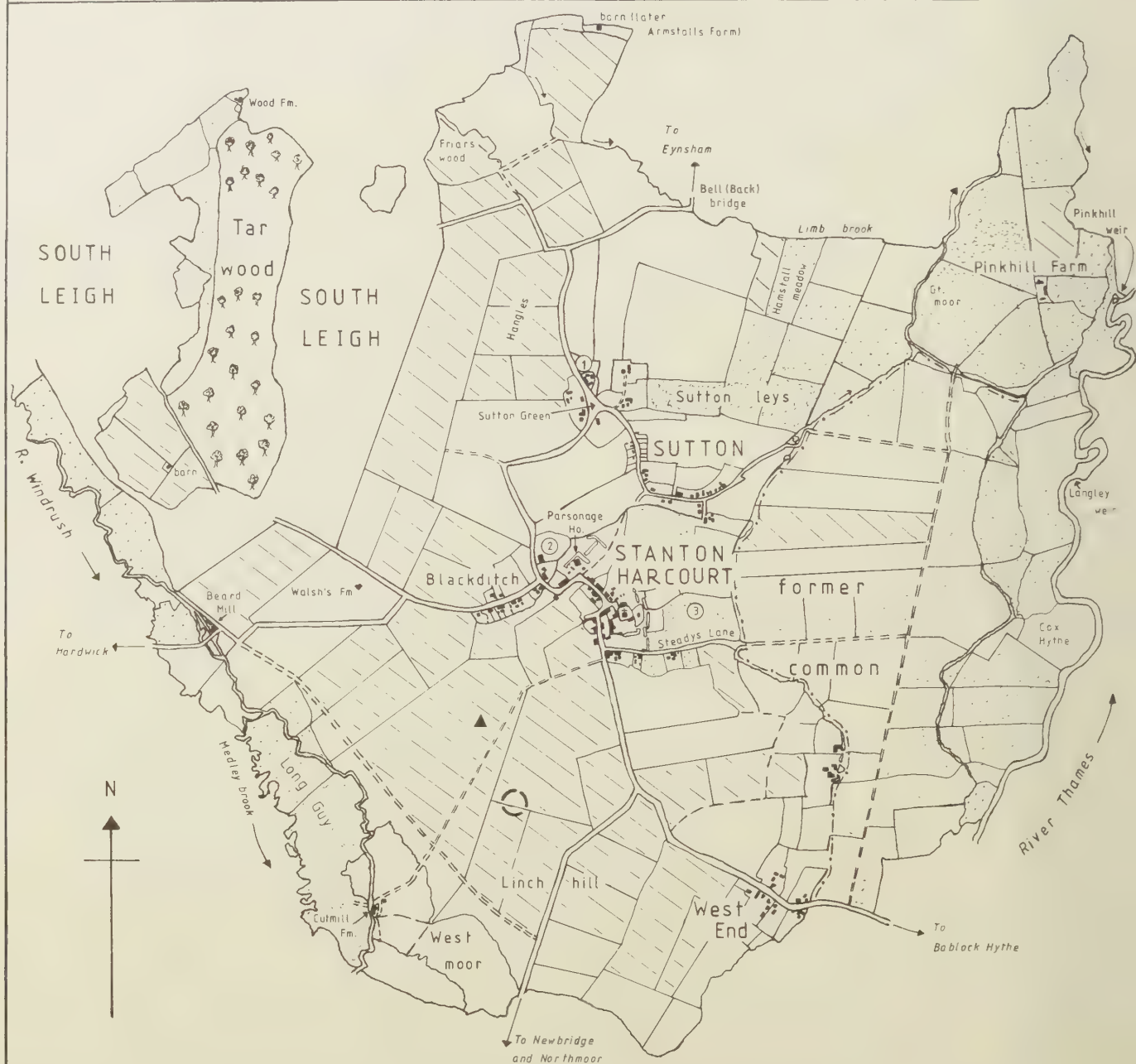
⁸³ *Eynsham Cart.* ii., p. 172.








⁸⁴ Below, Manors.

⁸⁵ Stanton Harcourt Incl. Act, 13 Geo. III, c. 102 (Priv. Act), 10-12; O.R.O., Stanton Harcourt incl. award.

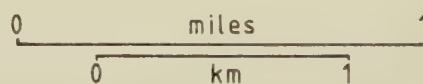
⁸⁶ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt e 7, d 23; *Harcourt Pps.* [1872-1905], ed. E. W. Harcourt, i. 49-50.

STANTON HARCOURT c. 1820



-  arable
-  pasture
-  meadow
-  land use unknown
-  boundary of former common
-  site of bronze-age barrow
-  site of Devil's Quoits stone circle

- 1 University Farm
- 2 Flexney's House
- 3 former park



Limb brook and towards Sutton and West End, and include the site of Pinkhill; there is also alluvium in the south-west by the Windrush. Along Sutton Lane, east of the Eynsham–Northmoor road, and in the north-west around Hamstall, the underlying Oxford Clay reaches the surface.⁸⁷ The eastern half of the parish is low-lying (c. 65 m.) and flat; until drainage schemes in the mid 19th century it often flooded, and was used mostly as pasture and meadow.⁸⁸ Further west the land rises to c. 70 m., reflected in the name Hangle field which denotes a gentle slope; Linch hill, a steeper incline near the southern boundary of the parish, was so named by the early 17th century.⁸⁹ Barrow hill, recorded in 1605, refers to the Bronze-Age barrow formerly in the open fields south-west of Stanton Harcourt village; Pinkhill, earlier *Pincle*, denotes a small enclosure.⁹⁰

Woodland lay mostly in the detached parts of the parish in South Leigh. Parson's wood, attached to the rectory estate and comprising c. 6 a., was coppiced by the 16th century, and was a pasture close by 1627.⁹¹ Tar wood once extended to cover much of South Leigh,⁹² and was probably identical both with woodland measuring 1 league by ½ league recorded in Stanton Harcourt in 1086 and with the Harcourts' wood of 'Piriho' mentioned in the 13th century; a yearly forest cense of £3 owed for the wood in the 12th century was pardoned by Richard I.⁹³ Assarting began before 1086, when 1½ hide at 'Pereio' contained land for one ploughteam with 12 a. of meadow, and there were assarts in 'Piriho' in 1235.⁹⁴ By the early 17th century closes and leys, later called Wood farm, extended down the west side of Tar wood within Stanton Harcourt parish; the wood was reduced further during the mid 19th century.⁹⁵ Friars wood, in the main part of the parish on its north-western edge,⁹⁶ was cleared for pasture during the 17th century or late 16th; it was presumably named after the Hospitallers, who held Sutton manor.⁹⁷

Crop marks suggest that a prehistoric route connecting the iron fields of north Oxfordshire with the Berkshire chalklands may have crossed the Windrush near Beard Mill.⁹⁸ Stanton Har-

court, West End, and Sutton Green lie along a winding road further east, leading north to Eynsham and the Witney–Oxford road, and south to Northmoor and the crossing of the Thames at Bablock Hythe, where there was a ferry by the 13th century.⁹⁹ A 4th-century Roman trackway running west of and parallel to the road south of Stanton Harcourt village, then branching west towards Linch hill and east towards the Thames, suggests that the roads follow an ancient pattern.¹ There may have been another crossing of the Thames at Cox Hythe, but by the 18th century there were no roads to it from the villages.² The road from Cogges and Witney, mentioned in 1616,³ enters Stanton Harcourt from the west at Blackditch.

In 1767 the road leading north from Stanton Harcourt branched into two; the western fork running across the site of the later Friar's Farm to South Leigh was suppressed at inclosure, leaving a sharp bend in the modern road, but partly survives as a footpath.⁴ Further north a second branch road ran along the parish boundary near the site of Hamstall into Eynsham, but disappeared soon after the inclosure of Eynsham in 1802.⁵ In the south, an ancient track leading towards Northmoor from the 'cross tree' on West End Lane was confirmed as a public footpath in 1774, but in 1819 was marked only by a field boundary;⁶ the chamfered base of a medieval cross, presumably that called West End cross in 1630, was still visible at the junction in 1972.⁷ The modern road from Blackditch to Beard Mill and Hardwick was laid out at inclosure, although traces of ditches parallel to the road in Vicarage field suggest an earlier trackway;⁸ New Road, linking Lower Sutton with the Stanton Harcourt to Eynsham road, was laid out in the late 19th century. The Blackditch bypass, necessitated by heavy traffic connected with commercial gravel extraction, was completed in 1983.⁹

The villages were linked with the open fields and with the outlying mills and farms along the Windrush by a network of minor footpaths.¹⁰ Sutton Lane, along which most of Sutton village is aligned, and Steady's Lane, formerly King's End Lane and presumably named after the

⁸⁷ Geol. Surv. Map 1/50,000, solid and drift, sheet 236 (1982 edn.).

⁸⁸ Below, Econ.; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt, d 23.

⁸⁹ *Oxon. Fines*, 128; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/4; cf. *P.N. Elements* (E.P.N.S.), i. 233, 252.

⁹⁰ Bodl. MS. d.d. All Souls, c 244/50, p. 1; *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 282; *P.N. Elements* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 64; below.

⁹¹ Bodl. MSS. d.d. All Souls, c 189/14, c 193, c 194/17.

⁹² Above, S. Leigh, Intro.

⁹³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 404; *Pipe R.* 1159 (P.R.S. i), 34; 1161 (P.R.S. iv), 27; B.L. Lansd. MS. 860A, f. 38v.; *Oxon. Fines*, 100, 128–9. Perry furlong, west of Tar wood in Home field, was mentioned in 1685: O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2123/28, rot. 3; cf. *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 283, 461.

⁹⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405; *Oxon. Fines*, 100, 128–9.

⁹⁵ Bodl. MS. d.d. All Souls c 192/58; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Harcourt d 23, p. 4; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2123/28, rot. 1; O.S. Map 1", sheet 13 (1830 edn.), 45 (1833 edn.); O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII. SW. (1883 edn.); below, Econ.

⁹⁶ B.N.C. Mun., drawer 107: S. Leigh *Sale cat.* and map (1875).

⁹⁷ P.R.O., E 318/22/1183; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c

47/19, 32; *P.N. Elements* (E.P.N.S.), i. 186.

⁹⁸ *Oxoniensia*, xxix/xxx, 50–3.

⁹⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 733; F. S. Thacker, *Thames Highway* (1968), ii. 87. ¹ *Oxoniensia*, xlv. 113; below.

² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 21, ff. 18, 20 and v., 22v.; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Harcourt c 266, p. 23 (with estate map of 1819 in Harcourt estate office); Jefferys, *Oxon. Map.* (1767).

³ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 760–1.

⁴ Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797); O.S. Map 1/25,000, SP 40/50 (1981 edn.); O.R.O., incl. award.

⁵ Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797); Harcourt estate office, map of 1819; O.S. Map 1", sheet 45 (1833 edn.).

⁶ O.R.O., incl. award; Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); Harcourt estate office, map of 1819.

⁷ County Mus., P.R.N. 3749; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/4–5; b 4/2, f. 17.

⁸ O.R.O., incl. award; Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); *Settlement Patterns in Oxon. Region.*, ed. H. J. Case and A. W. R. Whittle, 104, 117.

⁹ O.R.O., CCA 4521; *Oxf. Mail*, 4 May 1979; below.

¹⁰ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/4; c 47/33, f. 9; b 4/2, f. 1.

17th-century family called King, linked the villages with the common.¹¹ At inclosure bridle paths were laid out from Pinkhill Farm to Steady's Lane and West End, across an 18th-century stone bridge called Pinkhill Arches; the bridge was blocked in the 20th century to prevent flooding.¹²

There were fords across the Windrush at Pipard's Mill, where there was a bridge, since removed, in 1607, and at Long Guy meadow; footbridges crossed the Thames at Pinkhill weir and Langley weir probably from the Middle Ages.¹³ Bell bridge, where the road from Stanton Harcourt to Eynsham crosses Limb brook, was Bag bridge in the 15th century, perhaps derived from Bugga's brook, the earlier name for Limb brook; it was known as Back bridge in the 17th and 18th centuries.¹⁴

By 1847 there were carrier services to Witney and Oxford.¹⁵ Until the early 20th century the nearest telegraph and money-order office was at Eynsham, but the village schoolmaster opened a post office in Stanton Harcourt before 1861, run initially from the schoolhouse, and by 1876 from no. 15 on the main street near the manor house.¹⁶ It was moved to the cottage later called the Old Post Office before 1913, and to no. 26 in the early 1970s.¹⁷ The nearest railway stations, opened in 1861 and closed in the 1960s, were at Eynsham and South Leigh.¹⁸

There is extensive evidence of prehistoric settlement, mostly on the well drained gravels but also on the Thames flood-plain and around Pinkhill.¹⁹ The Bronze-Age barrow²⁰ formerly $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south-west of Stanton Harcourt contained a rich Wessex culture burial; it was partially levelled c. 1777 and removed c. 1850, and in 1940 the site was destroyed by the building of an airfield. Other Bronze-Age finds include rubbish pits, suggesting settlement and stable mixed farming, in Vicarage field, where there was also a short-lived early Iron-Age settlement; later Iron-Age settlement was mostly in the south-west around Linch hill and on the site of the airfield.

The Devil's Quoits, a henge monument c. 1,200 yd. south-west of Stanton Harcourt,²¹ was used throughout the late Neolithic and Beaker periods, and comprised an embanked stone cir-

cle c. 280 ft. across, composed of 30 or more stones; it was mostly destroyed in the Middle Ages to make way for cultivation, some of the stones being broken and possibly re-used in Stanton Harcourt church. One of the three remaining stones was used as a bridge in the late 17th century and again in the late 19th or early 20th, but was replaced following protests from the Harcourts and local people. Only one of the stones was *in situ* in 1940 when the airfield was built over the site, later used for gravel workings, and the stones were buried; in 1988 there were plans to restore the monument incorporating the buried stones.²² A tradition that the Devil hurled the stones from Wytham hill during a game of quoits was current by the late 17th century;²³ the idea that the monument commemorated a Saxon victory at Bampton in 614 originated in the late 18th.²⁴

Romano-British settlement was scattered: a late Iron-Age site near Linch Hill corner was periodically reoccupied until the late 1st century, and in the earlier 2nd there was a settlement comprising wattle-and-daub buildings within a ditch near the Old Vicarage; a 4th-century cemetery was excavated near Linch Hill.²⁵ Finds have been made near Pinkhill Farm, beyond Steady's Lane, and in Stanton Harcourt village.²⁶

In the late 6th century or early 7th the Bronze-Age barrow was used as a pagan cemetery by a small group presumably living nearby.²⁷ By the 9th century settlement was probably already concentrated on the modern villages. Sutton, or South *tun*, which lies north of Stanton Harcourt, was probably named in relation to Eynsham, although there are crop marks and Saxon pits to the north near University Cottages.²⁸ West End, so called in the 13th century²⁹ and at the south-east corner of the parish on the edge of the river gravels, presumably owed its origin and name to the Thames crossing at Bablock Hythe. Pinkhill and probably Hamstall were occupied or reoccupied by the mid 12th century; their names suggest their origins as isolated outlying farms.³⁰

In 1086 there were 83 tenants recorded at Stanton Harcourt, and a cottager and a *servus* at 'Pereio', probably the area around Tar wood.³¹

¹¹ Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); O.R.O., incl. award; cf. *ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 196, f. 245; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 4/2, f. 4.

¹² O.R.O., incl. award; County Mus., P.R.N. 1086.

¹³ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 52/1; O.R.O., incl. award, roads; below, Econ. The name Long Guy, presumably French *gué*, was recorded in the 16th century: Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 21, f. 4.

¹⁴ P.R.O., SC 2/197/38; Grundy, *Saxon Oxon.* 34; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 4/2, ff. 8, 15v., 19; O.R.O. incl. award; O.S. Map 1", sheet 45 (1833 edn.).

¹⁵ *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847 and later edns.).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.); P.R.O., RG 9/904; *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202-I], p. 350, H.C. (1868-9), xiii; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXVIII. 3 (1876 edn.); cf. Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt e 27, p. 25, e 25, p. 12.

¹⁷ O.S. Maps 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXVIII. 3 (1913 edn.), SP 4905-4105 (1970 edn.); 1/25,000, SP 40/50 (1981 edn.).

¹⁸ Above, Eynsham, Intro.; S. Leigh., Intro.

¹⁹ County Mus., P.R.N. 1666-7, 3055-6, 8344, 8723, 12918, 13927; *Oxoniensia*, viii/ix. 19-63; x. 16-41; xvi. 5-22; xx. 1-28; xxviii. 1-52; xxxi. 1-27; *Settlement Patterns Oxon.*

ed. Case and Whittle, 81-7, 103-117.

²⁰ Cf. Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxon.* (1705), 333; S. Simpson, *Agreeable Historian* (1746), iii. 783; below.

²¹ O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXVIII. NE., NW. (1883 edn.); *Oxoniensia*, viii/ix. 20.

²² *Oxoniensia*, viii/ix. 24-34; xxxix. 96-7; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 192, ff. 319, 328; *Oxf. Times*, 22 July 1988.

²³ Bodl. MS. Top. gen. c 24, f. 67; cf. *ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. d 192, ff. 317, 319.

²⁴ T. Warton, *Specimen of a Paroch. Hist. Oxon.* (1783), 47-8; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.).

²⁵ *Oxoniensia*, viii/ix. 47-60; xx. 7-12; xlv. 112-23; *Settlement Patterns Oxon.* ed. Case and Whittle, 115-16.

²⁶ County Mus., P.R.N. 3057, 3381, 3934, 8328-30, 9227.

²⁷ *Oxoniensia*, x. 33-4, 41.

²⁸ County Mus., P.R.N. 8220, 8723, 8748.

²⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 856.

³⁰ County Mus., P.R.N. 1086, 851; *Deserted Villages of Oxon.* 30, 41; Deserted Medieval Villages Research Group, *12th Rep.* (1964), 19-20; *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 282; *P.N. Elements* (E.P.N.S.), i. 231-2, ii. 64.

³¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 404-5; above.

By 1279 there were at least 36 villeins and cottagers at Stanton Harcourt and West End, 17 at Sutton, and 8 at Pinkhill, and 10 of those listed under South Leigh apparently lived at Hamstall;³² including unlisted free tenants there may have been up to 80 households in the parish. The population may have already fallen slightly by the mid 14th century, when over half the villeins on Stanton Wyard manor died of plague;³³ most of the deaths were probably at South Leigh, however, and in 1377 there were 117 adult males recorded at Stanton Harcourt and 76 at Sutton, suggesting that the death-toll, although serious, was less than in some Oxfordshire parishes.³⁴ Pinkhill and Hamstall, mentioned in 1334, were not recorded in 1377, when some of those listed under Sutton probably still lived at Pinkhill, and a few listed under South Leigh may have still lived at Hamstall.³⁵

The population of the parish as a whole had probably recovered by the early 16th century, when Stanton Harcourt and West End had at least 52 taxpayers and Sutton 25.³⁶ In 1642 there were 262 men and women over 18,³⁷ and in 1662 hearth tax was levied on 43 households in Stanton Harcourt and 31 in Sutton.³⁸ The population was 412 in 1759, when there were 92 houses;³⁹ in 1774 there were said to be only 60, but by 1801 there were 88 housing 504 people. The population continued to rise until the 1870s, when it fell from 624 in 1871 to 541 in 1881, probably largely through emigration as at South Leigh. After 1901 it remained under 500 until the Second World War, when it was increased by the influx of service personnel connected with the airfield, and in 1951 it was still 960. By 1961 it had fallen to 699, but rose to 774 by 1981.⁴⁰

The early nucleus of Stanton Harcourt village was presumably the church and nearby manor house, described below; the earliest remaining parts of the church are 12th-century, but the size and independence of its parish in the early Middle Ages, despite its proximity to Eynsham and Bampton, suggest that it was an early ecclesiastical centre.⁴¹ The main street connects the church and manor house on the south with Parsonage House on the north; its distinctive course, forming a reversed C-shape, results partly from its skirting around the grounds of Parsonage House, rebuilt on the site of a medieval rectory, and of the 15th-century manor buildings. By c. 1600 there were houses near the rectory on or near the sites of All Souls House, All Souls Cottages, and no. 26;⁴² the cottage called nos. 14-15, on the main street opposite

the manor house, is possibly late 16th-century. Several other houses along the main street and Steady's Lane are probably mid to late 17th-century in origin, among them nos. 8-9, 11 and 12, Thatchings (no. 25, dated 1671), and nos. 1-2 and 5-7.⁴³ Further north Smithy Cottage (no. 30), opposite Blackditch, originated as a cruck-framed hall-house of three bays, reconstructed in stone possibly during the later 16th century; expansion of the village along Blackditch, mentioned by name in 1540,⁴⁴ may represent a late phase, and Blackditch Farm dates from 1654.⁴⁵

Sutton was more scattered from an early period, and in the 16th century Over and Lower Sutton comprised separate tithings;⁴⁶ Over End cross was mentioned in the 17th century.⁴⁷ At the northern end, buildings lie on the edge of a gravel terrace around what was formerly an open rectangular green, already diminished in the mid 18th century and inclosed in 1774; Nicholls' Farm (nos. 48-9), north-west of the former green, is partly cruck-framed and possibly medieval in origin, and Tudor Cottage, to the south, is early 17th-century.⁴⁸ At the southern end of the village there was a house on the site of Lower Farm, on the edge of the former common, by the 12th or 13th century, and several surviving cottages originated as timber-framed hall houses, amongst them Duck End Cottage, which incorporates two bays of a former cruck-framed house.⁴⁹ The name Duck End, recorded in 1841, perhaps denotes a ditched inclosure.⁵⁰ Sutton Lane, presumably the Sutton Street mentioned in 1687,⁵¹ which links the two ends, lies mostly on Oxford Clay; by the mid 18th century there were buildings scattered along its length, many of them since demolished, but continuous building along the lane did not occur until the 20th century.⁵²

West End existed by 1279, when only one tenant definitely lived there.⁵³ In the 16th century it formed a separate tithing, but was probably never more than a small group of houses by the road from Stanton Harcourt to Bablock Hythe. In the 19th century it was deemed to include Pimm and Tawney's Farms $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the north and two cottages over the parish boundary in Northmoor.⁵⁴

The hamlet at Pinkhill, occupied until the mid 15th century or later, lay south-east of Pinkhill Farm on ground which does not flood; it comprised stone and wattle-and-daub houses with crofts, arranged along a village street running north and south. The site was built up with layers of sand and gravel to avoid waterlogging,

³² *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 855-7; P.R.O., E 179/161/10.

³³ P.R.O., E 179/161/8, 9, 10; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ix, p. 305.

³⁴ P.R.O., E 179/161/42; above, S. Leigh, Intro.

³⁵ R. E. Glasscock, *Subsidy 1334*, 242; below.

³⁶ P.R.O., E 179/161/194.

³⁷ *Protestation Returns*, 91-3.

³⁸ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, m. 285.

³⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 557, f. 61.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* d 565, f. 145; *Census*, 1801-1981.

⁴¹ Below, Manors, Church.

⁴² All Souls Mun., Hovenden map IV. 11.

⁴³ Cf. D. o. E., Revised Hist. Bldgs. List (unpubl.); A.

Pacey, *Duck End* (priv. print. 1985), 28-30, 57-60.

⁴⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi. 139.

⁴⁵ Cf. Pacey, *Duck End*, 53, 59; D. o. E., Revised Hist. Bldgs. List (unpubl.).

⁴⁶ Below, Local Govt.

⁴⁷ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 4/2, ff. 16v., 17.

⁴⁸ Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797);

O.R.O., incl. award; cf. Pacey, *Duck End*, 37-40, 57-9.

⁴⁹ County Mus., P.R.N. 5703; Pacey, *Duck End*, 45-61.

⁵⁰ P.R.O., HO 107/890; *P.N. Elements* (E.P.N.S.), i. 132.

⁵¹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 4/2, f. 15v.

⁵² Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797);

below.

⁵³ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 856.

⁵⁴ Below, Local Govt.; *Census*, 1871; P.R.O., RG 9/904; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt d 23, p. 12; c 277, lease of W. End Upper Fm.

and there are traces of drainage channels.⁵⁵ There was a house there in 1594 and 1672,⁵⁶ presumably the predecessor of the later Pinkhill Farm, and the site may never have been completely abandoned.

The hamlet of Hamstall probably included the site of the later Armstalls Farm.⁵⁷ Eynsham abbey held half the hide associated with the settlement, but field names incorporating 'Hamstall' occur only in Stanton Harcourt and there is no evidence that Hamstall extended into Eynsham parish.⁵⁸ The settlement was closely associated with South Leigh, and perhaps originated in connexion with South Leigh's colonization during the 11th and 12th centuries or earlier.⁵⁹ Field names on South Leigh's eastern edge, where the boundary remained ill defined until 1774, include Hamstall piece and Hamstall cow common,⁶⁰ and in the late 12th century part of the Hamstall hide, then in the king's hands, seems to have been included with an escheat at South Leigh by Exchequer officials;⁶¹ in 1279 and the earlier 14th century Hamstall's inhabitants were taxed with South Leigh's.⁶² The site was still partly occupied in 1389, when 3 or 4 tenants of Eynsham abbey held cottages and lands there, but by 1467 all or most of the tenements were apparently held by one man.⁶³ There may have been a farmhouse in the late 17th century, and in the early 18th a holding there of 2 yardlands was described as a farm,⁶⁴ but by c. 1767 there was apparently only a barn.⁶⁵

During the later 17th century and the early 18th consolidation of holdings resulted in the rebuilding of several of the more important farmhouses. Nicholl's Farm was modernized and extended southwards in the late 17th century, but in the 19th became two labourers' cottages (nos. 48-9).⁶⁶ Flexney's House, north of Blackditch, was also extended in the 17th and 18th centuries.⁶⁷ Outlying farmhouses built or rebuilt during the 17th century included those at Beard Mill and Cutmill, that later called Tawney's (dated 1647 and extended in the 18th century), West End House (formerly West End Lower Farm), and possibly Payne's Farm. Lower Farm, probably 17th-century, was remodelled c. 1726; Pinkhill Farm, an early example of a double-depth farmhouse, was rebuilt c. 1714, and Pimm

Farm, formerly West End Upper Farm, in the mid 18th century.⁶⁸ All were rebuilt in stone and slate, in contrast to the earlier buildings which, except for the manor house and possibly the medieval rectory, were timber-framed and thatched.

Some older houses in the villages were rewalled in stone, among them Smithy Cottage and nos. 14-15 Stanton Harcourt, and many more were modernized by the insertion of chimney-walls and upper floors.⁶⁹ Leena Cottage (nos. 28-9), at the northern end of Stanton Harcourt south of Blackditch, was built in the early 18th century of coursed limestone rubble and was still thatched in 1924.⁷⁰ Timber-frame construction continued, however; Pinkhill Cottage at Duck End and no. 22 (White Cottage) at Stanton Harcourt are both early 18th-century, and although much altered were originally timber-framed and probably thatched.⁷¹

Parliamentary inclosure in 1774 created larger holdings, and several farmhouses were built or extended during the 19th century. Walsh's Farm, later the Old Vicarage, was built on the rectory estate in the early 19th century, incorporating an existing 17th-century range on the north.⁷² About the same time Armstalls Farm, so called by c. 1875, was newly built on or near the site of Hamstall; it was mostly demolished during the earlier 20th century, and had disappeared by 1970.⁷³ Elms Farm at West End was rebuilt in stone c. 1820 on or near the site of an earlier homestead, and alterations were made to the neighbouring West End Farm; Sutton Farm was built in red brick shortly before 1871, when the earlier house was sublet as a cottage.⁷⁴ Many farms remained centred on older buildings, however, some of which were said in the later 19th century to be inferior or dilapidated.⁷⁵ Cox's Farm, still thatched and timber-framed in 1924, was derelict by the 1940s, and was later rebuilt.⁷⁶

In the villages there was little new building between the early 18th century and the later 19th; Goldenbridge Cottage, at Duck End, formerly two houses, was built c. 1830, and additions were made to other houses in the 18th century.⁷⁷ During the late 18th century and the 19th several cottages were subdivided to accommodate the rising labouring population,

⁵⁵ County Mus., P.R.N. 1086; Deserted Medieval Villages Research Group, *12th Rep.* (1964), 19-20; B.L. Harl. Roll F. 33.

⁵⁶ P.R.O., C 78/105; O.R.O., Misc. Lancs. VI/6.

⁵⁷ County Mus., P.R.N. 851; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 11 (1876 edn.).

⁵⁸ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt d 23, p. 2; below, Manors; cf. *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 228.

⁵⁹ Above, S. Leigh, Intro.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., S. Leigh tithe map; *ibid.*, Stanton Harcourt incl. award; above, S. Leigh, Intro.

⁶¹ *Pipe R.* 1189 (Rec. Com.), 106; 1190 (P.R.S. N.S. i), 11; below, Manors.

⁶² *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 856-7; P.R.O., E 179/161/8, 9, 10; cf. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 21, f. 27.

⁶³ B.L. Harl. Rolls E. 32, f. 19, f. 33; below, Econ.

⁶⁴ P.R.O., E 134/31 Chas. II/East. 17; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/32; c 47/33, f. 45.

⁶⁵ *Oxf. Jnl.* 9 Oct. 1790; Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1787); Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797).

⁶⁶ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt e 25, p. 14; *Sale cat.*, *Harcourt Settled Estates* (1924), 20-1; copy in Bodl. G. A. Oxon. c 226.

⁶⁷ Below, Manors.

⁶⁸ Cf. County Mus., P.R.N. 5703, 2304, 1086; Pacey, *Duck End*, 7-9; D. o. E., Revised Hist. Bldgs. List (unpubl.); Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 273/24; below, Econ.

⁶⁹ Above; cf. Pacey, *Duck End*, 62-5.

⁷⁰ *Sale cat.*, *Harcourt Settled Estates*, 29; D. o. E., Revised Hist. Bldgs. List (unpubl.).

⁷¹ Cf. Pacey, *Duck End*, 26-7.

⁷² O.S. Map 1", sheet 13 (1830 edn.); D. o. E., Revised Hist. Bldgs. List (unpubl.); below, Church.

⁷³ O.S. Maps 1", sheets 45 (1833 edn.), 94 (1939 edn.); 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 11 (1913 edn.), SP 4008-4108 (1970 edn.); B.N.C. Mun., drawer 107; S. Leigh *Sale Cat.* (1875); H. C. D. Cooper, 'Saxon Bound of Eynsham', *Top. Oxon.* vii.

⁷⁴ Harcourt estate office, map of 1819; O.S. Maps 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 15; XXXVIII. 3, 7 (1876 edn.); Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 266, p. 29.

⁷⁵ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 266.

⁷⁶ *Sale cat.*, *Harcourt Settled Estates*, 21; Pacey, *Duck End*, 11.

⁷⁷ Cf. Pacey, *Duck End*, 9-10, 65, 69.

amongst them the houses on Steady's Lane, nos. 14-15 and 28-9, and, at Sutton, Pinkhill Cottage and nos. 38-9, nearly all occupied by agricultural labourers in 1881.⁷⁸ By c. 1870 overcrowding was serious, and E. W. Harcourt converted pantries, hovels, and outbuildings to provide extra living space, besides undertaking general repairs and improving sanitation; subdivision continued, however. In the 1870s several cottages had lean-to pigsties, which Harcourt thought offensive and ordered to be removed; earlier in the century the parish clerk had a pigsty in the churchyard.⁷⁹

At Stanton Harcourt nos. 53-4, opposite the manor house, were newly built probably in the late 1870s,⁸⁰ but most new building was at Sutton, where New Road was laid out between 1876 and 1899.⁸¹ Houses at its eastern end were occupied mostly by agricultural labourers in 1881;⁸² the Methodist chapel was built by c. 1887, and Swelcombe and the Gables by 1899.⁸³ Other 19th-century additions to the parish included University Cottages, built c. 1870 on the Sutton-Eynsham road, and in Stanton Harcourt the new brick schoolhouse added to the back of no. 21 in 1871.⁸⁴ At West End over 20 labourer's cottages were listed in 1841, probably including houses attached to Tawney's and Pimm Farms.⁸⁵ In 1924 there was a thatched and timber-framed cottage attached to West End Farm, but most of the cottages at West End were demolished in the earlier 20th century.⁸⁶

In 1702 the parishioners asked for an unlicensed alehouse newly opened at Pinkhill weir to be suppressed.⁸⁷ There were then two licensed alehouses in the parish, one of which may have been the later Harcourt Arms, mentioned by name in 1775; the building, probably late 17th-century, was extended in the early 19th.⁸⁸ The Dog, also mentioned in 1775, and the Crown, mentioned in 1780, had closed by 1787. The Fox inn, so named by 1847, was newly built in the earlier 19th century, and was a public house by 1841.⁸⁹

During the 20th century large housing estates were built north of the road junction at Black-

ditch and immediately west of Stanton Harcourt village; there was also infilling along Blackditch, Sutton Lane, and the main street at Stanton Harcourt and at West End.⁹⁰ There were 14 council houses by 1936, and 85 in 1977, over 40 houses being built between 1945 and 1962. Some of the older cottages on Sutton Lane became derelict and were demolished; Green-sleeves, south of Blackditch, was built before 1962 partly with re-used material.⁹¹ Foxburrow Close, south of New Road in Sutton, was laid out by 1970, and Burr Close, south of Sutton Lane, in the late 1970s. In 1977 West Oxfordshire district council recommended that future building should be limited to infilling, but c. 1985 a new estate comprising over 35 houses was built in Flexney's paddock, north of Blackditch.⁹² Infilling in Stanton Harcourt and along Sutton Lane continued during the 1980s, and in 1988 virtually all the vacant plots north of Stanton Harcourt's main street had been built on. The primary school, behind the main street on Parson's lease, was built c. 1970;⁹³ the village hall, north of Blackditch, was built by the British Legion after the First World War and extended after 1945.⁹⁴

Until the Second World War the domestic water supply was from wells, which most older cottages possessed.⁹⁵ A water tower built on the wartime airfield still supplied the village in the 1970s.⁹⁶ There was no public sewerage in 1936, and only a few houses had been connected by 1962; the system was completed during the early 1970s, with a local treatment works near Sutton.⁹⁷

The military airfield, built in 1940 and used by Whitley bombers, took several hundred acres of farmland south-west of Stanton Harcourt.⁹⁸ It and its buildings were abandoned after 1945, and were mostly derelict in 1988, when some of the land was used for pasture. By the 1960s there were scattered agricultural buildings on the site, and in the 1970s hangars at its northern end near Blackditch were adapted for warehousing.⁹⁹ From the early 1950s until c. 1973 the former officers' mess was used as a school,¹ and in 1988

⁷⁸ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt e 25, pp. 12-15; e 27, with loose sketch map; P.R.O., RG 11/1513; cf. Pacey, *Duck End*, 12, 65-73.

⁷⁹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt e 27; *Rep. Com. Women and Children in Agric.* [4202-I], p. 350, H.C. (1868-9), xiii; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 104, f. 239.

⁸⁰ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt e 25, p. 15, e 27, loose sketch map; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXVIII. 3 (1876 and 1899 edns.).

⁸¹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 15 (1876 and 1899 edns.).

⁸² Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt e 27, p. 134 and map; P.R.O., RG 11/1513.

⁸³ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 15 (1899 edn.); below, Nonconf.

⁸⁴ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt e 27, p. 134; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 15 (1876 edn.); below, Educ.

⁸⁵ P.R.O., HO 107/1731; cf. Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797); O.S. Map 1", sheet 13 (1830 edn.).

⁸⁶ *Sale cat., Harcourt Settled Estates*, 43; local inf.; cf. O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXVIII. NE. (1900 edn.).

⁸⁷ O.R.O., QSR Mich. 1702.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Trin. 1701; *ibid.* vctls' recogs.; D. o. E., Revised Hist. Bldgs. List (unpubl.).

⁸⁹ O.R.O., vctls' recogs.; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847); P.R.O., HO 107/890; Harcourt estate office, map of 1819; O.S. Map

1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 15 (1876 edn.).

⁹⁰ O.S. Maps 6", Oxon. XXXII. SE.; XXXVIII. NE. (1900 edn.); SP 40 NW., SW. (1972 edn.).

⁹¹ *Social Services in Oxf. District*, ed. A. F. C. Bourdillon, i. 302; *Stanton Harcourt Rep. and Policy Statement* (W. Oxon. District Council, 1977); copy in Westgate Libr., Oxford; *Oxf. Times*, 13 July 1962; Pacey, *Duck End*, 28.

⁹² O.S. Map 1/2,500, SP 4006-4106 (1970 edn.); *Stanton Harcourt Rep. and Policy Statement*, 1, 6-7; *Flexney's Paddock, Stanton Harcourt: Development Control Brief* (W. Oxon. District Council, 1984); copies in Westgate Libr., Oxford.

⁹³ O.S. Map 1/2,500, SP 4005-4105 (1970 edn.); below, Educ.

⁹⁴ *Oxf. Times*, 13 July 1962.

⁹⁵ *Sale cat., Harcourt Settled Estates*.

⁹⁶ *Oxf. Times*, 13 July 1962; *Witney Gaz.* 18 Feb. 1971.

⁹⁷ *Social Services in Oxf. District*, ed. A. F. C. Bourdillon, i. 302; *Oxf. Times*, 13 July 1962; *Witney Gaz.* 18 Feb. 1971; O.S. Map 1/2,500, SP 40/50 (1981 edn.); *Stanton Harcourt Rep. and Policy Statement* (1977), 2.

⁹⁸ *Oxoniansia*, x. 16; O.S. Maps 6", SP 40 NW., SW. (1972 edn.); *Witney Gaz.* 18 Feb. 1971.

⁹⁹ *Stanton Harcourt Rep.* (1977), 1, 5; *Stanton Harcourt Manor Ho., old estate office, Farm Rep.* 1965, in possession of Hon. Mrs. A. Gascoigne.

¹ Below, Educ.

another building was used as the Harcourt estate office.

There were small gravel pits in the south part of the parish by the early 17th century.² Gravel working on the site of the former airfield and between Beard Mill and the Old Vicarage was authorized c. 1954, and another pit was opened near Linch hill, extending southwards from West End Lane to the parish boundary. By 1978 many of the sites had been worked out and were flooded; that adjoining West End Lane was converted into a trout lake, and in 1976 the Vicarage pit, north of the Hardwick road, became a nature reserve. Worked-out pits on the former airfield remained unlandscaped in 1988, when much of the site was used for processing, offices, and haulage routes; extraction continued in the south-west around Cutmill Farm. In 1978 Oxfordshire county council recommended that no new workings north and east of existing sites should be allowed.³

Alexander Pope, a friend of the 1st Viscount Harcourt, completed his translation of Homer at Stanton Harcourt manor house during the summers of 1717 and 1718 and contributed epitaphs for monuments in the church. The tower in which he stayed, over the private chapel, was known as Pope's Tower by the early 19th century; a pane of glass from his study, with an autograph inscription, was removed to Nuneham Courtenay for safe keeping before 1809.⁴ Charles Vyner Brooke, Rajah Muda of Sarawak, lived in Harcourt House as a tenant of the Harcourts from c. 1911. In 1907 King Edward VII is said to have visited the parish while staying at Nuneham Courtenay.⁵

The village stocks, probably 18th-century and owned by the lord of the manor, stood in 1876 on the main street of Stanton Harcourt outside the Harcourt Arms, where they remained in 1988. They were restored in 1958, but needed repair in 1974 and 1982.⁶

MANORS AND OTHER ESTATES. In 1066 *STANTON*, including land in South Leigh, was held by Alnod, and in 1086 by Odo of Bayeux: it was reckoned at 26 hides,⁷ of which one lay in Hanborough and was given to Oseney

abbey c. 1138.⁸ Another 1½ hide in 'Pereio', probably in South Leigh, and held under Odo by Wadard, was apparently absorbed into the main Stanton estate before the late 12th century.⁹ Following Odo's forfeiture the estate was held possibly by Ranulf Flambard, and in 1101 by Rualon d'Avranches, perhaps in custody.¹⁰ Before 1130 Henry I gave it to his second wife Queen Adela,¹¹ who alienated it piecemeal, mostly after 1135.

Before 1141 Adela gave to her kinswoman Millicent, wife of Robert Marmion, land in Stanton Harcourt and South Leigh worth £40, four fifths of the value in 1086. When Robert died c. 1144 the estate, later called *STANTON HARCOURT*, passed to Millicent's second husband Richard de Camville, on whose death in 1176 it was seized by Henry II.¹² It was held in custody by Richard Rufus until 1190,¹³ when Richard I restored it to Richard de Camville's son Richard, who died on crusade in 1191; it then passed to Robert de Harcourt of Bosworth (Leics.), who had married the elder Richard de Camville's daughter Isabel.¹⁴ Thereafter, apart from a brief period in the early 17th century, Stanton Harcourt descended in the main line of the English Harcourts, who made it their principal seat until the early 18th century.

The manor was held by knight service and by serjeanty: Stanton Harcourt and South Leigh meadows in the royal park at Woodstock were to be cut and carried, and in winter underwood was to be cut and forage strewn for the deer if snow lay for three days.¹⁵ In 1330 the manor was said to be held in chief as of Woodstock manor.¹⁶ In 1196 it was reckoned at ⅔ knight's fee, in 1235–6 at ½ knight's fee, and in 1279, probably in error, at 1½ knight's fee;¹⁷ during the earlier 13th century it was more usually reckoned at ⅓ fee, and from the 1240s onwards at 1 knight's fee.¹⁸

Robert de Harcourt was succeeded in 1202 by his son William;¹⁹ William's son Sir Richard (d. 1258) succeeded before 1234, when his lands were temporarily seized following confusion with the Norman Harcourts.²⁰ Richard's son Sir William (d. c. 1270) supported Simon de Montfort but recovered his lands under the Dictum of Kenilworth; Sir William's son Sir Richard obtained possession c. 1277 and died in 1293, when

² Bodl. MS. d.d. All Souls c 244/50, p. 1; O.R.O., incl. award.

³ *Stanton Harcourt Area Minerals Plan, Consultative Doc.* (Oxon. C.C. 1978), *passim*; *Co. Map Large Scale Inset, Stanton Harcourt: Land for Working of Minerals* (Oxon. C.C. 1954); copies in Westgate Libr., Oxford; *Oxf. Mail*, 16 Dec. 1976.

⁴ *Corresp. of A. Pope*, ed. G. Sherburn, i. 418, 433, 482–511; G. S. Harcourt, *Acct. of Stanton Harcourt* (1808), 19, 24; *Gent. Mag.* lxxxix (1), 393–4; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXVIII. 3 (1876 edn.); below, Manors, Church.

⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1911, 1915); Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 45, p. 41.

⁶ County Mus., P.R.N. 5874; D. o. E., Revised Hist. Bldgs. List (unpubl.); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXVIII. 3 (1876 and later edns.).

⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 404; above, S. Leigh, Intro.; Manors.

⁸ *Oseney Cart.* i, p. 3; iv, pp. 16–17, 21, 84, 107.

⁹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405; above, Intro.; below.

¹⁰ *Hist. Mon. Abingdon* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 84–5; *Royal Writs Eng.* (Selden Soc. lxxvii), p. 485.

¹¹ *Reading Cart.* i, no. 536a; *Pipe R.* 1130 (H.M.S.O.

facsimile), 6.

¹² *Reading Cart.* i, pp. 402–3, 405–6; *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 398–9; *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* iii, no. 140; *Complete Peerage*, viii. 506–7; *Pipe R.* 1191 & 92 (P.R.S. N.S. ii), xxv–xxvi.

¹³ *Pipe R.* 1182 (P.R.S. xxxi), 124; 1190 (P.R.S. N.S. i), 11; 1191 & 92 (P.R.S. N.S. ii), 100; cf. *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 398–9.

¹⁴ *Sir C. Hatton's Bk. Seals* (Northants. Rec. Soc. xv), no. 42; *Pipe R.* 1191 & 92 (P.R.S. N.S. ii), 251.

¹⁵ *Bk. of Fees*, ii. 1375; *Cal. Fine R.* 1369–77, 35; below, Woodstock, Blenheim (Park to 1705).

¹⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* vii, p. 222.

¹⁷ *Chanc. R.* 1196 (P.R.S. N.S. vii), 74; *Bk. of Fees*, i. 448, 451, 455, 587; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 856, probably combining assessments for the Harcourt and Pipard fees: cf. below.

¹⁸ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 103, 822; ii. 1375; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), 34, 46; *Feud. Aids*, iv. 156, 177, 195; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* i, p. 111; iii, pp. 75–6.

¹⁹ *Harcourt Pps.* i. 237–9.

²⁰ *Ibid.* i. 240; *Close R.* 1231–4, 479–80; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* i, p. 111.

his relict Joan was assigned a third of the manor in dower.²¹

Richard's son Sir John, of age by 1301, held the manor in 1316;²² on his death in 1330 it passed to his son Sir William, who settled it on himself and his wife Joan.²³ In 1341 the manor was said to be held by William de Sharesnull, the lord chief justice, whose daughter Joan had married William's eldest son Richard;²⁴ William de Harcourt died siesed in 1349, however,²⁵ and the manor passed on his relict Joan's death in 1369 to their son Sir Thomas (d. 1417).²⁶ Thomas was the first Harcourt deeply involved in Oxfordshire administration, serving as knight of the shire in 1376 and as custodian of Oxford castle; he possibly began the rebuilding of the manor house, and his wife Maud was commemorated by an elaborate tomb in Stanton Harcourt church.²⁷

He was succeeded by his eldest son Thomas (d. 1420),²⁸ and Thomas by his son Sir Robert, K.G., M.P. for Oxfordshire in 1450 and sheriff in 1455.²⁹ Robert was described as late of Stanton Harcourt in 1438 and 1450,³⁰ but was probably responsible for major additions to the manor house in the 1460s;³¹ he was killed by the Lancastrians in 1470.³² In 1473 his widow Margaret recovered two thirds of Stanton Harcourt and a third of the Harcourts' other Oxfordshire manors as jointure under an arrangement of 1440, following a dispute with John Harcourt, Sir Robert's son and heir; she was still living in 1484.³³

In 1475 John Harcourt granted the manor to trustees, and in 1483 was outlawed for his part in Buckingham's rebellion; he died in 1484, leaving the manor to his relict Ann.³⁴ Their son Robert succeeded before 1495; in 1494 he was made K.B., and served as sheriff of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire.³⁵ He died before 1509, leaving four daughters, and under the settlement of 1440 Stanton Harcourt passed in turn with his other land to Richard Harcourt (d. 1513) and Sir Simon Harcourt (d. 1547), great-nephews of Sir Robert (d. 1470).³⁶ Simon entertained the

king at Stanton Harcourt in 1534 and added the gatehouse to the manor house.³⁷

The manor passed to his son Sir John (d. 1565), to John's son Sir Simon (d. 1577), sheriff of Oxfordshire, and to Simon's son Sir Walter (d. c. 1614),³⁸ who inherited debts from his father. In 1579 Walter leased Stanton Harcourt to his uncle Robert Harcourt as security on debts of £3,000; in 1595 his Oxfordshire lands were temporarily seized for non-payment of loans.³⁹ In 1602 he conveyed the manor to his son Robert (d. 1630), the traveller and speculator, with whom in 1604 he sold the South Leigh part of the estate.⁴⁰

In 1611 Robert settled the manor house and demesne on his wife Frances in jointure.⁴¹ In 1612 he apparently sold the manor, with all remainders and reversions, to Humphrey Aylworth, rector of Tackley, presumably to finance an expedition to Guiana, and in 1614 Aylworth sold the manor in fee simple to Francis Searle of Combe.⁴² Searle died in 1619, and in 1621 his relict Eleanor and son Francis sold the manor to Edward Wakeman and Nicholas Roberts, but in 1633 Robert Harcourt was found to have died seised of the manor under the settlement of 1611.⁴³ Roberts vindicated his title, but in 1635 the right of Harcourt's son Sir Simon was upheld in the court of wards, whose officers, according to Roberts, were in league with Harcourt. The dispute was eventually settled in the Harcourts' favour in the 1640s.⁴⁴

In 1642 Sir Simon Harcourt, governor of Dublin, was killed at the siege of Kilgobbin castle (co. Dublin).⁴⁵ His relict Ann, seriously in debt, in 1646 secured a jointure of £500 a year from the manor.⁴⁶ She later married Sir William Waller and in 1660 settled most of Stanton Harcourt on her son Sir Philip Harcourt, who held it in 1665.⁴⁷ Philip mortgaged the demesne in 1672, and later settled the house and much of the estate on his second wife Elizabeth;⁴⁸ he was succeeded in the rest of the manor in 1688 by his eldest son Simon, knighted in 1702 and created Baron Harcourt in 1711 and Viscount Harcourt

²¹ *Harcourt Pps.* i. 240-1, which wrongly says Wm. d. 1278; *Cal. Pat.* 1266-72, 120, 438; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii, p. 166; iii, pp. 75-6; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 856. The younger Ric. earlier married Margery Beke of Eresby (Lincs.): *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 162; below, Church.

²² *Cal. Close*, 1296-1302, 417; *Feud. Aids*, iv. 163.

²³ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* vii, pp. 221-2; ix, p. 146.

²⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1339-41, 601; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 242.

²⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ix, p. 146.

²⁶ *Ibid.* xii, p. 348; *Cal. Fine R.* 1369-77, 35; P.R.O., C 138/26, no. 28.

²⁷ *Harcourt Pps.* i. 64-6, 242; below, Church.

²⁸ P.R.O., C 138/26, no. 28; C 138/48, no. 64; date of death given in *Harcourt Pps.* i. 242 as 1460, perhaps through confusion with Thos. Harcourt (d. 1460) commemorated in the church: below, Church.

²⁹ P.R.O., C 138/48, no. 64; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 66-70, 242-3; *Complete Peerage*, ii. 543.

³⁰ *Cal. Close*, 1435-41, 233; *Cal. Pat.* 1446-52, 324.

³¹ Below.

³² P.R.O., C 140/38, no. 53; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 70, 243 wrongly gives date of death as 1471.

³³ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. a 62, f. 16; *Cal. Pat.* 1436-41, 470; 1476-85, 478, 487.

³⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1467-77, 515; 1476-85, 371, 471, 498, 505; *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, i, p. 140.

³⁵ *Dom. of Incl.* ed. I. S. Leadam, i. 381; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 71-2, 244; *Sel. Cases in Star Chamber* (Selden Soc. xvi),

pp. 138-9 n.

³⁶ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i (1), pp. 207, 216; i (2), p. 937; P.R.O., PROB 11/18, f. 15v.; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 72-7, 244-5.

³⁷ *Harcourt Pps.* i. 77-8; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, viii, p. 430; below.

³⁸ *Harcourt Pps.* i. 78-81, 245-6; P.R.O., C 2/Jas. I/E 1/42.

³⁹ Bodl. MSS. Ch. Oxon. 737-41, 747, 750; a 62, ff. 28, 32; P.R.O., C 2/Jas. I/E 1/42; *ibid.* C 78/105.

⁴⁰ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 1/10, p. 4; above, S. Leigh, Manors; *D.N.B.*; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 81-108.

⁴¹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 40/12.

⁴² *Ibid.* c 40/4-5, 11; cf. P.R.O., E 134/22 Jas. I/Hil. 26; *ibid.* STAC 8/257/1; *ibid.* C 2/Jas. I/E 1/42.

⁴³ P.R.O., PROB 11/133, f. 76v.; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 40/8-12.

⁴⁴ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1625-49, 496; 1635-6, 266, 338; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 140, 149-50, 166, 170; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 1.

⁴⁵ *D.N.B.*; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 111-67, 247-8.

⁴⁶ *L.J.* viii. 100-2.

⁴⁷ *Harcourt Pps.* i. 167-208, 248; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 3/8; 'Survey of cap. mansion of Sir P. Harcourt, 1665', in possession of Hon. Mrs. A. Gascoigne, Manor Ho.

⁴⁸ O.R.O., Misc. Lancs. VI/6; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 201-6; P.R.O., PROB 11/391, ff. 21-2.

in 1721. Simon revived the family's fortunes, adding to the Stanton Harcourt estate in the 1690s, but did not succeed to his step-mother's share of the manor until c. 1714, living mostly at Cokethorpe. In 1710 he bought Nuneham Courtenay, later the family's principal seat.⁴⁹

He was succeeded in 1727 by his grandson Simon (d. 1777), created Earl Harcourt in 1749. From him Stanton Harcourt passed to George Simon Harcourt, Earl Harcourt (d. 1809), and to George's brother Field Marshall William Harcourt, on whose death in 1830 the title became extinct. The manor continued to descend with Nuneham, and in 1904 passed to Lewis Harcourt (d. 1922), created Viscount Harcourt in 1917.⁵⁰ In 1924 much of it was sold under the viscount's will, and further small sales were made later.⁵¹ The remains of the estate, including the manor house, passed to Sir William Edward Harcourt, Viscount Harcourt (d. 1979), and were held in 1988 by his daughter, the Hon. Mrs. Ann Gascoigne.⁵²

Before 1176 a small undertenancy was created in the manor, when Millicent and the elder Richard de Camville granted lands there to Leger Pipard to be held for $\frac{1}{3}$ knight's fee; in 1190 the fee was held of the younger Richard de Camville by Leger's son Robert, who transferred it to his brother Richard (d. after 1228).⁵³ Richard's son Henry Pipard, of Lapworth (Warws.), held lands of the Harcourts worth 100s. and died c. 1258 when the Stanton Harcourt fee passed to his daughter Cecily, who married secondly Sir Henry de Harcourt, younger brother of Sir Richard Harcourt (d. 1258).⁵⁴

Henry died before 1275, when half the fee was held by his relict and half by his heir.⁵⁵ Following Cecily's death the mesne lordship seems to have passed to her heirs by her first husband, Sir Thomas de Bishopsdon, since in 1293 Henry de Harcourt the younger, probably Henry and Cecily's son, died seised of lands and rents in Stanton Harcourt held of John de Bishopsdon; the mesne lordship was not mentioned later.⁵⁶

The younger Henry's relict Emme married Richard Pipe, who held the fee in 1306 and 1327, and whose son John married Henry's daughter Margaret.⁵⁷ John Pipard, who apparently held the fee in 1316 and was presumably a junior member of the family, probably surrendered any rights c. 1320, when he quitclaimed lands in Warwickshire to John Pipe and Margaret and to their son Richard.⁵⁸ Margaret died

after 1349, when the estate possibly passed to her grandson Henry Pipe; the later history of the fee is unknown, and the tenancy probably lapsed in the later 14th century when the family sold its Warwickshire lands.⁵⁹

The medieval manor house stood west of the church; it was taxed on 24 hearths in 1665,⁶⁰ and in the early 18th century comprised an irregular group of buildings around an inner courtyard, with an outer courtyard to the north incorporating stables and a gatehouse. Another yard, with barns and farm buildings, lay on the west.⁶¹ After 1688 it ceased to be the family's principal seat, and in the mid 18th century was mostly demolished, leaving the former north-east tower and chapel, the kitchen with a range to the south, and the gatehouse, extended in the 19th and 20th centuries and reoccupied as the manor house from 1948.

The main range, on the north side of the inner court, included the great hall, which was probably open to the roof and had an arched bay window on the north, said in the 18th century to contain medieval stained glass.⁶² At the hall's west end was a cross passage with service rooms beyond and a north porch; on the east the hall adjoined the great parlour, which opened south into the little parlour and had a room above. The tower and chapel, beyond the parlour, were added probably between 1460 and 1470 by the mason William Orchard;⁶³ the chapel's surviving west wall was formerly the east wall of the parlour, and retains an earlier angle buttress on the north. The chapel, on the ground floor, comprises a short, flat-roofed nave and stone-vaulted chancel, with shields of arms of Sir Robert Harcourt (d. 1470); over the chancel, the tower rises another three stories. A room over the nave included a window, later blocked, overlooking the chancel, and was used as the family pew. The chapel's north doorway may be 17th- or 18th-century.⁶⁴

A long range, probably including bedrooms and perhaps the servants' hall,⁶⁵ ran southwards from the great parlour in the 17th century, and other rooms and a great staircase abutted the south side of the hall. At the west end of the hall buildings running more than 200 ft. south from the service rooms included the kitchen, a square stone tower 40 ft. high surmounted by an octagonal timber lantern. It has been suggested that the tower is the work of Sir Thomas Harcourt (d. 1417),⁶⁶ but the lantern is late 15th- or early

⁴⁹ *D.N.B.*; below (Stanton Wyard); *V.C.H. Oxon.* v. 241-2; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 262 (R); c 277, survs. 1714, 1715.

⁵⁰ *Complete Peerage*, s.v. Harcourt; *D.N.B.*; *V.C.H. Oxon.* v. 242.

⁵¹ *Sale Cat., Harcourt Settled Estates* (1924); *Country Life*, clxxvi (1984), 562.

⁵² Burke, *Peerage* (1970), 1239-40.
⁵³ *Sir C. Hatton's Bk. Seals* (Northants. Rec. Soc. xv), no. 42; *Cal. Pat.* 1225-32, 217; cf. *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 856; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 508, f. 46, which includes 3 more cottagers under the Pipard fee.

⁵⁴ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 34, 46; B.L. Lansd. MS. 860A, f. 40v.; *V.C.H. Warws.* v. 110.

⁵⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 34, 46.

⁵⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, p. 67; *V.C.H. Warws.* v. 110, 119; cf. *Warws. Fines*, i. (Dugd. Soc. xi), no. 860. Hen. is to be distinguished from Hen., younger son of Ric. de Harcourt (d. 1293); *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, pp. 75-6.

⁵⁷ W. Dugdale, *Warws.* (1730), ii. 892; *V.C.H. Warws.* v. 119; P.R.O., E 179/161/9-10.

⁵⁸ P.R.O., E 179/161/8; *Warws. Fines*, ii (Dugd. Soc. xv), no. 1544.

⁵⁹ *V.C.H. Warws.* v. 119.

⁶⁰ *Hearth Tax Oxon.* 105; for plan, below, p. 278.

⁶¹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 278 (R); *Surv. of cap. Mansion of Sir P. Harcourt, 1665*; cf. Pevsner, *Oxon.* 781-3; *Country Life*, xc (1941), 628-31, 674-7.

⁶² *Corresp. A. Pope*, ed. G. Sherburn, i. 505-6, 509; *Hearne's Colln.* viii (O.H.S. 1), 220; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 34, Stanton Harcourt.

⁶³ J. Harvey, *Eng. Medieval Architects*, 222-3; O.A.S. Rep. (1938), 78.

⁶⁴ Cf. Pevsner, *Oxon.* 782; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 28-9; *Country Life*, xc (1941), 677.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Corresp. A. Pope*, i. 510; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 210-24.

⁶⁶ *Country Life*, xc. 676-7; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 782.

16th-century,⁶⁷ and the tower itself is probably of similar date. Smoke from three fireplaces was dispersed through shutters under the eaves,⁶⁸ which have been replaced with windows.

The two-storeyed range against the kitchen's south side is probably late 16th-century, and contained two principal rooms on the first floor; in 1726 a free-standing gallery, since destroyed, ran along the range's east side.⁶⁹ A timber-framed east porch was later incorporated into the south side of the inner court.

The two-storeyed gatehouse was built c. 1540 by Sir Simon Harcourt, whose arms appear beside the main arch;⁷⁰ it lay in line with the hall porch and was flanked by lodges. A bowling green lay between it and the hall in the earlier 18th century.⁷¹

In 1665 the manor grounds extended south and east of the churchyard in a horseshoe shape; a series of stews on the east, still surviving, had an unusual system of sluices and ditches allowing each stew to be emptied without disturbing the others.⁷² The park, probably made c. 1495,⁷³ lay east of the ponds.

After Sir Philip Harcourt's death in 1688 his relict Elizabeth ceased to live there.⁷⁴ In 1718 the roof of the main buildings was much decayed and many of the windows were broken.⁷⁵ Proposals c. 1720 for a new house to the south⁷⁶ seem to have been abandoned, and by 1760 the hall, east range, and much of the west range had been demolished, some of the stone being re-used at Nuneham Courtenay.⁷⁷ In 1807 the chapel retained its painted ceiling, but the stained glass had been mostly removed or broken, and in 1818 the manor site was mostly ruins with 'one or two respectable dwellings' with large gardens and orchards, presumably the former gatehouse and the range south of the kitchen.⁷⁸ Both chapel and tower were used for farm storage, and in 1871 the tower was a brewhouse; the chapel was restored before 1876.⁷⁹

The range south of the kitchen was leased to tenant farmers from the early 18th century.⁸⁰ Its southern end was demolished before 1760, leaving a stone pigeon house standing free,⁸¹ it remained a farmhouse in 1988.

The gatehouse, occupied first by a tenant farmer and then by the vicar for parts of the 18th and 19th century, was later used by the Harcourts as an occasional residence.⁸² With the stable block on the west it was incorporated into a new house for Col. Edward William Harcourt probably c. 1866: the carriageway was made into an entrance hall, additional windows were put into the north front, and a large extension was built on the south.⁸³ Thereafter the house, renovated in 1905, was occupied by lessees until 1948, when Lord Harcourt, having sold Nuneham Courtenay, made it his residence. A picture gallery was added on the east in 1953.⁸⁴

The grounds, overgrown in 1948, were landscaped and embellished with sculptures and other features from Nuneham Courtenay. Their character was radically altered in 1977 with the loss of the elms, a feature since the 18th century.⁸⁵

About 1136 Queen Adela gave land formerly held by Reynold the forester to Reading abbey.⁸⁶ The land, which escheated to the Crown in 1156 and again in 1165, was perhaps later held by the elder Richard de Camville and by Richard Rufus, and probably formed part of 2 carucates in Stanton Harcourt and South Leigh which Richard I gave c. 1194 to Henry de la Wade, a royal falconer.⁸⁷ The manor, later known as *STANTON WYARD* or *STANTON HERLE*, was held by serjeanty of guarding the king's falcons or carrying a gerfalcon;⁸⁸ the lord and his tenants also owed the services in the royal park at Woodstock by which the Harcourt manor was held, and in the 15th and 16th centuries Stanton Wyard was said to be held as of Woodstock manor.⁸⁹ In 1349 it was reckoned at $\frac{1}{4}$ knight's fee.⁹⁰

Henry de la Wade died before 1202, leaving an infant son Henry,⁹¹ in possession by 1228; he died in 1287, when the estate passed to his son John de la Wade (d. 1309).⁹² In 1302 John conveyed Stanton Wyard, presumably by sale, to Roger Mortimer (d. 1326) of Chirk (Denb.).⁹³ Following Mortimer's rebellion in 1321–2 the manor was seized by the Crown, which held it in 1324; in 1327 Mortimer's nephew Roger Mortimer (d. 1330) of Wigmore (Herefs.) granted

⁶⁷ Reroofed 1485 acc. to Pevsner, *Oxon.* 782.

⁶⁸ Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxon.* (1705), 271–2.

⁶⁹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 278 (R).

⁷⁰ Cf. *Harcourt Pps.* i. 25–6; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 783.

⁷¹ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 278 (R); c 151/11, p. 4.

⁷² Ibid. c 278 (R); 'Surv. of Cap. Mansion of Sir P.

Harcourt, 1665'; Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxon.* (1705), 239.

⁷³ *Dom. of Incl.* ed. I. S. Leadam, i. 381.

⁷⁴ *Harcourt Pps.* i. 24–5, 229–30.

⁷⁵ *Corresp. A. Pope*, i. 506, 510.

⁷⁶ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 278 (R).

⁷⁷ *Harcourt Pps.* i. 25; F. Grose, *Antiq. Eng. and Wales* (1773), iii, Stanton Harcourt; *V.C.H. Oxon.* v. 236–9.

⁷⁸ G. S. Harcourt, *Acct. of Stanton Harcourt*, 20; *Gent. Mag.* lxxxix (1), 393–4; below.

⁷⁹ *Harcourt Pps.* i. 28–9; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 266, p. 22.

⁸⁰ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 270/23; c 277, survs. 1714, 1715; c 151/11, p. 2; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 27.

⁸¹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 278 (R); Grose, *Antiq. Eng. and Wales*, iii.

⁸² Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 270/23; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 656, f. 58 and v.; below, Church.

⁸³ Pevsner, *Oxon.* 783; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 25–6; Bodl. MS.

Top. gen. a 11, no. 528; *ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. d 514, f. 54 (b); *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1869).

⁸⁴ *Oxf. Times*, 17 June 1905, 13 July 1962; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.); *Stanton Harcourt Manor* (C.P.R.E. 1982); copy in Westgate Libr., Oxf.; *V.C.H. Oxon.* v. 242.

⁸⁵ *Country Life*, cxxxi (1962), 1018–20; *Oxf. Times*, 13 July 1962; *Witney Gaz.* 17 Apr. 1975; *Stanton Harcourt Manor* (C.P.R.E. 1982); Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 278 (R).

⁸⁶ *Reading Cart.* i, pp. 403–6.

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 406 n.; *Pipe R.* 1156–8 (Rec. Com.), 37–8, 83; 1162 (P.R.S. v), 28; 1165 (P.R.S. viii), 72; 1167 (P.R.S. xi), 16; 1190 (P.R.S. N.S. i), 11; 1191 & 92 (P.R.S. N.S. ii), 294; 1193 (P.R.S. N.S. iii), 133; 1194 (P.R.S. N.S. v), 213.

⁸⁸ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 253, 589, 830; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 34, 46.

⁸⁹ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 103; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 20, ff. 3–8; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* (Rec. Com.), iv, p. 139; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, p. 139; above.

⁹⁰ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ix, p. 305.

⁹¹ A. L. Poole, *Obligations of Soc.* 69; *Rot. Lib.* (Rec. Com.), 26.

⁹² *Cur. Reg. R.* xiii, pp. 191, 270; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 34, 46, 855–6; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii, p. 376.

⁹³ *Cal. Pat.* 1301–7, 125; P.R.O., C 143/44, no. 15.



STANTON HARCOURT MANOR HOUSE

the manor in fee simple to John Wyard of Kyre Wyard (Worcs.).⁹⁴

John was succeeded in 1349 by his son Sir Robert,⁹⁵ who in 1353 leased the manor for three years to Roger of Nottingham and his wife Maud and in 1354 died leaving three infant daughters, of whom only Elizabeth seems to have survived: before 1365 she married Sir John de Herle, and in 1395 they settled the manor on themselves, their daughter Margaret, and Margaret's husband Thomas Vaughan.⁹⁶ John died in or before 1396, and Elizabeth in 1397; a grant of the manor to Gilbert Talbot in 1396 was presumably for a term, since Thomas Vaughan died seised of the manor in 1432.⁹⁷ He was succeeded by his and Margaret's son William, who seems to have retained the name Herle, and died in 1437 leaving an infant son, John de Herle (d. 1511). Thereafter the manor apparently passed with Stoke Bliss (Worcs.) to John's son George (d. 1512), to George's brother Thomas de Herle (d. 1521), and to Thomas's son John Herle of Stanton Wyard.⁹⁸

John's relict Catherine and their son John sold the manor c. 1584 to William Buttle of Stanton Harcourt, the lessee of the rectory estate, allegedly for far less than its real value; the younger John was then said to be heavily encumbered and had no other lands, and was in prison by 1585 charged with involvement in a plot to free Mary, queen of Scots.⁹⁹ He was dead by 1590, when Buttle sued Catherine over his rights in the manor; Catherine died before 1616.¹

Buttle died before 1591, leaving a widow Alice (d. 1622).² In 1616 Stanton Wyard was held by their son William;³ he died without issue in 1625, leaving as coheirs four sisters who married, respectively, William Crutchley, Thomas Wenman, John Pridy, and William Boswell. Boswell, an Oxford mercer and alderman who already had an interest in the manor, was by 1626 lending money to the other portioners and in 1633 received several terms of years in the other portions. In 1634 John Pridy the younger conveyed his portion to Thomas Wenman, who in 1635 conveyed both his portions to Boswell in fee. On Boswell's death in 1638 most of his estate passed to his elder son William, a doctor of law, who changed his name to Bosville, and

who over the next few years acquired the fourth portion from Crutchley's widow Elizabeth and her son William.⁴

Bosville died unmarried in 1678, when most of his estate passed to his nephew Thomas Bosville, to whom the rest reverted c. 1687;⁵ Thomas also acquired from his brother William three farms in Stanton Harcourt and Sutton which had passed to their father Edward Boswell in 1638.⁶ From 1683 Thomas mortgaged the estate,⁷ and between 1691 and 1693 several farms were sold to Simon Harcourt, later Viscount Harcourt. In 1693 Thomas settled the rest of the manor, mostly in South Leigh, on himself, his wife Elizabeth, and son Henry.⁸ Thomas died after 1703, and the manor presumably passed to Henry; from 1737 it was held by Hugh Bosville (d. 1782) of Llanelen (Mon.), probably Henry's son,⁹ who inherited serious debts,¹⁰ and was succeeded by his son John, a physician. On his death in 1790 John left his Oxfordshire estates in trust to be sold, and in 1791 Stanton Wyard was bought with the manorial rights by John Sibthorp, later the owner of South Leigh.¹¹ The manorial rights had lapsed by 1875, when the Stanton Wyard lands were sold as part of the South Leigh estate.¹²

In 1327 John Wyard was licensed to crenellate his manor house at Stanton Harcourt;¹³ its site is unknown, but by the late 17th century the manor house was leased to Thomas Flexney and was probably that later known as Flexney's House, north-east of Blackditch.¹⁴ The house, of coursed limestone rubble with a gabled stone slate roof, is of two storeys, and comprises an early or mid 17th-century cross wing, remodelled in the 19th century, and an early 18th-century range to the north-west; a stone bears the date 1675 and the initials TF, probably for another Thomas Flexney.¹⁵

Before 1144 Queen Adela granted land in Stanton Harcourt to the Templars, who held lands there in 1163.¹⁶ The estate was probably the escheat of 7 yardlands recorded 1165–73 and the 8 yardlands in Sutton held before 1207 by the Hospitallers, from which 1 yardland had become detached. From 1165 the escheat was farmed and in 1173 was given to Turol, the king's watchman.¹⁷

In 1207 the 8 yardlands, later *SUTTON*

⁹⁴ P.R.O., SC 6/1146/15; *Cal. Inq. Misc.* ii, p. 154; *Cal. Pat.* 1327–30, 182, 192.

⁹⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ix, p. 305.
⁹⁶ *V.C.H. Worcs.* iv. 282; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* x, pp. 140–1; xi, p. 433; *Cal. Pat.* 1354–8, 90; 1391–6, 567.

⁹⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1391–6, 691; *V.C.H. Worcs.* iv. 282; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* (Rec. Com.), iii, p. 217; iv, p. 139.

⁹⁸ *V.C.H. Worcs.* iv. 350–1; *Visit. Oxon.* (Harl. Soc. v), 231.

⁹⁹ P.R.O., REQ 2/177/78; *ibid.* C 2/Eliz./H 11/53; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1581–90, 250.

¹ P.R.O., REQ 2/177/78; *ibid.* C 2/Jas. I/C 24/3.

² Exeter Coll. Mun., N. V. 10; P.R.O., C 2/Jas. I/B 27/71; *ibid.* PROB 11/140, f. 32v.

³ P.R.O., C 2/Jas. I/C 24/3.

⁴ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/33, f. 33 and v.; P.R.O., C 142/425, no. 51; *ibid.* PROB 11/176, ff. 338v.–339v.; *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 96, 113.

⁵ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/19; c 47/33, ff. 31, 33v.

⁶ P.R.O., E 134/31 Chas. II/East. 17; E 134/31 Chas. II/Trin. 5; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/27; above, S. Leigh, Manors.

⁷ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/33, ff. 31v.–32, 34 and v.; *ibid.* c 47/32.

⁸ *Ibid.* c 47/33, ff. 1–17, 23 and v., 31v., 32, 39, 45; c 45/5.

⁹ *Ibid.* MS. Ch. Oxon. 4442; P.R.O., PROB 6/112, f. 170; J. A. Bradney, *Hist. Mon.* i (2), pp. 172, 373; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2090, pp. 32, 161; *ibid.* incl. award.

¹⁰ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 279, letters to Lord Nuneham 11 Dec., 27 Dec. 1772.

¹¹ Bradney, *Hist. Mon.* i (2), pp. 373, 416; P.R.O., PROB 11/1197, ff. 223–4; Lincs. R.O., BS 3/Oxon./1; above, S. Leigh, Manors.

¹² B.N.C. Mun., drawer 107, *Sale Cat.*

¹³ *Cal. Pat.* 1327–30, 179.

¹⁴ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/32.

¹⁵ D.o.E., Revised Hist. Bldgs. List (unpubl.).

¹⁶ *Reading Cart.* i, pp. 405–6; *Pipe R.* 1163 (P.R.S. vi), 49.

¹⁷ *Pipe R.* 1165 (P.R.S. viii), 72; 1173 (P.R.S. xix), 167; 1174 (P.R.S. xxi), 77 8; 1195 (P.R.S. n.s. vi), 44, 60 (wrongly identified as Stanton St. John); *Cur. Reg. R.* v. 114, 160. An amercement owed by the Templars in 1167 was presumably incurred earlier: *Pipe R.* 1167 (P.R.S. xi), 15.

manor, were disputed between William de Harcourt and the Hospitallers, who sought to have an agreement with Robert de Harcourt (d. 1202) upheld. William recognized the Hospitallers' right and agreed to provide a substitute for the missing yardland; in return he was to hold the estate for life paying 38s. 4d. a year.¹⁸ In 1215 the manor was held by John de Préaux, presumably of William de Harcourt.¹⁹ In 1224 William's son Richard de Harcourt acknowledged the earlier agreement,²⁰ and thereafter the manor was held by the Hospitallers until the Dissolution.

In 1544 Henry VIII granted the manor to his chaplain John Warner, from whom it passed in 1552 to William Torleis or Butcher and his wife Elizabeth, in 1569 to William Buttle, and in 1581 to Exeter College, Oxford, which in 1591 sold it to William Crutchley and his wife Elizabeth.²¹ The manor presumably passed to the Bosviles with the Crutchleys' Stanton Wyard lands, and descended with Stanton Wyard until the 18th century, being similarly reduced by sales during the 1690s; Sutton manor farm, Hamstall farm, and Friars wood were retained as jointure for Thomas Bosvile's wife Elizabeth.²² In 1790 the residue of the estate and the manorial rights were sold with Stanton Wyard to John Sibthorp.²³

In 1796 Sibthorp left lands in Sutton manor, later known as University farm, to Oxford university, to finance publication of his book *Flora Graeca* and to establish a professorship of rural economy; the farm was sold during the 20th century.²⁴ Friars wood and Armstalls farm were absorbed into the Sibthorps' South Leigh estate, with which they were sold in 1875.²⁵

There may have been an estate office or manor house at Sutton by 1327, when Thomas le Frere contributed 8s. to the lay subsidy.²⁶ From the 17th century or earlier the manor house was leased to tenant farmers,²⁷ and was presumably the house given by Sibthorp to Oxford university; it was rebuilt in the 19th century.

Before 1137 Queen Adela granted 1 hide at Hamstall to Eynsham abbey, which already held half the hide for 4s. a year.²⁸ Following inquiries into alienated royal demesne the land was seized by the Crown, and in 1165 and 1166 rendered 13s. a year; from 1167 to 1176 it rendered 9s., perhaps because the half hide formerly held by the abbey had been returned to it to be held free

of rent, and the abbey continued to hold land in Hamstall probably until the Dissolution.²⁹ By the 17th century Hamstall was attached to Sutton manor, with which it subsequently descended.³⁰ The other half hide was held in custody with Stanton manor by Richard Rufus from 1171 to c. 1189, when it seems to have been incorporated into the escheat granted to Henry de la Wade.³¹

In or before 1130 Queen Adela gave to William of Harfleur an estate of 2½ hides, described as one tenth of the Domesday estate.³² It may have been held by Roger of Sandford in 1162; Reading abbey apparently acquired Adela's charter and therefore perhaps the estate, presumably lost with its other Stanton Harcourt lands during the later 12th century.³³

In the early 13th century a small freehold of the Underwall (*Submuro*) family of Eynsham included land in Sutton and South Leigh. In 1228 Richard Underwall's relict Isabel claimed a third of ½ yardland in Sutton and a third of 4s. rent in Sutton or Pinkhill as dower; she later granted all her dower lands to her son William, who mortgaged the estate to local Jews. In 1258 Eynsham abbey redeemed the land in return for a 40-year grant from William, who sold all his land to the abbey before 1268. The lands in Sutton presumably became merged with the abbey's Hamstall estate.³⁴

The rectory estate, comprising a house, tithes, and c. 108 a. of glebe in Stanton Harcourt and South Leigh, was appropriated in 1506 to Reading abbey, which in 1509 leased it for 38 years to John Camby, registrar of the archdeaconry of Oxford, who granted it to his wife Isabel. At the Dissolution the reversion passed to the Crown, which in 1542 granted the estate at farm to Edward Fettiplace for 40 years from the expiry of Camby's lease.³⁵ By 1558 the lease was held by John Penny, and by 1567 by William Butcher; before 1570 it was acquired by William Buttle.³⁶

In 1551 the rectory was included in Edward VI's exchange of lands with John Ponet, bishop of Winchester,³⁷ but Queen Mary rescinded the grant.³⁸ In 1558 Cardinal Pole consolidated part of the rectory estate with the vicarage;³⁹ the rest of the estate, variously described as a third or two thirds⁴⁰ and comprising great tithes, the house, 8 a. of inclosure, and Parson's wood, was granted to All Souls College, Oxford.⁴¹ Follow-

¹⁸ *Cur. Reg. R.* v, pp. 114, 160; *Oxon. Fines*, pp. 42–3.

¹⁹ *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i. 227.

²⁰ *Cur. Reg. R.* xi, p. 557.

²¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), p. 618; *Cal. Pat.* 1550–3, 248; 1566–9, 339; Exeter Coll. Mun., N. V. 10.

²² Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/32; c 47/33, ff. 23, 31v–32, 45; above.

²³ Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 9 Oct. 1790; Lincs. R.O., BS 3/Oxon./1.

²⁴ Lincs. R.O., 2 Sibthorp 2/5; *D.N.B.*, which wrongly states that Sibthorp left S. Leigh to Oxford university; Oxf. Univ. Arch., UC/A/3/5; inf. from Univ. Chest Estates Office.

²⁵ B.N.C. Mun., drawer 107, *Sale Cat.* P.R.O., E 179/161/9.

²⁶ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/19, 32; *ibid.* MS. Ch. Oxon. 4442; Lincs. R.O., BS 3/Oxon./1.

²⁷ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 172.

²⁸ *Pipe R.* 1165 (P.R.S. viii), 72; 1166 (P.R.S. ix), 119; 1167 (P.R.S. xi), 16; 1176 (P.R.S. xxv), 29; B.L. Harl. Roll E. 32, F. 2, F. 19, F. 33; cf. *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 398–9.

²⁹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/32; above.

³⁰ *Pipe R.* 1189 (Rec. Com.), 106; 1190 (P.R.S. N.S. i), 11; 1191 & 92 (P.R.S. N.S. ii), 100; *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 398–9; above.

³¹ *Reading Cart.* i, pp. 405–6.

³² *Pipe R.* 1162 (P.R.S. v), 28; *Reading Cart.* i, p. 406; above (Stanton Wyard).

³³ *Cur. Reg. R.* xiii, pp. 134, 191–2, 332, 442; xiv, p. 439; *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 218–19, 233–4; E. K. Chambers, *Eynsham under the Monks* (O.R.S. xviii), 28–9; above.

³⁴ Below, Church; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, p. 160; P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/115; *ibid.* E 315/19/60; R. Churton, *Lives of Bp. Smyth and Sir Ric. Sutton* (1800), 244.

³⁵ P.R.O., REQ 2/163/112; Bodl. MSS. d.d. All Souls c 190/16; c 191/36, rot. 5; cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1572–5, 489.

³⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1550–3, 178.

³⁷ Bodl. MSS. d.d. All Souls c 191/23, 35–6.

³⁸ *Ibid.* c 189/13; below, Church.

³⁹ Bodl. MS. d.d. All Souls c 191/36, rot. 20; *ibid.* MS. Tanner 340/2, f. 427; P.R.O., E 310/22/120, f. 27.

⁴⁰ Bodl. MSS. d.d. All Souls c 189/12, 14; c 190/16; c 191/36, rott. 17–18.

ing Elizabeth's accession the part of the rectory consolidated with the vicarage reverted to the Crown, and in 1570 was leased to William Buttle, who also obtained a lease of the All Souls portion.⁴²

In 1584 it was decided that the grant to Bishop Ponet had never been legally revoked, and Bishop Cooper reconveyed the whole estate to the queen,⁴³ who leased it to William Buttle.⁴⁴ After much effort All Souls re-established its title,⁴⁵ and in 1589 Elizabeth granted the remaining part to the bishop of Oxford,⁴⁶ who retained it until 1856 when it was vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; by the 1960s the bishop's land was divided between Hoveringham Gravel Co., Lord Harcourt, and others.⁴⁷

The Butties' lease was sold c. 1615 to William Boswell, later lord of Stanton Wyard, whose family remained lessees of the bishop's portion until the late 18th century;⁴⁸ the tithes and glebe were occasionally sublet separately.⁴⁹ By the late 18th century a modus of 2d. a cow for milk tithes and 1s. for calves had been established.⁵⁰ In 1790 the estate was leased to Andrew Walsh of Oxford who sublet it soon after;⁵¹ in 1815 Andrew's relict Martha sold the lease of the glebe in South Leigh and the tithes there to Humphrey Sibthorp, the owner of South Leigh manor, and the tithes were commuted for a rent charge.⁵² In 1834 Martha left the rest of the estate to her sons, the eldest son Percival apparently holding the lease in 1848.⁵³

The All Souls estate was leased with the house to relatives of Robert Hovenden, the warden, in the early 17th century;⁵⁴ Parson's wood was leased separately from c. 1624.⁵⁵ Later lessees included Robert Huntington (d. 1685),⁵⁶ William Gibbons, M.D. (d. 1728), and Sir Edward Ernle of Abingdon;⁵⁷ from 1785 to 1938 the Arnatt family were lessees.⁵⁸ The college reserved the right, not known to have been exercised, to occupy four rooms during outbreaks of plague.⁵⁹ In the later 20th century much of the estate, including the house, was sold.⁶⁰

Parsonage House, a stone-built classical house with a hipped roof of Stonesfield slate, stands

north-west of the church on the site of the earlier rectory house;⁶¹ it was built probably for Robert Huntington soon after 1669.⁶² The symmetrical plan incorporates a front of seven bays and sides of five bays, all with central doorways; a small walled forecourt has a central gateway. A small service wing was added soon after the house was built. The hall and staircase, three bays wide, run the full depth of the house; on the east are two panelled parlours, one of which retains its original marbled and grained decoration. The kitchen has original racks and benches. Paintings in the hall have been attributed to James de Witt.⁶³

A stone dovecot, south-east of the main building, was apparently built before the late 16th century; the stables, later destroyed, are said to have been built in 1792.⁶⁴ In the 16th century the grounds contained six or seven long rectangular fishponds, of which there remain a canal, adapted soon after the present house was built, leading from the east front, and moats on the north and east.⁶⁵

The house was little altered until 1939–40 when it was carefully restored. Dormer windows were added to the south and west sides c. 1980.

ECONOMIC HISTORY. In the 17th century and presumably throughout the Middle Ages Sutton and Stanton Harcourt (with West End) each had their own fields, supervised by their own officers;⁶⁶ a mid 14th-century extent of the Harcourt manor suggests a three-course rotation.⁶⁷ Six open fields were listed in 1773:⁶⁸ Sutton North field, Sutton Hangle (or Angle) field on the west, and Between Towns field near Blackditch apparently belonged to Sutton, and Stone field, named from the Devil's Quoits, Hangle (or West End Hangle) field, and West End lower (or down) field to Stanton Harcourt. The down, by the Windrush, was divided between Stanton, Sutton, and South Leigh by the 17th century, and was partitioned by the inclosure commissioners in 1774.⁶⁹

Many 17th-century holdings included lands

⁴² *Cal. Pat.* 1569–72, 55–6; Bodl. MS. d.d. All Souls c 193/1.

⁴³ Bodl. MSS. d.d. All Souls c 191/25, 35, rott. 7–8; c 191/36, rot. 9.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* c 190/18 b; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2088, p. 13.

⁴⁵ Bodl. MSS. d.d. All Souls c 190/19–20; c 191/23–4, 28, 35–6; c 192/38–9, 42, 57; *Egerton Pps.* (Camd. 1st ser. xii), 117, 132.

⁴⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2088, pp. 13, 92.

⁴⁷ *Lond. Gaz.* 11 Apr. 1856, p. 1386; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 785; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt d 3, s.a. 1966–8.

⁴⁸ P.R.O., C 2/Jas. I/B2/21; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2091, f. 1; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 26, ff. 491–492v.

⁴⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 650, f. 19; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 10, ff. 41–5.

⁵⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 229, ff. 61–63v.; *2nd Dep. Kpr.'s Rep.* 269.

⁵¹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 26, ff. 396, 398–399v., 488 and v.

⁵² B.N.C. Mun., drawer 107, abstract of title of trustees of C. C. Sibthorp, f. 14; above, S. Leigh, Econ.

⁵³ O.R.O., Misc. Walsh I/i; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 786, f. 27a.

⁵⁴ Bodl. MSS. d.d. All Souls, c 193/8–13; c 194/17–18.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* c 194/15 sqq.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* c 194/20; Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/13; *Country Life*, xc (1941), 115, 160.

⁵⁷ Bodl. MSS. d.d. All Souls c 194/21, 23.

⁵⁸ Bodl. MSS. d.d. All Souls c 194/25, 27–8; c 195/44; *Country Life*, xc, 112.

⁵⁹ Bodl. MSS. d.d. All Souls c 193/2b sqq.; c 194/30b, 32a.

⁶⁰ Inf. from All Souls Coll.

⁶¹ All Souls Mun., Hovenden map IV. 11; below, Church.

⁶² Bodl. MS. d.d. All Souls c 194/20; cf. Pevsner, *Oxon.* 783; *Country Life*, xc, 112–5, 160–3.

⁶³ *Country Life*, xc, 115.

⁶⁴ All Souls Mun., Hovenden map IV. 11; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 784.

⁶⁵ All Souls Mun., Hovenden map IV. 11; O.S. Map 1/2,500, SP 4005–4105 (1970 edn.); *Country Life*, xc, 114.

⁶⁶ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 4/2, ff. 1, 5, 9v., 10, 12; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 784, f. 23; below, Local Govt.

⁶⁷ P.R.O., C 135/94, no. 10.

⁶⁸ Stanton Harcourt Incl. Act, 13 Geo. III, c. 102 (Priv. Act), 1.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*; O.R.O., Misc. Cr. III/2; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2123/28; *ibid.* incl. award; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/4, c 47/34, c 50/11, c 56/16, c 52/1, d 23, b 4/2, ff. 2, 15v., 16–17; Harcourt estate office, map of 1819; above, S. Leigh, Econ.; map.

in the fields of South Leigh, which lay within the two main Stanton Harcourt manors.⁷⁰ There was no clear balance between individual fields; $\frac{3}{4}$ yardland leased in 1630 comprised $8\frac{1}{2}$ a. in two South Leigh fields, c. 13 a. in Stanton down and South Leigh down, 13 a. in Stone field, $3\frac{1}{2}$ a. in Hangle field, and 1 a. in West End down field. Lands attached to Beard Mill in 1607 included 24 a. in three South Leigh fields with appurtenant meadow and commons, 5 a. in Stone field, $\frac{1}{2}$ a. in Hangle field, and 2 a. in Between Towns field.⁷¹ By 1769 the six fields in Stanton Harcourt parish followed a four-course rotation;⁷² intermixing of Stanton Harcourt and South Leigh holdings continued until inclosure in 1774, when holdings were consolidated and the parish boundary was redrawn.⁷³

Extensive meadow, said in 1086 to comprise 200 a., lay along the Windrush and the Thames.⁷⁴ In the early 14th century and early 15th keepers of Stanton Wyard manor sought relief for flooded meadows, and 20 a. of demesne meadow were flooded and worth nothing in 1349; flooding remained a problem in the 19th century.⁷⁵ In the 17th century Langley meadow, Long Guy meadow, and Mill meadow were lot meads;⁷⁶ Sutton mead was lot meadow in 1713, and was apparently shared between Stanton Harcourt and Sutton.⁷⁷ In the 15th century and later Sutton Inmead, Great and Little Sindry (by the Windrush), and Great and Little Easty (by the Thames) were held in demesne,⁷⁸ but parcels of 2 or 3 a. there were sometimes leased.⁷⁹

Pasture was estimated at 200 a. in 1086.⁸⁰ Stanton moor or common covered much of the low-lying eastern half of the parish, extending from near Pinkhill Farm to West End;⁸¹ other commons were West moor near the Windrush, Cox Hythe, adjoining Stanton common by the Thames, and 'Wyrelake'.⁸² 'Kutelesmore' (i.e. Cytel's moor), mentioned in the 13th century, was perhaps the 'Killiesmore' mentioned in 1605 and 1685, which probably adjoined South Leigh on the west;⁸³ there was also common pasture and meadow in Sutton leys, mentioned from the 17th century, which adjoined Stanton common on the north.⁸⁴

In 1235 Richard de Harcourt agreed to share common pasture in Tar wood ('Piriho') with Henry de la Wade, lord of Stanton Wyard, but in 1349 pasture there was said to be worthless because of shade from trees; by the 17th century assarted lands down the wood's western edge included pasture closes and leys.⁸⁵ In 1244 Harcourt agreed not to grub or assart West moor and 'Kutelesmore' without Wade's permission, and in 1224 agreed to demolish two houses built in the common pasture.⁸⁶ In the 15th century tenants of the Harcourt manor shared common rights in Northmoor; in 1407–8 Thomas at Moor inclosed the pasture and was successfully impleaded by Thomas Harcourt.⁸⁷ Inhabitants of Stanton Harcourt and Sutton could cut furze on South Leigh heath.⁸⁸

Pinkhill probably shared Sutton's fields; Hamstall may have shared some of South Leigh's, and in the early 15th century some of Eynsham abbey's tenants there held lands in Eynsham's fields.⁸⁹ The hamlets may have had their own commons in the waste; later field names include Hamstall ground and meadow and, in South Leigh, Hamstall piece and Hamstall cow common, and in the early 17th century Pinkhill ground or great moor comprised 190 a. of inclosed pasture and meadow.⁹⁰

In the later 16th century and the late 17th two freehold yardlands each comprised c. 30 a., apparently exclusive of meadow and pasture, but 6 yardlands held in demesne were estimated in 1621 at only 160 a.; in the later 17th century $\frac{1}{4}$ yardland held freely comprised 10 a.⁹¹ Yardlands on Stanton Wyard manor may have been larger, since $\frac{3}{4}$ yardland was said in 1630 to include 40 a. of arable.⁹²

In 1086 there were 22 ploughteams and enough land for 23, probably including new assarts in South Leigh. One hide and 1 yardland were held in demesne and were worked by 12 *servi* with 5 ploughteams, and there were 55 villeins and 28 bordars with 17 ploughteams; the value of the estate had risen from £30 in 1066 to £50.⁹³ Most assarting was in South Leigh, but during the 11th and 12th centuries there was presumably assarting around Hamstall and Pinkhill; by 1279 tenants at both places held

⁷⁰ Bodl. MSS. d.d. All Souls, c 244/50, c 191/37, c 192/44–5, 58; Berks. R.O., D/EH T 86 (settlement 1715); above, S. Leigh, Manors; Econ.

⁷¹ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/4, c 52/1.

⁷² Ibid. MS. d.d. All Souls c 192/60.

⁷³ 13 Geo. III, c. 102 (Priv. Act), 10 12; O.R.O., incl. award.

⁷⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 404; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt d 23; Harcourt estate office, map of 1819.

⁷⁵ P.R.O., C 135/103, no. 38; *ibid.* SC 6/1146/15; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 20, f. 3; *ibid.* MS. d.d. All Souls c 189/11, art. 4; below.

⁷⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2123/28, rot. 3; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/4, 50/11; Berks. R.O., D/EE 1 T 23 (indent. 1662).

⁷⁷ O.R.O., Misc. Cr. III/2; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 54/1, mentioning Stanton Harcourt ground in Sutton mead.

⁷⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 20, f. 3; *ibid.* MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 40/9, c 277 (survey of Sir P. Harcourt's lands); P.R.O., E 134/5 Chas. I/Mich. 4.

⁷⁹ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/4, c 54/1; O.R.O., Misc. Cr. III/2; *ibid.* MS. DA I/i/9.

⁸⁰ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 404.

⁸¹ Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767).

⁸² *Oxon. Fines*, 100, 128; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2123/28, rot. 3; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 56/16; d 23, p. 8; c 266, pp. 22, 23; Harcourt estate office, map of 1819; cf. above, Intro.

⁸³ *Oxon. Fines*, 100; Bodl. MS. d.d. All Souls, c 244/50, p. 2; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2123/28, rott. 2, 4; *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 283.

⁸⁴ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt b 4/2, ff. 2, 5; c 47/2–3; d 23, p. 2; Harcourt estate office, map of 1819; 13 Geo. III, c. 102 (Priv. Act), 1.

⁸⁵ *Oxon. Fines*, 99–100; P.R.O., C 135/94, no. 10; above, Intro.

⁸⁶ *Oxon. Fines*, 128–9; *Cur. Reg. R.* xi. 557; cf. above, S. Leigh, Econ.

⁸⁷ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 40/2.

⁸⁸ Above, S. Leigh, Econ.

⁸⁹ Above, Intro.; B.L. Harl. Rolls E 32, F 19.

⁹⁰ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt d 23, p. 2; c 40/9; c 40/12; above, Intro.; below.

⁹¹ P.R.O., C 2/Eliz./S.s. 2/9; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 40/9, c 54/1, c 55/1–2, c 56/16.

⁹² Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/4.

⁹³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 404; cf. above, S. Leigh, Intro.; Econ.

yardlands in the open fields for the same rents and services as their neighbours at Stanton Harcourt and Sutton.⁹⁴

There were then *c.* 34 villeins on the Harcourt manor, of whom 20 held a yardland each for 4s. 2d. and labour services, and 14 held $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland; on the Wade manor *c.* 10 villeins held a yardland and 9 held $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland.⁹⁵ On Sutton manor in the early 13th century there were 6 villeins holding a yardland and 2 holding $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland.⁹⁶ Of 15 cottagers recorded in 1279, five, on the Wade manor, owed labour services only; on the Harcourt manor 6 owed labour services and rents of between 2s. and 6s. a year, 3 owed money rents of between 1s. and 7s., and at Hamstall one tenant held a cotland freely for 2s. 3d.⁹⁷ Freeholders were not generally recorded in 1279, but in 1293 freeholders on the Harcourt manor owed £9 4s. 6d., and in 1323 on Stanton Wyard manor 16 free tenants paid between 2d. and 13s. 4d. a year, in all £7 16s.⁹⁸ In the early 13th century one of 8 yardlands belonging to Sutton manor was held freely.⁹⁹

In 1293 unfree yardlanders on the Harcourt manor each owed 4s. 4d. a year, and were required to plough $1\frac{1}{2}$ a. and to do 8 days' weeding, 2 days' mowing, and 8 days' reaping, including one day with food. Since the services were given monetary values, some may already have been commuted.¹ Tenants of Stanton Wyard and Stanton Harcourt manors had also to undertake the services in the royal park at Woodstock by which the manors were held.² In 1421 and 1422 the keeper of Stanton Wyard paid 1s. to Woodstock in default of the mowing services of two deceased tenants, and 2s. 1d. for browsing;³ the services were still demanded in the early 18th century,⁴ but by the early 17th were sometimes commuted for payments of 16s. or 20s. for mowing, and 8d. a day per man for browsing.⁵

Over 60 inhabitants were taxed in 1306, *c.* 67 in 1316, and in 1327 *c.* 58.⁶ The highest contributors were John Harcourt, assessed in 1316 on goods worth over £30, Roger Mortimer assessed on over £14, and John Pipard assessed on £15; agricultural stock in Sutton valued at £18 in 1306 presumably represented the Hospitallers' demesne.⁷ Fourteen others were assessed on over 60s. in 1306, 8 in 1316, and 18 in 1327; amongst the wealthiest were Walter de Ho of Sutton, Richard Fisher and John Taylor of

Stanton Harcourt, and Henry Longs of Hamstall. Some were presumably freeholders, although freehold tenants on Stanton Wyard manor mentioned in 1323⁸ were not all assessed and were not generally amongst the highest contributors.

Over all, the average value of movables assessed, Hamstall excluded, fell from *c.* 60s. in 1306 to 44s. 10d. in 1316, perhaps reflecting temporary economic contraction, but had risen to 58s. 2d. by 1327. Between 1321 and 1323 keepers of Stanton Wyard twice complained of flooding and of being unable to find buyers for vacant pasture land, although that possibly reflects disruption caused by the seizure of Mortimer's estates by the Crown.⁹ The number of villeins on the manor fell from 23 to 13 between 1323 and 1349, when another 7 died of plague, and in 1349 the Harcourt manor also suffered deaths and vacant holdings.¹⁰

Both Hamstall and Pinkhill were reduced by the Black Death, and by the early 15th century Richard Clodding and Henry and Emma Hewet held all or most of Eynsham abbey's lands in Hamstall for assized rents totalling 22s. and one rose. In 1467 the lands were held by William Quenington for 23s.¹¹ The farm later called Hamstalls or Armstalls comprised 2 yardlands in the late 17th century, but in the late 18th most of the hamlet's site had been absorbed into the open fields.¹² Pinkhill comprised a single demesne farm by the later 16th century; by then the surrounding moor and pasture had been inclosed, perhaps for sheep farming,¹³ and in 1495 Robert Harcourt imparked another 30 a. of his demesne for pasture, probably the park adjoining Stanton Harcourt common east of the manor house.¹⁴

In 1325 the rector had 200 sheep and lambs as well as 6 cows, 12 oxen, and 30 pigs,¹⁵ and during the late 15th century and the 16th families such as the Seacoles made fortunes out of wool. William Seacole (d. 1527), a wool buyer,¹⁶ owned 120 sheep, and *c.* 1525 was taxed on goods worth £16, the second highest assessment in the parish.¹⁷ William Seacole the younger (d. 1569), also a sheep owner, paid the highest contributions *c.* 1543 and 1547, and left freehold lands in Northmoor and in Stanton Harcourt.¹⁸ Among others, William Enstone (d. 1641), Thomas Flexney of West End (d. 1668), Thomas Wood of Cutmill (d. 1692), and Wil-

⁹⁴ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 856-7; P.R.O., E 179/161/10; above, Intro.; S. Leigh, Intro.

⁹⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 855-7. Figures include Hamstall tenants listed under S. Leigh: above, Intro. Eynsham abbey's tenants were not mentioned.

⁹⁶ *Oxon. Fines*, 42-3; *Cur. Reg. R.* v. 160.

⁹⁷ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 855-7; P.R.O., E 179/161/10.

⁹⁸ P.R.O., E 152/4, m. 4; *ibid.* C 145/90, no. 8.

⁹⁹ *Cur. Reg. R.* v. 160; *Oxon. Fines*, 42-3.

¹ P.R.O., C 133/64, no. 25.

² Above, Manors; below, Woodstock, Blenheim (Park to 1705).

³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 20, ff. 3, 5. In 1424 he paid 2s. and 2s. 2d., *ibid.* f. 8.

⁴ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 277 (indent. 15 Aug. 1715), c 55/17.

⁵ P.R.O., E 134/5 Chas. I/Mich. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.* E 179/161/8-10. The 1306 list is damaged, and in 1316 and 1327 Hamstall inhabitants were listed under S.

Leigh and are identifiable only by surname.

⁷ Cf. above, Manors; the payment for stock (*wainagium*) in Sutton was entered separately: P.R.O., E 179/161/10, m. 17d.

⁸ *Ibid.* C 145/90, no. 8; above.

⁹ P.R.O., SC 6/1146/15; above, Manors.

¹⁰ P.R.O., C 145/90, no. 8; C 135/103, no. 38; C 135/94, no. 10; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ix, pp. 146, 305; above, S. Leigh, Econ.; above, Intro.

¹¹ B.L. Harl. Rolls E 32, F 19, F 2, F 23.

¹² Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/32; *ibid.* MS. Ch. Oxon. 4442; O.R.O., incl. award; above, Intro.

¹³ P.R.O., C 78/105; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 40/9.

¹⁴ *Dom. of Incl.* ed. I. S. Leadam, i. 381; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 278 (R).

¹⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1324-7, 136.

¹⁶ Woodstock Boro. Mun., B 83.

¹⁷ P.R.O., PROB 11/22, ff. 195v.-196; *ibid.* E179/161/175.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* E 179/162/235, 253; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 185, f. 6; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 50.

liam Barfoot (d. 1719) left flocks of over 100,¹⁹ and throughout the 17th and 18th centuries many farmers had smaller flocks;²⁰ footrot on the frequently waterlogged commons remained a problem, however.²¹ Cattle were often the most valuable livestock listed in inventories: William Crutchley (d. 1678) had 12 worth £32, and in 1688 there were 21 on the manorial farm,²² while many farmers had 10 or more cows and calves. Most tenants also kept some poultry and pigs. In the 16th century the common stint on Stanton Wyard manor was 60 sheep and 12 cattle or horses per yardland;²³ on Stanton Harcourt manor by the 17th it was 60 sheep and 8 cattle or 5 horses. There was additional pasture for sheep in Long Guy meadow, Beard Mill ham, and Mill Mead.²⁴ The most important crops from the 16th century were barley and wheat, but pulses, beans, peas, vetches, and oats were also grown.²⁵

Copyholds, usually for lives, were granted on both the main manors in the 16th century, but some tenants of Stanton Wyard already held by lease.²⁶ Most holdings comprised a yardland or half yardland, but in 1565 Alice Tunstall received 2 yardlands in Sutton.²⁷ In 1616 William Buttle, the new owner of Stanton Wyard, was accused by a tenant of ignoring manorial custom on copyholds,²⁸ and from the early 17th century leasehold became usual on both manors.²⁹

By the later 17th century most tenants of Stanton Harcourt manor and many of Stanton Wyard held long leases at small quitrents.³⁰ During the earlier 18th century some leases were redeemed and relet at or near the rack rent, and most others expired before 1774; others were renewed at the old rents and at inclosure four freeholders of Stanton Harcourt manor still held lands for lives at 17th-century quitrents.³¹

Some freehold farms were bought by the Harcourts during the 17th century and early 18th, and at least one by the Bosviles, but most continued until inclosure and later.³² In 1631 Thomas Flexney of West End owned 3 yardlands which he claimed was an independent and

tithe-free manor,³³ and in the late 17th century 21 freeholders owed quitrents to Stanton Harcourt manor of between 4d. and 17s. a year;³⁴ two freeholds of 1½ yardland were recorded and another of 2 yardlands.³⁵ In 1662 and 1665 many of those assessed on 4 or more hearths were freeholders, among them Thomas Flexney (5 hearths), John Wood of West End, and Walter Clanfield (4 hearths).³⁶

Most leasehold farms in the 17th century comprised between 1 and 1½ yardland.³⁷ During the later 17th century and early 18th there was some amalgamation of freehold and leasehold lands by such families as the Parmees, Flexneys, and Barfoots,³⁸ and in 1735 Edward Tims, John Morgan, and Humphrey Dawson, tenants of Stanton Harcourt manor, each held farms estimated at 100 a. or more.³⁹ Large, consolidated farms based on old inclosures also emerged. The Place or manorial farm, leased to tenants for most of the 18th century,⁴⁰ included 6 yardlands in the open fields and c. 50 a. of old inclosure south and east of the manor house.⁴¹ Pinkhill farm, 238 a. of old inclosure in 1774, consisted of meadow and pasture formerly held in demesne but leased as a single farm by the late 17th century.⁴² Wood farm, along the western edge of Tar wood, was formed during the 18th century by amalgamation of old inclosures formerly held by two tenants, and in 1774 comprised 130 a.;⁴³ its house, later Tar Wood House, was built in 1724.⁴⁴

In 1735 several tenants of Stanton Harcourt manor were in arrears, which was blamed on dull management and old-fashioned methods; no new crops were being grown on any of the Harcourts' Oxfordshire estates, although turnips were grown by the 1770s.⁴⁵ Inclosure, considered by the Harcourts in 1735 and by Hugh Bosville c. 1750, was opposed by other landowners.⁴⁶ On the initiative of Earl Harcourt (d. 1777) an award for inclosing Stanton Harcourt was secured in 1774, though hopes of inclosing South Leigh under the same Act were frustrated.⁴⁷

¹⁹ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 20/3/21, 127/2/18, 73/2/28, 116/4/16.

²⁰ Ibid., Stanton Harcourt wills and inventories.

²¹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 34; *ibid.* MS. d.d. All Souls c 189/11, art. 4.

²² O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 14/2/24; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 226.

²³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 21, ff. 11, 24.

²⁴ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt b 4/2, ff. 1, 4-5, 9, 19; c 277 (indent. 15 Aug. 1715); c 56/16.

²⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon., Stanton Harcourt wills and inventories; cf. P.R.O., SP 12/198, f. 98.

²⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 21; *ibid.* MS. Rolls Oxon. 98.

²⁷ Ibid. MS. Top. Oxon. b 21, f. 10.

²⁸ P.R.O., C 2/Jas. I/C 24/3; cf. Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 42/1.

²⁹ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 277, c 47, c 42, c 54, c 52, b 4/2; O.R.O., Misc. Su/IV/1.

³⁰ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 277 (surv. of lands of Sir P. Harcourt, survs. 1684, 1714, 1715); c 47/33, ff. 39, 45.

³¹ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 277 (survs. 1714, 1715); b 5, f. 25 and v.; c 149/11, pp. 2-4; c 151/11, p. 5; c 262 (R); c 55/1; O.R.O., incl. award; below.

³² Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 54/9, c 55/10, c 43; P.R.O., E 134/31 Chas. II/East. 17; O.R.O., incl. award.

³³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 56, f. 61.

³⁴ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 277 (survs. 1684, 1714, 1715); b 5, f. 25 and v.

³⁵ Ibid. c 50, c 55; Berks. R.O., D/EH T 86; O.R.O., incl. award (T. Wace).

³⁶ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, no. 285; *Hearth Tax Oxon.* 105-7; cf. Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 56/16.

³⁷ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 42/1, c 42/20, c 47/4, c 47/6, c 47/14, c 47/27, c 47/33, f. 23, c 52/1, b 4/2; O.R.O., Misc. Su/IV/1; P.R.O., E 134/31 Chas. II/East. 17.

³⁸ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 262 (R), c 277 (survs. 1684, 1714, 1715), c 52-4, c 42, c 47/32-3, c 56/16; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 79/4/9, 23/4/19, 116/4/16; 116/4/29; P.R.O., PROB 11/248, ff. 263v.-264.

³⁹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 34.

⁴⁰ Ibid. b 5, f. 25; c 151/11, p. 2.

⁴¹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 40/9; 'Survey of cap. Mansion of Sir P. Harcourt, 1665', in possession of Hon. Mrs. A. Gascoigne, Manor Ho.; O.R.O., Misc. Lancs. VI/6.

⁴² Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt e 7; c 40/9; c 277 (surv. of Sir P. Harcourt's lands, survs. 1714, 1715, rental 1774, p. 7); P.R.O., C 78/105.

⁴³ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt e 7; c 277 (surv. of Sir P. Harcourt's lands, survs. 1714, 1715, rental 1774, p. 7); c 54/2, 20; c 43.

⁴⁴ Beam in range behind east front, marked H.D. (? Humphrey Dawson) 1724; cf. D. o. E., Revised Hist. Bldgs. List (unpubl.); above, S. Leigh, Intro.

⁴⁵ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt b 34; c 151/6, p. 7.

⁴⁶ Ibid. b 34; c 279, letter of 11 Dec. 1772.

⁴⁷ Ibid. c 279; Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. c 120, f. 44; c 229, ff. 53-63v.; 13 Geo. III, c. 103 (Priv. Act); above, S. Leigh, Econ.

Some 70 per cent of the parish, comprising 2,658 a., was then still in common cultivation. Lord Harcourt was awarded c. 1,161 a. for 50½ yardlands and commons, and Hugh Bosville received c. 167 a. for 6¼ yardlands and commons; Sutton green, comprising 3 a., was divided between them. All Souls College received c. 423 a. for tithes, of which c. 70 a. were sold to Hugh Bosville to cover inclosure expenses and 35 a. to Lord Harcourt; the bishop of Oxford received 36 a. for glebe and commons and 65 a. for tithes, and the vicar of Stanton Harcourt c. 9 a. Twenty-five freeholders, at least five holding by leases for lives, received a total of 951 a.; they included William Mynn who received 96 a. for 3 yardlands, John Bunce 90 a. for 3¼ yardlands, Hannah Bedwell 85 a. for 3½ yardlands, and James Smith of Whitehouse farm in Sutton c. 57 a. for 2¼ yardlands. John Walter of West End received c. 23 a., the nucleus of the later Elms farm, and Thomas Wood of Cutmill c. 49 a. John Gore, lord of South Leigh, received 26 a. in Land mead, part of which became incorporated into Stanton Harcourt parish; c. 243 a. were allotted for lands intermixed with those of South Leigh tenants.⁴⁸

In 1774, immediately after inclosure, seven farms on Stanton Harcourt manor were over 100 a., and another five over 70 a.; there were c. 16 cottagers.⁴⁹ On the Bosville estate Sutton (later University) farm was 160 a., Whitehouse farm 65 a., and Armstalls farm 53 a.⁵⁰ Inclosure accelerated amalgamation of holdings, and by 1809 the later farm pattern was established. In particular James Blake acquired lands in the north from three other tenants to form a unified Sutton farm of 314 a.; in 1831 it was badly managed, which was thought to reflect long-term neglect rather than Blake's extreme age.⁵¹ By 1851 there were 15 farms of over 100 a. in the parish, providing employment for over 130 labourers; the manorial farm and, at West End, Elms farm, owned by Robert Walter, were over 500 a., and amalgamation continued throughout the 19th century.⁵²

Fears that inclosure would lead to a decline in the arable acreage proved unfounded, and on some farms the proportion of arable rose slightly between 1774 and 1809;⁵³ barley and wheat were still the main crops, with beans, peas, and oats.⁵⁴ Land use was largely determined by location, most of the arable still lying on the gravels west of the villages.⁵⁵ West End farm, the larger

Blackditch farm, and Beard Mill farm were rather more than half devoted to arable farming in 1774, and remained so throughout the 19th century; Sutton farm, which included much of the former leys and common, and Wood farm, comprising old inclosures on heavy clay soil around Tar wood, were predominantly pastoral, and on the manorial farm arable fell from c. 52 per cent in 1774 to c. 45 per cent in 1831.⁵⁶ Pinkhill farm remained mostly pastoral until the 20th century, and in the 1870s was described as a first-class dairy farm; after 1861 farmers used Eynsham railway station to transport milk for sale instead of making cheese or butter.⁵⁷ Sheep rearing continued, and in 1876 there was a sheep wash south of Stanton Harcourt manor house.⁵⁸

In 1814 the moors were said to be so flat and boggy as to make drainage virtually impossible, and in 1829 there was serious flooding of meadows and pastures along the Thames, Windrush, and Limb brook.⁵⁹ By 1831 most farms on the Harcourt estate had recovered and were in a fair state of cultivation, but the grass was much reduced in value. Wood farm was inconveniently placed, and its grasslands were damaged both by hunters using Tar wood and by the need to drive carts and stock across the pastures.⁶⁰

In 1866 the Northmoor and Stanton Harcourt Improvement Board was set up to co-ordinate land drainage in the area.⁶¹ Embankments were built along the rivers Thames and Windrush, new watercourses were cut, and existing ones deepened and straightened, amongst them Medley brook.⁶² A rate was levied on lands likely to be improved, including c. 450 a. in Stanton Harcourt parish; 120 a. of meadow and pasture between the embankment and the Thames were exempted.⁶³ By 1871 low-lying lands inside the embankments had been both protected from floods and thoroughly drained: some former pasture lands had been converted to arable and had produced good corn and root crops, and it was recommended that more be converted, since the pastures were unproductive and could be improved only by expensive manuring; Sutton farm was then 60 per cent arable, the manorial farm c. 70 per cent, and Beard Mill farm 75 per cent.⁶⁴ In the west the thinness of the gravel-based soil meant that crops still suffered in dry seasons, and mixed farming, mostly dairy, continued: in 1871 most farms on the Harcourt estate included cattle sheds, milking houses, and

⁴⁸ O.R.O., incl. award; cf. Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 151/11, p. 5; Lincs. R.O., BS 3/Oxon./1.

⁴⁹ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt e 7, c 277 (rental 1774); cf. *ibid.* b 35, b 37, d 23.

⁵⁰ *Oxf. Jnl.* 9 Oct. 1790; Lincs. R.O., BS 3/Oxon./1.

⁵¹ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt e 7; b 35; b 37, pp. 7–8; d 23, pp. 2–3.

⁵² P.R.O., HO 107/1731; *ibid.* RG 9/904; RG 11/1513; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 266, e 25; cf. *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.).

⁵³ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 279, 277 (rental 1774), b 35.

⁵⁴ Bills in possession of Mr. N. E. Ireland, Elms Farm; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt e 25, c 277 (letter 8 June? 1879, T. Cox to F. Mair).

⁵⁵ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt d 23; Harcourt estate office, map of 1819.

⁵⁶ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt e 7, c 277 (rental, 1774), b 35, b 37, d 23, c 266; *ibid.* MS. d.d. All Souls c 192/63–4; Harcourt estate office, map of 1819.

⁵⁷ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt b 35, d 23, pp. 27–8; *Sale cat., Harcourt Settled Estates* (1924), 22–3.

⁵⁸ O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII.SW. (1883 edn.).

⁵⁹ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt b 37, p. 42; e 5; d 23, pp. 1–2, 14.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* d 23, pp. 1–14.

⁶¹ Land Drainage Suppl. Act, 29–30 Vic. c. 80; cf. Land Drainage Act 1861, 24–5 Vic. c. 133.

⁶² Berks. R.O., D/TC 184; Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797);

O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII. SE., SW.; XXXVIII. NE., NW. (1883 edn.).

⁶³ Berks. R.O., D/TC 184; *ibid.* 185, 6 Nov. 1886, 27 Oct. 1894, 14 Oct. 1911.

⁶⁴ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 266, pp. 22–3, 29–30, 33, 42.

piggeries, and the West End farms were fairly evenly divided between arable and pasture land.⁶⁵

Despite improvements, Stanton Harcourt did not entirely escape the agricultural depression of the later 19th century. George Castle of Sutton farm, which was well managed *c.* 1870 when a new farmhouse was built, was in arrears with his rent in 1886.⁶⁶ John Walter, of the combined Elms farm and West End Lower farm, fell into arrears and in 1886 could pay nothing; he was later given notice, and sold Elms farm soon after.⁶⁷ On Pinkhill farm, where flooding continued, Harcourt lowered the rent in 1879 and allowed the tenant to farm as seemed most advantageous, and in 1887 the farm was let to new tenants with a further rent reduction.⁶⁸ Even so, in 1881 there were still 150 men, women, and children employed full-time on the major farms, and during the 1880s the population, which had fallen during the 1870s, rose slightly to 561.⁶⁹ The Agricultural Labourers' Union had a branch in the parish in the 1870s,⁷⁰ and in 1874 a parish friendly society called the Victoria Club was founded.⁷¹

Mixed farming continued in the 20th century, and by 1924 the proportion of arable on the Harcourt estate was generally slightly less than in 1871, though Pinkhill farm had increased its arable to 22 per cent. Most farms had substantial cowsheds and several had piggeries; *c.* 100 a. in the south-west were said to be particularly suitable for poultry or pig farming.⁷² In the early 1960s livestock on the manorial farm included over 2,000 poultry in deep litter, sold soon after as uneconomical, a herd of Aberdeen Angus beef cattle, and *c.* 150 Oxford Down sheep; *c.* 100 a., some in Northmoor, were permanent pasture, 210 a. were leys, and *c.* 395 a. were arable, the chief crops being barley (62 per cent), wheat (33 per cent), and oats. Low-lying fields by the Thames were still liable to flooding.⁷³

In the early 20th century amalgamation of farms continued, and in 1928 Blackditch farm, Flexney's, and the manorial farm were held by one farmer, as were University and Sutton farms, Beard Mill and Friar's farms, and West End farm and Elms farm.⁷⁴ Several former

farmhouses were detached from their lands and became private houses, among them Beard Mill and Flexney's; Tar Wood House was detached from Wood farm *c.* 1868.⁷⁵

Tar wood remained part of the Harcourt demesne until its sale in 1924, when it consisted entirely of oaks.⁷⁶ In 1633 *c.* 4 a. of coppice wood was cut each year,⁷⁷ and in the later 17th century and early 18th *c.* 10 a.; sales of underwood then amounted to *c.* £100 a year, but in 1715 the wood was so depleted that none could be cut until 1716 or 1717.⁷⁸ The Harcourts also reserved the right to cut timber on farms leased for lives, but in the early 18th century those supplies too were depleted.⁷⁹ Sales from Tar wood in 1792 raised *c.* £72, and in 1829 *c.* £135.⁸⁰ During the mid 19th century the southern part, 69 a., was cleared for cultivation and added to Wood (later Tar Barn) farm;⁸¹ the remainder, 90 a. in 1924, had a gross estimated rental in 1912 of *c.* £31, of which £20 was for shooting rights.⁸²

William the cooper of Hamstall was mentioned in the 13th century, and William Smith and John Taylor of Stanton Harcourt in the early 14th;⁸³ blacksmiths, carpenters, wheelwrights, tailors, and cobblers were mentioned from the 16th and 17th centuries.⁸⁴ Smithy Cottage (no. 30), opposite Blackditch, may have included a smithy by the 17th century, and was so used until the mid 20th century;⁸⁵ at West End the Million family had a smithy in the later 17th century.⁸⁶ In 1605 there was a woolwinder, in 1687 a fellmonger dealing in fleeces, in 1662 a tanner, and in 1645 a mercer, and narrow-weavers were mentioned in the 18th century; in 1664 there was also a glover, and in 1699 a hatbandmaker.⁸⁷

In 1801 there were 65 people (13 per cent of the population) employed in trades or crafts, and by 1841 there were 10 carpenters, a sawyer, 3 blacksmiths, and 4 cobblers.⁸⁸ By the 1880s there were also 2 machinists, a platelayer, a thatcher, and a mason, and in 1893 a cottage in Sutton included an iron furnace.⁸⁹ At Duck End there was a grocer by 1841, and at Stanton Harcourt a baker; by 1881 there were 7 grocers' shops in the parish, most combined with other

⁶⁵ Ibid. pp. 21–42; cf. Oxf. Univ. Arch., WP α 42 (2) 8A–B; Orr, *Oxon. Agric.* 45–6, 181–2.

⁶⁶ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 266, p. 29; e 25, pp. 5, 23.

⁶⁷ Ibid. e 25, pp. 5, 20, 40; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.); *Sale cat., Harcourt Settled Estates* (1924), plan 2; inf. from Mr. N. E. Ireland, Elms Farm.

⁶⁸ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt e 25, p. 83; c 277, letters *re* Pinkhill farm 1879–86.

⁶⁹ P.R.O., RG 11/1513; *Census*, 1861–91.

⁷⁰ *Agric. Trade Unionism in Oxon.* (O.R.S. xlviii), 22.

⁷¹ *Rules of the Victoria Club* (1874): copy in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/13.

⁷² *Sale cat., Harcourt Settled Estates* (1924), 11–25, 42, 61–2.

⁷³ Manor Ho., old estate office: Farm Report 1965, Stocktaking Valn. 31 Mar. 1976, Probate Valn. for executors of Lord Harcourt 3 Jan. 1979, in possession of Hon. Mrs. A. Gascoigne; *Oxf. Times*, 13 July 1962.

⁷⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1928); local inf.

⁷⁵ *Country Life*, clxxvi (1984), 562; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 266, p. 31; c 277 (docs. *re* Tar Wood Ho.); above, S. Leigh, Intro.; local inf.

⁷⁶ *Sale cat., Harcourt Settled Estates* (1924), 8.

⁷⁷ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 40/12.

⁷⁸ Ibid. c 277 (surv. of lands of Sir P. Harcourt, survs. 1714, 1715).

⁷⁹ Ibid. c 262 (R).

⁸⁰ Ibid. c 149/11, p. 6; c 149/5, p. 6; c 182, pp. 73–4; e 5.

⁸¹ Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797); Harcourt estate office, map of 1819; O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII. SW. (1883 edn.); *Sale cat., Harcourt Settled Estates* (1924), 11, plan 1.

⁸² *Sale cat.* (1924), 8; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt d 92.

⁸³ *Eynsham Cart.* i. 228, 279, 287; P.R.O., E 179/161/9.

⁸⁴ *Witney Ct. Bks.* 1538–1610 (O.R.S. liv), 73, 130; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 44/4/28, 45/4/6, 51/4/10, 56/1/21, 149/3/13, 87/5/3, 88/2/38, 156/5/10, 70/2/49, 157/4/25, 20/1/40B.

⁸⁵ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXVIII.3 (1876 and later edns.); *Sale cat., Harcourt Settled Estates* (1924), 28, plan 3; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.).

⁸⁶ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, no. 285; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 44/4/28, 45/4/6; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 277 (surv. of lands of Sir P. Harcourt).

⁸⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 79/1/27, 17/2/57, 19/2/37, 127/3/14, 74/1/17, 149/1/5; *ibid.* MS. Misc. Su/IV/1; Berks. R.O., D/EE 1 T23 (indent. 2 Dec. 1662).

⁸⁸ *Census*, 1801; P.R.O., HO 107/890.

⁸⁹ P.R.O., RG 11/1513; *Sale cat., Bampton, Northmoor and Sutton* (1893), lot 4; copy in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b 6 (23).

shops including bakeries,⁹⁰ and in the mid 19th century Robert Walter, farmer at Elms Farm, sold groceries and bread.⁹¹ White Cottage (no. 22) was a shop in 1924; a smithy formerly in no. 26 and most of the shops at Sutton had closed.⁹² The post office continued as a general store in 1988.

A small haulage firm was established in Sutton by 1931,⁹³ and by 1962 there was a plant hire and transport business at Blackditch; Stanton Harcourt was then said to be becoming a dormitory village for Oxford.⁹⁴ Some local employment remained in the gravel works, in the Blackditch warehousing and haulage business, and on local farms, but in 1988 many inhabitants worked outside the parish.⁹⁵ A small petrol and motor repair garage in Stanton Harcourt was closed to public use c. 1977.⁹⁶

MILLS AND FISHERIES. Three mills rendering 40s. a year in 1086 probably stood on the Windrush on the sites of Beard Mill, Cutmill, and Pipard's Mill,⁹⁷ which lay between Beard Mill and Cutmill near Long Guy meadow and Stone field.⁹⁸ In 1279 Pipard's Mill was held freely by Henry de Harcourt; Cutmill was held with 3 a. of land by Ediza of Cutmill and remained a freehold thereafter.⁹⁹ Richard de Harcourt owned a watermill, probably Beard Mill, on the Windrush, perhaps held by John of Beard Mill.¹ A fishery in the Windrush, also owned by Harcourt and one of two mentioned in 1086, was probably that later held with Beard Mill; in the 17th century it extended from Great Sindry meadow near the South Leigh boundary to Pipard's Mill ford.² In 1244 Henry de la Wade, lord of Stanton Wyard, claimed 8s. rent from one of the Harcourts' mills without success, but his tenants were freed from suit there;³ in 1540 tenants of Stanton Harcourt manor were still required to use the lord's mill.⁴

In 1293 Pipard's Mill was worth 15s. a year;⁵ it or its site was mentioned in the late 16th century and early 17th, but it had disappeared by the mid 18th.⁶ Cutmill survived as a farm, but there was no mill by the mid 19th century and probably much earlier; the mill's earthworks survive north of the farmhouse.⁷

Beard Mill, apparently rebuilt c. 1575,⁸ was

sold in 1607 with 1½ yardland, various closes, and the fishery, to Richard Parmee of Eynsham; it was then a grist mill.⁹ The holding included two wheels in 1655 and 1698 and three in 1687.¹⁰ In 1666 his son defaulted on a mortgage payment, and the mill and farm passed to John Lucas of Oxford university, and later to Thomas Gore, owner of South Leigh; it was later sold to Elizabeth Huntington, widow of the rectory lessee, who with her second husband William Gibbons sold it to Simon Harcourt in 1711.¹¹ It was then held by Richard Bedwell for £50 and three brace of eels, presumably with the fishery; in 1774 William Swingbourne held the mill, fishery, and 84 a.¹² In 1831 the mill was said to be very ancient with little storage space; the number of mills nearby meant that it was not worth expensive alterations, but the water supply was good.¹³ About 1860 its western end was rebuilt in brick and the tenant, William Mountain, installed new machinery; the eastern end is probably 17th-century, roughly contemporary with the house.¹⁴ It was still used as a mill in the earlier 20th century, but by the early 1980s most of the machinery had gone and in 1988 the buildings were used as craft workshops; in 1984 the Harcourt estate sold the fishing rights with the rest of the holding.¹⁵

Two weirs on the Thames, one of which may have been Langley weir, were held with Stanton Wyard manor in 1279;¹⁶ in 1323 Roger Mortimer held a fishery and adjacent meadow worth 20s. a year,¹⁷ and in the 1420s a weir on the Thames was farmed.¹⁸ In 1821 Lord Harcourt owned half of Langley weir, which by 1880 was dilapidated, and in 1920 only a footbridge remained.¹⁹

Pinkhill weir and fishery were attached to the Harcourt manor, and were probably the fishery with ½ yardland at Sutton held in 1279 by William the Marshall.²⁰ In 1502 one of Sir Robert Harcourt's servants regularly fished from an island in the Thames, perhaps at Pinkhill, and accused monks from Eynsham of stealing his baskets and storepots there.²¹ In the late 17th century the fisherman's house, lands, and waters, then in demesne, were worth £13 a year; a 'lone, poor fish-house' at Pinkhill weir was mentioned in 1702.²² In the 1770s the weir was

⁹⁰ P.R.O., HO 107/890; *ibid.* RG 11/1513; cf. Pacey, *Duck End*, 3-4.

⁹¹ P.R.O., HO 107/1731; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847). Elms Farm includes extensive service areas and a large bread oven.

⁹² *Sale cat., Harcourt Settled Estates* (1924), 27, 31, plan 3; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXVIII. 3 (1876 and 1913 edns.).

⁹³ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1931).

⁹⁴ *Oxf. Times*, 13 July 1962.

⁹⁵ *Stanton Harcourt Rep. and Policy Statement* (W. Oxon. District Council, 1977): copy in Westgate Libr., Oxf.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*; Manor Ho., old estate office: mins. of tenants' meeting 14 Mar. 1977.

⁹⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 404.

⁹⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 21, f. 16; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Harcourt c 52/1; O.R.O., incl. award, roads, no. 21.

⁹⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 856; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 277 (surv. 1684); b 17, p. 285.

¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 856.

² *Ibid.*; *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 404; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 52/1.

³ *Oxon. Fines*, 128; cf. *ibid.* 99-100; *Close R.* 1234-7, 182.

⁴ Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 98, f. 2.

⁵ P.R.O., E 152/4, m. 4.

⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 21, f. 16; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Harcourt c 50/11; Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767).

⁷ *Gardner's Dir. Oxon.* (1852); *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1877); O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXVIII.NE., NW. (1883 edn.); D. o. E., Revised Hist. Bldgs. List (unpubl.).

⁸ Reset datestone; cf. County Mus., P.R.N. 2304.

⁹ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 52/1; cf. *ibid.* c 54.

¹⁰ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 52/5, c 53/6-7.

¹¹ *Ibid.* c 53/14.

¹² *Ibid.* c 53/12, c 262 (R), c 277 (rental 1774, p. 3).

¹³ *Ibid.* d 23, p. 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* c 266, p. 33; cf. County Mus., P.R.N. 2304.

¹⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1907); *Sale cat., Harcourt Settled Estates* (1924), 12; County Mus., P.R.N. 2304; *Country Life*, clxxvi (1984), 562.

¹⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 856; O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXII. SE. (1883 edn.).

¹⁷ P.R.O., C 145/90, no. 8.

¹⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 20, f. 3.

¹⁹ Thacker, *Thames Highway*, ii. 89-91.

²⁰ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 856.

²¹ *Sel. Cases in Star Cha.* (Selden Soc. xvi), 139-40, 152.

²² Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 277 (surv. of lands of Sir P. Harcourt); O.R.O., QSR Mich. 1702.

extensively repaired;²³ in 1774 it was let with the fishery, and in the 1790s the tenant charged each London boat 4s. to pass.²⁴ A poundlock, on the opposite side of the island from the weir, replaced the old flashlock in 1791; Lord Harcourt then proposed surrendering the tolls and profits to the Thames commissioners but still received rent in 1816.²⁵ There was no toll house in 1832, and no keeper in 1850, and in 1872 the lock was ruinous. It was partially rebuilt before 1877, and in 1880 a house was built and a keeper installed; in 1909 the lock was voted the best kept on the river.²⁶ New cuts were made c. 1899 and in 1932, when the weir was rebuilt.²⁷ In 1925 the fishing rights were held by Oxford Angling Association.²⁸

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. By 1279 Stanton Wyard and Stanton Harcourt manors each had their own court baron and view of frankpledge, and the lord of Stanton Harcourt was freed from suit to county and hundred.²⁹ Sutton manor, later held with Stanton Wyard,³⁰ probably had a separate court in the Middle Ages, since in the 17th century copyholds granted by the lords of Sutton were mentioned; then and for many years previously, however, tenants of Sutton manor attended Stanton Wyard court and view of frankpledge, which from 1580 included separate tithings for Stanton and Sutton.³¹

In the later 16th century Stanton Wyard court met annually in October or September.³² In the mid 17th century and the late 18th Sutton and Stanton Wyard manors were conveyed with their courts leet and baron and views of frankpledge, but there is no later evidence that the court actually met.³³ Stanton Harcourt view of frankpledge comprised in the early 16th century the four tithings of Stanton, West End, and Upper and Lower Sutton; the court met in April and possibly, as later, in October, and was still held in 1746. Copyhold grants and regulation of agricultural affairs continued during the 17th century, but from the 1730s the only business recorded was the appointment of officers, and the court may have lapsed by the late 18th century.³⁴

In the 17th and 18th centuries and probably earlier Stanton Harcourt and Sutton each had a

constable, a hayward, and two tithingmen appointed by the Stanton Harcourt manor court; the Stanton Harcourt hayward shared jurisdiction with the hayward for South Leigh township in fields where lands lay intermingled.³⁵ Moors keepers and grass stewards were also mentioned.³⁶ Stanton Wyard's manorial officers are unrecorded, and in 1642 only two constables were recorded in the parish.³⁷ Surveyors of the highways were mentioned in 1670,³⁸ and in 1882 a waywarden was still appointed annually by the vestry.³⁹

There were four churchwardens in 1530 and 1610;⁴⁰ by 1642 there were three,⁴¹ and by 1730 only two, one later appointed by the vicar and one by the parishioners.⁴² In 1584 the churchwardens did not account to the parish, and were instructed to do so before the next visitation;⁴³ accounts were kept by 1610,⁴⁴ but in the 18th century and early 19th the churchwardens and overseers refused to submit accounts of charitable funds.⁴⁵ By the early 17th century the churchwardens' income intermittently included rent from the church houses, last received in 1871; from c. 1875 they received rent from church land in Northmoor parish.⁴⁶ Until 1868 they also received small annual payments from the chapelwardens of South Leigh; their income was later supplemented by rates voted by the vestry, but from 1907 they relied on rent and voluntary contributions.⁴⁷

There were three overseers by 1642.⁴⁸ In 1625 a church house was let rent-free to parishioners on poor relief; by the early 19th century the church house near the churchyard, used partly as a schoolroom, was divided into separate tenements, of which three were let rent-free by the overseers to poor widows.⁴⁹ In 1870 two were occupied at a nominal rent by a family on parish allowance and by a labourer with an invalid wife.⁵⁰

In 1625 there were claimed to be nearly 40 families or 150 people receiving alms in Stanton Harcourt and Sutton.⁵¹ In 1776 the parish spent £94 on poor relief, from 1783 to 1785 an average of c. £114, and in 1803 £387, or c. 15s. per head of population. The poor were then farmed; as in South Leigh that probably accounts for the relatively low per capita rate.⁵² By 1813 the cost per head was £2 1s., one of the highest figures in

²³ Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt c 149/5, p. 6; c 150/7, p. 12; c 151/6, p. 11; c 152/9, pp. 10, 12.

²⁴ Ibid. c 151/11, p. 4; c 182, p. 7; Thacker, *Thames Highway*, ii. 91.

²⁵ Thacker, *Thames Highway*, ii. 91; Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt b 16, p. 334; b 17, p. 283.

²⁶ Thacker, *Thames Highway*, ii. 92.

²⁷ Ibid. ii. 92-3; inf. from Thames Water (Rivers Div.), Reading.

²⁸ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 45, pp. 455-6.

²⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 856; P.R.O., C 143/44, no. 15.

³⁰ Above, Manors. Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/33, f. 33v.; *ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. b 21, f. 27.

³¹ Ibid. MS. Top. Oxon. b 21.

³² Ibid. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 47/33, f. 33 and v.; Lincs. R.O., BS 3/Oxon./1.

³³ Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 98; *ibid.* MSS. d.d. Harcourt b 4/1-2.

³⁴ Ibid. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 4/1-2; *Sel. Coroners' Rolls* (Selden Soc. ix), 96; above, S. Leigh, Loc. Govt.

³⁵ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt b 4/2.

³⁶ *Protestation Ret.* 91-3; cf. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 21.

³⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. 304.

³⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt c 4.

⁴⁰ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* ii (L.R.S. xxxv), 55; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. 304.

⁴¹ *Protestation Ret.* 93.

⁴² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 104, ff. 120, 200, 224, 239; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 188v.

⁴³ *Archd. Ct. 1584*, ii (O.R.S. xxiv), 210.

⁴⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 275, p. 304.

⁴⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 557, f. 63; d 563, ff. 81-3; d 571, f. 100; d 581, f. 96v.

⁴⁶ O.R.O., Misc. Pa I a/1-4; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt e 2; *10th Rep. Char. Com.* 416.

⁴⁷ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt e 2, c 4; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. S. Leigh b 6; above, S. Leigh, Church.

⁴⁸ *Protestation Ret.* 93.

⁴⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 118, f. 4v.; O.R.O., Misc. Pa I a/1-2; *10th Rep. Char. Com.* 416; cf. *Poor Abstract*, 1777, p. 143; below, Educ.

⁵⁰ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt e 27, pp. 27-33.

⁵¹ Ibid. MS. Top. Oxon. c 118, f. 4v.

⁵² *Poor Abstract*, 1777, p. 143; 1787, p. 192; 1804, pp. 406-7.

the area. After 1815 it again reached c. £1 19s., a figure exceeded in the hundred only at Cogges, Water Eaton, and South Leigh. By the mid 1820s c. 16s. a head was being spent, still unusually high, but the 18s. a head spent in 1831 (total expenditure £604) was not exceptional.⁵³

In 1803 there were 28 adults on regular out-relief and 8 persons, including children, in a small, short-lived workhouse, where nearly £9 was spent on materials to employ them. No earnings were recorded. From 1813 to 1815 between 45 and 39 adults received regular out-relief, and rather more received occasional relief. Substantial sums were spent on settlement cases between 1776 and 1818.⁵⁴

From 1834 Stanton Harcourt formed part of Witney poor law union, and later of Witney rural district. In 1974 it became part of West Oxfordshire district.⁵⁵

CHURCH. A church existed by 1135, when the parish included Northmoor and South Leigh; both the size of the parish and scale of the church suggest that Stanton Harcourt was a pre-Conquest ecclesiastical centre.⁵⁶ About 1148 Northmoor became a separate parish, but in the late 18th century the rector of Northmoor still paid a pension of 13s. 4d. to Stanton Harcourt church.⁵⁷ South Leigh remained a chapelry until 1868.⁵⁸ In 1959 the benefices of Northmoor and Stanton Harcourt were united, and in 1976 they were absorbed with Yelford and Standlake into the united benefice of Lower Windrush.⁵⁹

Queen Adela granted the advowson to Reading abbey before 1141,⁶⁰ despite attempts by the Harcourts to secure the patronage in 1219 and 1498,⁶¹ the abbey remained patron until the Dissolution, the bishop of Lincoln collating in 1498 and 1528.⁶² In the early 13th century the abbey received a pension of £6 13s. 4d. from the rectory, increased in 1220 to £13 6s. 8d.,⁶³ and in 1506 the benefice was appropriated and a vicarage ordained; except for a short period during the mid 16th century, it remained a vicarage until 1976.⁶⁴ At the Dissolution the advowson passed to the Crown, and in 1551 was

included in Edward VI's exchange of lands with the bishopric of Winchester.⁶⁵ On Mary's accession the grant was rescinded, and in 1557 the advowson was granted to John and Bernard Drake of Musbury (Devon), from whom it passed to Sir William Petre of Ingatestone (Essex) who presented in 1558 and 1569; in 1584 the queen presented by lapse.⁶⁶ In 1584 the exchange of 1551 was ruled valid, and the bishop of Winchester returned the advowson to the queen.⁶⁷ William Buttle presented in 1589, presumably as the Crown's lessee,⁶⁸ but the same year Elizabeth bestowed the patronage and part of the rectory on the bishop of Oxford, whose successors remained joint patrons of the united benefice in 1987.⁶⁹

In 1291 the rectory, with its chapel at South Leigh, was worth £20 a year, exclusive of Reading abbey's pension; £15 was attributed to glebe and to hay and small tithes in 1341.⁷⁰ In 1557 the glebe included 80 a. of arable in South Leigh and 16 a. in Stanton Harcourt, Parson's wood in South Leigh (4 a.), and 8 a. of inclosed pasture.⁷¹ There was a rectory house before 1261, when it was rebuilt by the rector, Hugh de la Penne, following a fire; in 1444 it included a hall with a chamber at one end, a kitchen, and a storeroom.⁷² In the late 16th century the site included farm buildings, a gatehouse, and domestic buildings grouped around three sides of a courtyard, abutting an H-shaped block on the east; the house was rebuilt by the lay rector in the 17th century.⁷³

In the 16th century and earlier 17th the vicar received £16 13s. 4d. a year, from which he had to pay a chaplain for South Leigh.⁷⁴ In 1557 local jurors suggested that his annual income should be raised, and the following year Cardinal Pole consolidated the vicarage with two thirds of the rectory,⁷⁵ but on Elizabeth's accession the vicarage was re-ordained as before.⁷⁶ About 1594 the vicar sued to have tenths, fifteenths, and first fruits defrayed from the rectory estate, perhaps successfully, since in 1808 the vicarage had been discharged of those payments.⁷⁷ In 1657 the vicar's stipend was increased to £20,⁷⁸ and in 1663–4 the bishop of

⁵³ Ibid. 1818, pp. 360–1; *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 556, p. 139 (1822), v; H.C. 334, Suppl. App., p. 174 (1825), iv; H.C. 83, p. 161 (1830–1), xi; H.C. 444, p. 157 (1835), xlvii.

⁵⁴ *Poor Abstract*, 1777, p. 143; 1787, p. 192; 1804, pp. 406–7; 1818, pp. 360–1; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 189.

⁵⁵ O.R.O., RO 3251, pp. 201–3; RO 3267.

⁵⁶ *Reading Cart.* i, pp. 408–9; *Letters and Chart. G. Foliot*, ed. A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke, 100–1.

⁵⁷ *Reading Cart.* i, pp. 408–9; *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 32; *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 299; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 26, f. 398.

⁵⁸ Above, S. Leigh, Church.

⁵⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2020: Order in Council, 19 Oct. 1959; *Oxf. Dioc. Yr. Bk.* (1976 and later edns.).

⁶⁰ *Reading Cart.* i, pp. 404–6.

⁶¹ *Rot. Welles*, i (L.R.S. iii), 31; P.R.O., STAC 2/18/285.

⁶² Lincs. R.O., Episc. Reg. xxiii, f. 280v.; xxvii, ff. 184, 190v.

⁶³ *Rot. Welles*, i (L.R.S. iii), 31; iii (L.R.S. ix), 96; *Reading Cart.* i, pp. 409–11; *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 31; B.L. Add. Ch. 19647.

⁶⁴ Lincs. R.O., Episc. Reg. xxiv, ff. 172–9, and copy in O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2019; below.

⁶⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1550–3, 178; Bodl. MS. d.d. All Souls, c 189/7; cf. above, Manors.

⁶⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1557–8, 202; Bodl. MS. d.d. All Souls, c 189/12–14; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 105, pp. 190, 248; *Reg. M. Parker* (Cant. and York Soc.), 996; Lambeth Pal. Libr., Whitgift reg. i, f. 298.

⁶⁷ Bodl. MSS. d.d. All Souls, c 191/23–5, 35.

⁶⁸ Lambeth Pal. Libr., Whitgift reg. i, f. 306; above, Manors (rectory estate).

⁶⁹ Bodl. MS. d.d. All Souls, c 190/18 b; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2088, pp. 13–14; *Oxf. Dioc. Yr. Bk.* (1987).

⁷⁰ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 31; *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 137.

⁷¹ Bodl. MSS. d.d. All Souls, c 189/11, 14; P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/115.

⁷² *Close R.* 1256–9, 395; *ibid.* 1259–61, 391, 394–5; *Oxon. Wills* (O.R.S. xxxix), 16.

⁷³ All Souls Mun., Hovenden map IV. 11; above, Manors.

⁷⁴ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2019: copy of vic. ordination; d 784, f. 26; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 184.

⁷⁵ Bodl. MS. d.d. All Souls, c 189/11, 13.

⁷⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 105, p. 248; *Cal. Pat.* 1569–72, 55–6.

⁷⁷ Bodl. MS. d.d. All Souls, c 191/36, rot. 21; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 446, ff. 169–70.

⁷⁸ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1657–8, 206, 242; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2090, pp. 32, 161.

Oxford added small tithes worth £11 and 10 a. of glebe in South Leigh.⁷⁹ Ten or twenty years later Bishop Fell complained that the vicar's income was still scarcely £30 a year, and that he could not find able ministers who would reside.⁸⁰ In 1724 the benefice was augmented with £200 from the Bounty, £150 from Dame Elizabeth Holford, and £50 from Lord Harcourt; the money was used in 1744 to buy c. 50 a. of land in Eynsham, from which the vicar received rent of £21 a year in 1773 and £62 in 1808.⁸¹ At inclosure the vicar received c. 9 a. in lieu of small tithes arising in Stanton Harcourt, and in 1848 he received a rent charge of £16 for small tithes in South Leigh;⁸² in 1808 the net value of the vicarage was £120, and in 1868 £177.⁸³ In 1877 the vicarage was further augmented with £153 a year from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners,⁸⁴ and in 1914 the duke of Marlborough waived corn rent charges of c. £7 a year owed him from the glebe in Eynsham since 1802.⁸⁵ Responsibility for repair of the chancel remained with the rectors, and in 1970 Hoveringham Gravel Co., which having acquired part of the rectory estate was found liable, compounded with a payment of c. £4,000.⁸⁶

In the late 17th century All Souls College was required to pay £13 6s. 8d. a year from an unspecified bequest for sermons at Stanton Harcourt. In the 18th century the payment, then said to be £6 for six or twelve lectures, was apparently made only once, when John Gambold, the vicar, delivered the lectures.⁸⁷ By the early 19th century the payment was £6 13s. 4d. for ten lectures, and was regularly paid to the vicar; in 1832 it was doubled to £13 6s. 8d.⁸⁸

The vicarage ordination required Reading abbey to build a house for the vicar;⁸⁹ in 1557 the house comprised a hall, parlour, buttery, and kitchen, with four chambers and four hearths, and a stable.⁹⁰ It perhaps stood on the site of the later house known as Wesley's Cottage or no. 17, built north of the churchyard c. 1600, and called the vicarage house in 1665;⁹¹ the vicar seems,

however, to have been deprived of his house in the early 17th century.⁹² A house left by Robert Whitehall, vicar c. 1699, probably belonged to his freehold in Stanton Harcourt,⁹³ and by 1738 the vicar was living in the gatehouse of the manor house on Lord Harcourt's sufferance.⁹⁴ From the later 18th century Harcourt charged a nominal rent, and in 1803 he reappropriated the lodge; the house, probably no. 17, which he offered at 5s. a year was refused by the vicar as too small.⁹⁵ There was no house in 1831,⁹⁶ but by 1852 the vicar was again living in the gatehouse and in 1856 the arrangement was formalized.⁹⁷ About 1869 the vicar, W. P. Walsh, moved to Walsh Farm which was formally adopted as the vicarage house soon after.⁹⁸ In 1961 a new vicarage house was completed near Flexney's House on land acquired from All Souls College, and was used as a rectory house for the united benefice in 1987.⁹⁹

From the mid 13th century most of the rectors were university graduates active in royal or ecclesiastical administration, and were often pluralists.¹ In 1325 a gang of local men attacked the rectory house, preventing Nicholas of Stockton's stewards from collecting the tithes;² in 1363 the parishioners complained that the rector, Robert Stonor, hindered a chaplain paid by them from celebrating mass, forbade them to ring the bells on anniversaries, and sold trees in the churchyard.³ In 1405 Ralph Lovel, a son of John, Lord Lovel, was instituted in minor orders and under age, having received papal dispensation; on his death in 1413 he left £20 to Stanton Harcourt church to buy vestments. William Symond (d. 1444), a proctor at Rome for Oxford university, left small bequests to the church and 20s. to the poor; John Curtis (d. 1471), a doctor of medicine, left £20 to the poor.⁴

In 1526 the vicar, Richard Hunter, witnessed a local will,⁵ but in 1517 or 1520 the vicar was non-resident⁶ and Robert Aldrich, collated in 1528, held several benefices with Stanton Har-

⁷⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2088, pp. 32–3.

⁸⁰ Bodl. MS. Tanner 340/2, f. 427.

⁸¹ C. Hodgson, *Acct. of Queen Anne's Bounty* (1845), pp. cxxxix, cccxxiv; *Secker's Visit.* 145; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 188; c 446, ff. 169–70; d 549, p. 128; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 229, f. 53.

⁸² O.R.O., Stanton Harcourt incl. award; *ibid.* S. Leigh tithe award.

⁸³ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 446, ff. 169–70; c 2013: Order in Council (1868); Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 200, f. 66 and v.

⁸⁴ *Lond. Gaz.* 30 Nov. 1877, p. 6095; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 761, f. 189v.

⁸⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2019: conveyance 4 June 1914; Bodl. MS. Don. e 137, pp. 127–53.

⁸⁶ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt c 4, f. 40 and v.; d 3, s.a. 1966–70.

⁸⁷ Bodl. MS. Tanner 340/2, f. 427; *Secker's Visit.* 145–6; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 327, p. 171b.

⁸⁸ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 581, f. 96v.; c 662, f. 5v.; Bodl. MS. Don. e 137, pp. 92–153.

⁸⁹ Copy in O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2019.

⁹⁰ Bodl. MS. d.d. All Souls, c 189/11.

⁹¹ 'Survey of cap. Mansion of Sir P. Harcourt, 1665'.

⁹² P.R.O., E 310/22/120, f. 27; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 142, f. 409; *ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 784, f. 26; b 38, f. 188.

⁹³ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 156/3/46; below.

⁹⁴ *Secker's Visit.* 145; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 557,

f. 62v.; c 656, ff. 58–9, contradicting a tradition that the vicarage ho. was still that called Wesley's Cottage: T. J. Goddard-Fenwick, *Stanton Harcourt* (1967), 16; F. C. Gill, *In the Steps of J. Wesley*, 34.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 656, ff. 58–65; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 151/11, p. 4.

⁹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 188.

⁹⁷ *Gardner's Dir. Oxon.* (1852); O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2019: disentailing deed (largely illegible).

⁹⁸ *Dutton, Allen and Co.'s Dir. Oxon.* (1863); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXVIII. 2 (1876 and later edns.); O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt c 6: copy of glebe award map (1869); cf. *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2019; P.R.O., RG 9/904.

⁹⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2019, conveyance (1955); *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Harcourt d 3, s.a. 1975; *Oxf. Times*, 13 July 1962; *Oxf. Dioc. Yr. Bk.* (1976 and later edns.).

¹ Emden, *O.U. Reg. to 1500*, i. 244, 248, 259, 505, 524, 529; ii. 873, 1166; iii. 1451, 1486, 1694, 1768, 1786, 1790, 1841, 2049; *Cal. Close 1256–9*, 395; 1259–61, 391, 394–5; T. F. Tout, *Admin. Hist. Medieval Eng.* i. 255; v. 234–5, 267 n.

² *Cal. Pat.* 1324–7, 136.

³ Lincs. R.O., Episc. Reg. xii, f. 6; cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1354–8, 67.

⁴ Emden, *O.U. Reg. to 1500*, i. 529; ii. 1166; iii. 1841; *Oxon. Wills* (O.R.S. xxxix), 11, 16, 30.

⁵ Lincs. R.O., Episc. Reg. xxv, f. 47; P.R.O., PROB 11/22, f. 196.

⁶ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* i. 129.

court, later becoming bishop of Carlisle.⁷ In 1526 and 1530 there was a curate, and in 1543 there was a curate in priest's orders and two clerks.⁸ Several later 16th-century vicars were university graduates,⁹ as was the curate serving Stanton Harcourt and South Leigh in 1584.¹⁰

Peter Bostock, collated c. 1611, had earlier kept a school in Stanton Harcourt.¹¹ Edward Smith, presented by James I in 1614, was still vicar in 1650; both he and Bostock witnessed local wills.¹² Clifton Stone, collated in 1661, had been ejected from Hopesay church (Salop.) after the Restoration and resigned before 1664.¹³ During the late 17th century and early 18th several ministers or curates of Stanton Harcourt had connexions with All Souls College, but some may only have been lecturers appointed by the college, and there is no evidence that any were vicars.¹⁴ Robert Whitehall, minister on his death in 1699, was vice principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, and the son of a freeholder in Stanton Harcourt, and left books worth £100 in his house there.¹⁵

There was a curate in 1706,¹⁶ but for most of the 18th century vicars resided and served the cure in person. John Gambold, vicar 1735–43, was a close friend of the Wesleys, who visited him several times at Stanton Harcourt, but Gambold increasingly inclined towards mysticism and later became a Moravian bishop.¹⁷ He increased communion to once a month, and held two Sunday services with one sermon at Stanton Harcourt.¹⁸ George Gibbons, vicar 1751–61, and Thomas Barrett, 1761–90,¹⁹ held only one service on Sundays during the winter, and Barrett reduced communions to six or eight a year, but children were catechized twice a week in Lent, and in 1768 the parishioners were said to be decent and regular in their devotions.²⁰ Thomas Davies, vicar 1790–1803, was frequently non-resident, and in 1790 there was a curate; in 1796 there were only four communions a year and c. 20 communicants.²¹

John Slatter, vicar 1803–10, lived at Cumnor where he was vicar but served both parishes himself.²² Andrew Hughes Matthews, vicar 1810–27, also lived elsewhere, and the church was served by non-resident curates.²³ In 1814 complaints were made about disruption of services,²⁴ but from 1815 the cure was served by Thomas Symonds, curate and later vicar of Eynsham.²⁵ In 1827 he became vicar of Stanton Harcourt, but continued to live at Eynsham and to serve both cures alone.²⁶

His successor, William Percival Walsh, 1845–1911, probably resided from his institution.²⁷ A man of moderate views, he served conscientiously and without assistance, though he created a scandal in 1869 by locking the new vicar of South Leigh out of South Leigh church during a dispute over parish boundaries.²⁸ He increased the number of communicants, which under Symonds had risen from under 20 to over 30,²⁹ to over 100 at great festivals, although by the 1890s the number had fallen to 50, for which Walsh blamed Dissent.³⁰ In 1901 he retired to Oxford, and the cure was served by priests-in-charge.³¹ In the early 1960s A. S. Caswell, the vicar, held carol services, harvest festivals, and theological discussions in local public houses, an initiative which met with good will.³²

There was a private chapel in the manor house by 1470.³³ In 1987 the chapel was still extra-parochial, but public communion was held there every fourth Sunday.³⁴

The church of *ST. MICHAEL*³⁵ comprises chancel, south chapel, central tower with transepts, and nave with north porch.³⁶ The spacious nave, including the north and south doorways, both south windows, and the two westernmost windows on the north, is of the 12th century; windows incorporated in the second stage of the tower are of similar date. In the 13th century the transepts and stair turret were added, and the chancel, chancel arch, and tower arches were rebuilt. The chancel, rebuilt c. 1260,³⁷ is almost

⁷ Lincs. R.O., Episc. Reg. xxvii, f. 184; Emden, *O.U. Reg.* 1501–40, 5; *D.N.B.*

⁸ *Subsidy* 1526, 268; *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* ii. 55; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 178, f. 161.

⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 105, pp. 125, 190, 248; *Archd. Ct.* ii (O.R.S. xxiv), 198, 229.

¹⁰ *Archd. Ct.* i (O.R.S. xxiii), 93; ii (O.R.S. xxiv), 210, 229, 234.

¹¹ P.R.O., E 134/22 Jas. I/Hil. 26; below, Educ.

¹² Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 757; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Harcourt c 50/25; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 784, f. 26; *ibid.* MSS. Wills Oxon. 4/3/46; 59/1/30; 70/2/41; P.R.O., PROB 11/140, f. 32v.

¹³ *Calamy Revised*, ed. A. G. Matthews, p. 465; Oldfield, 'Clerus Oxf. Dioc.'

¹⁴ *Collectanea* (O.H.S. xlvii), iv. 201, 204; Oldfield, 'Clerus Oxf. Dioc.'; O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. iv. 112; *Alum. Oxon.* 1500–1714, iii. 1102, 1260; above.

¹⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 156/3/46; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 55; *Alum. Oxon.* 1500–1714, iv. 1619.

¹⁶ Hist. MSS. Com. 13, 10th Rep. IV, *Stonyhurst*, p. 177.

¹⁷ Oldfield, 'Clerus Oxf. Dioc.'; *D.N.B.*; *Wesley's Jnl.* ed. N. Curnock, i. 28, 439–40, 483; ii. 284, 349, 419, 425–6, 468, 472; v. 40, 42.

¹⁸ *Secker's Visit.* 144–6. ¹⁹ Oldfield, 'Clerus Oxf. Dioc.'

²⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 557, ff. 61–4; d 560, ff. 81–3; d 563, ff. 81–3; d 565, ff. 145–8.

²¹ *Ibid.* c 327, p. 171 a; c 656, f. 58v.; Bodl. MS. Top. Eccl. e 1, ff. 92v.–93; Oldfield, 'Clerus Oxf. Dioc.'

²² O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 569, f. 106; d 549, p. 128; Oldfield, 'Clerus Oxf. Dioc.'

²³ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 549, pp. 128, 224; b 31, ff. 37–9; Oldfield, 'Clerus Oxf. Dioc.'

²⁴ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 662, ff. 5–6.

²⁵ *Ibid.* b 16, ff. 66–74; b 36, f. 95; Bodl. MS. Don. e 137, pp. 92–115.

²⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2095, f. 8v.; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 200, f. 66; *ibid.* MS. Don. e 137, pp. 116–53; above, Eynsham, Church.

²⁷ Oldfield, 'Clerus Oxf. Dioc.'; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847); above.

²⁸ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 550, f. 50; c 2019, c 2013; corresp. 1868–9; *Wilb. Visit.* 135.

²⁹ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 569, f. 105v.; d 577, f. 102v.; b 38, f. 188v.

³⁰ *Ibid.* d 180, ff. 1055–6; c 338, f. 383; c 356, ff. 384–5; c 359, ff. 389–90.

³¹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt, c 4, ff. 28v.–33v.; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2019; *Oxf. Times*, 25 Mar. 1911.

³² *Oxf. Times*, 13 July 1962.

³³ Above, Manors; cf. *Cal. Papal Reg.* ix. 242.

³⁴ *Oxf. Dioc. Yr. Bk.* (1987).

³⁵ *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847 and later edns.); *Oxf. Dioc. Yr. Bk.* (1987); dedication recorded in 1442 as All Saints: *Cal. Papal Reg.* ix. 280.

³⁶ Descriptions in Parker, *Guide*, 170–81; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 778–81; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 32–45; illus. in J. M. Derick, *Views of Stanton Harcourt Ch.* (1841); *Country Life*, xc. 628–31; Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 64, no. 22; a 68, no. 499; b 90, no. 65; b 91, f. 321; c 522, f. 13; *ibid.* MS. Don. c 90, pp. 333, 341.

³⁷ *Close R.* 1259–61, 50.

as long as the nave, and is of high quality; it includes tall lancet windows set in groups of three above a string course, their rear arches flanked by shafts. In the south-west corner of the chancel, an elaborately framed recess, largely destroyed when the Harcourt chapel was built, may have been a low side-window; it was uncovered in 1970.³⁸ The open timber nave roof is of c. 1400.

In the 15th century the west window of the nave and the north and south windows of the transepts were inserted, the transept roofs were lowered in pitch, and the embattled upper stage of the tower was added; in the nave a small, low window was inserted into the north wall under a 13th-century recessed arch, which may formerly have contained an altar. The Harcourt chapel was built on the south side of the chancel in the 1470s, probably by the mason William Orchard;³⁹ two arches were cut through the south wall of the chancel and one through the east wall of the south transept. A low window in the south face of the tower was added soon after.

In the late 17th century the churchwardens inserted a new doorway, presumably that on the south side of the Harcourt chapel.⁴⁰ A lancet window in the north side of the chancel was blocked c. 1693 to receive a monument. A four-tier gallery in the south transept, said to be for the Harcourts, was erected probably in the late 16th or early 17th century and removed c. 1843.⁴¹ The arches between the south chapel and chancel were blocked by c. 1720.⁴² In 1743 a raised vault was built under the chancel; the top was removed and the floor levelled in 1972.⁴³

In 1711 the church was in disrepair, and in 1726 part of a wall was in danger of collapse; Lord Harcourt spent c. £3,000 on repairs c. 1724.⁴⁴ The bells were overhauled in 1841,⁴⁵ when the crossing was possibly receiled: by 1846 there was a low plaster ceiling which cut off the tops of the tower arches, possibly replacing earlier stone vaulting.⁴⁶ Edward Vernon Harcourt, archbishop of York, gave £1,000 towards repairs in 1843.⁴⁷ A stone porch was built soon after 1846, replacing a windowless one of wood and plaster.⁴⁸ About the same time the door of the north transept, used by women only, was blocked,⁴⁹ it was reopened in 1965 when the

transept became a vestry.⁵⁰ The external walls were partially roughcast by 1855.⁵¹ Heating was installed c. 1876.⁵²

In 1905–6 there was a major restoration of the tower.⁵³ In 1951 the transept roofs were restored, in 1964 the wooden flooring of the nave was replaced and the pews reset, and between 1969 and 1972 the chancel and crossing were receiled in softboard, the chancel was reroofed with Stonesfield slate, the south transept and chapel were restored, and the cement rendering on the chancel, south transept, and nave was refurbished.⁵⁴ The tower clock was installed in 1958; electric lighting was installed in 1948.⁵⁵

The 15th-century font formerly incorporated heraldic arms, probably of Sir Robert Harcourt (d. 1470); it was restored in 1833, when fragments of damaged carving were transferred to a tablet on the west wall of the nave.⁵⁶ On the north side of the chancel an early 14th-century shrine, identified as that of St. Edburg from Bicester Priory, was probably acquired at the Dissolution by Sir Simon Harcourt, and was later used as an Easter Sepulchre. The base is 16th-century, parts of the original base having been incorporated into a 15th-century tomb in the Harcourt chapel.⁵⁷ The oak screen is 13th-century: two panels retain a medieval painting, possibly of St. Etheldreda. Squints in the lower half were made probably in the 15th century.⁵⁸ In 1841 there was a baroque reredos, apparently late 17th-century; it was removed before 1846.⁵⁹ The organ, probably installed in the late 19th or early 20th century, was moved in 1958 from the south side of the chancel to the north transept. Oak choir stalls were fitted in its place to match those opposite, installed in 1910; all the stalls were removed c. 1970.⁶⁰ In 1965 a small medieval statue, thought to represent St. John, was discovered in a wall cavity and placed in the nave,⁶¹ but had been removed by 1987. A stone figure of St. Michael was presented by All Souls College, Oxford, in 1957, and the oak altar at the crossing was made by pupils of the Bartholomew School, Eynsham, in 1966.⁶² There are three chests, one apparently medieval.

Medieval wall paintings were discovered in the nave c. 1845, but were destroyed soon after.⁶³ In the chancel traces of 13th-century

³⁸ T. J. Goddard-Fenwick, *Guide to St. Michael's Ch. Stanton Harcourt* (1972), 4; County Mus., P.R.N. 2035.

³⁹ P. A. Newton, *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, G.B. i. 183–5; J. Harvey, *Eng. Medieval Architects*, 222.

⁴⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 105, f. 51 b.

⁴¹ Derick, *Views of Stanton Harcourt Ch.* pl. 3; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 220, f. 125v.; Parker, *Guide*, 174.

⁴² Below.

⁴³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 456, f. 44; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt d 3, 9 July 1972; Goddard-Fenwick, *St. Michael's Ch.* 5.

⁴⁴ *Hearne's Colln.* iii (O.H.S. xiii), 238; viii (O.H.S. i), 220; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 26, f. 477.

⁴⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 43, f. 202v.

⁴⁶ Derick, *Views of Stanton Harcourt Ch.* pl. 2–3; Goddard-Fenwick, *St. Michael's Ch.* 3. ⁴⁷ *Harcourt Pps.* i. 38.

⁴⁸ Bodl. MS. Don. c 90, p. 341; *ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. a 64, no. 22; Parker, *Guide*, 175; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 38. The earlier porch does not appear to have been thatched, as stated in Goddard-Fenwick, *St. Michael's Ch.* 3.

⁴⁹ *Harcourt Pps.* i. 32, 38; Parker, *Guide*, 174, where the door is wrongly said to be for men.

⁵⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2020: faculty petition 25 June 1965.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 43, f. 210.

⁵² *Harcourt Pps.* i. 38.

⁵³ Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/13: appeal 1905; *Oxf. Times*, 29 Oct. 1904; 17 June 1905.

⁵⁴ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2019: faculty 10 Apr. 1951; c 2020: faculties 8 Dec. 1964, 29 Dec. 1969, 1 July 1970; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt d 3, s.a. 1969–73; Goddard-Fenwick, *St. Michael's Ch.* 12.

⁵⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2019: faculties 24 Nov. 1948, 15 Aug. 1958; plaque in ch.

⁵⁶ Parker, *Guide*, 175, 178; plaque in ch.

⁵⁷ O.A.S. Rep. lxxx. 43–52.

⁵⁸ *Arch. Jnl.* lxvii. 159, 197; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 779; Goddard-Fenwick, *St. Michael's Ch.* 3.

⁵⁹ Derick, *Views of Stanton Harcourt Ch.* p. 1, pl. 4; Parker, *Guide*, 171–2.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2019: faculty 29 May 1958; c 2020: faculty petition 25 June 1965; *ibid.* MSS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt c 4, ff. 32v., 41; d 3, 9 July 1972; Goddard-Fenwick, *St. Michael's Ch.* 5.

⁶¹ Goddard-Fenwick, *St. Michael's Ch.* 10.

⁶² *Ibid.* 7; *Oxf. Mail*, 28 Oct. 1966; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2019: faculty 17 Jan. 1957.

⁶³ *Arch. Jnl.* ii. 365–8.

colouring were uncovered in 1970.⁶⁴ Thirteenth-century glass survives in the south window of the chancel. In the south-east window of the Harcourt chapel are two inserted 13th-century ovals depicting a king and bishop or abbot, and a late 15th-century armorial shield set in a garter, contemporary with the chapel; fragments of 15th-century glass also survive in other chapel windows.⁶⁵

In the Harcourt chapel are the altar tombs, with recumbent effigies, of Sir Robert Harcourt (d. 1470) and his wife, of his grandson Sir Robert (d. c. 1509), of George Simon Harcourt, Earl Harcourt (d. 1809), and of Edward Vernon Harcourt, archbishop of York (d. 1847);⁶⁶ the effigies of the elder Sir Robert and his wife were removed to the manor house and returned c. 1724.⁶⁷ Over the younger Sir Robert's tomb hangs a standard, reputedly carried by him at the battle of Bosworth. Other memorials in the chapel include a floor brass to Thomas Harcourt (d. 1460) and Nicholas Atherton (d. 1454), formerly in the chancel,⁶⁸ an inscribed marble slab to John Lee (d. 1682), and a mural monument to Simon Harcourt (d. 1720), with an inscription by Pope. The uninscribed altar tomb of Sir Simon Harcourt (d. 1547)⁶⁹ stands in the south transept, and a mural monument to Sir Philip Harcourt (d. 1688) and his wife was moved from the chapel to the south transept before 1876.⁷⁰ Also in the south transept are plaster models for statues at Westminster and Windsor of Sir William Vernon Harcourt (d. 1904) by Waldo Story, and of Field Marshal William Harcourt (d. 1830) by R. W. Sievier.⁷¹ In the chancel are memorials to lay rectors including Christopher Hovenden (d. 1610), Robert Huntington (d. 1685), and William Gibbons (d. 1728); that to Huntington and his son (d. 1693) has verses by Congreve. Floor brasses commemorate Ellen Camby (d. 1516), wife of John Camby, and Henry Dodschone (d. 1519), the first vicar.⁷² Against the north wall is the altar tomb of Maud (d. 1394), wife of Sir Thomas Harcourt. Lost monuments include a brass to William Seacole (d. 1527), and a brass engraved with the arms of Harcourt and Beke, c. 1293.⁷³ On the outside of the south transept is a memorial to two villagers killed by lightning in 1718, with lines by Pope.

The plate includes a silver chalice of 1634, a silver flagon marked 1639, and a silver almsdish marked 1717; two 18th-century pewter almsdishes were stolen in 1966. A 12th- or 13th-century leaden chalice and patten, found in a stone coffin under the nave in 1845, were deposited in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.⁷⁴ A collection of 16th- and 17th-century prayer books and theological treatises has been deposited in the Oxfordshire County Record Office.⁷⁵

There are six bells, dated 1656 except for the tenor and treble, dated 1686 and 1722; they hang in an early 17th-century oak frame.⁷⁶

The churchyard was extended c. 1900 and 1952; a new cemetery was opened south of Stanton Harcourt village in 1982.⁷⁷

NONCONFORMITY. In 1657 Anthony Wood wrote that most of Stanton Harcourt's inhabitants were Catholics long after the Reformation.⁷⁸ John Herle the younger, lord of Stanton Wyard, was imprisoned for plotting to free Mary, Queen of Scots;⁷⁹ Robert Harcourt (d. 1630) was an open papist and was temporarily outlawed.⁸⁰ In 1607 Frances Harcourt and Alice Buttle were fined for recusancy, and between 1625 and 1630 two women perhaps related to the Harcourts, two gentlemen, and three yeomen; in 1642 two other women refused the Protestation Oath.⁸¹ There were no papists by 1706.⁸²

In 1676 there were said to be five dissenters in the parish.⁸³ In 1658 the Quaker Ellis Hookes, visiting his mother in Stanton Harcourt, is said to have been beaten and thrown out of Sir William Waller's house for refusing Lady Waller 'hat honour'.⁸⁴ In 1677 Jane Ditton proposed to hold a Quaker meeting in her house, and in 1682 two more Quakers were reported. In 1738 the vicar said that there was only one lapsed Quaker.⁸⁵

Ann Harcourt and her husband Sir William Waller were staunchly puritan,⁸⁶ and her son Sir Philip Harcourt had Presbyterian sympathies. From c. 1675 his chaplain was the ejected minister Thomas Clark, whose daughter married Harcourt's son, and he sheltered the ejected William Gilbert and Henry Cornish.⁸⁷

Three Anabaptists were noted in 1682 and the

⁶⁴ Goddard-Fenwick, *St. Michael's Ch.* 3-4; County Mus., P.R.N. 2035.

⁶⁵ E. A. Greening Lamborn, *Armorial Glass Oxf. Dioc.* 156, pl. 13; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2020: faculty 13 Dec. 1960, estimate 22 Sept. 1959.

⁶⁶ Parker, *Guide*, 179-80; *Harcourt Pps.* i. 40-3, 45.

⁶⁷ *Hearne's Colln.* iii (O.H.S. xiii), 247-9; viii (O.H.S. I), 220.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* iii. 248-9; Bodl. MS. Don. c 90, p. 326.

⁶⁹ Parker, *Guide*, 178; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 780.

⁷⁰ *Harcourt Pps.* i. 40, 46.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* i. 37; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2019, faculty 23 July 1920.

⁷² Dates wrongly given in *Par. Colln.* 280; *Hearne's Colln.* iii (O.H.S. xiii), 248-9.

⁷³ Parker, *Guide*, 177-8; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 196, ff. 248, 261; *ibid.* MS. Don. c 90, pp. 326, 344.

⁷⁴ Evans, *Ch. Plate*, 156-7; Goddard-Fenwick, *St. Michael's Ch.* 11.

⁷⁵ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt b 12, c 6-9, d 1, e 5.

⁷⁶ *Ch. Bells Oxon.* 386-8.

⁷⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2019; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt c 6, item h.

⁷⁸ *Wood's Life*, i (O.H.S. xix), 220. The monuments cited were wrongly dated, but cf. O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 178, f. 161; 181, f. 201v. which contain Catholic formulae.

⁷⁹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1581-90, 250; cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1555-7, 130.

⁸⁰ *D.N.B.*; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1600-10, 557; *ibid.* 1619-23, 61; Stapleton, *Cath. Miss.* 177-8.

⁸¹ Salter, 'Oxon. Recusants', 23, 40, 42, 53-4; *Protestation Returns*, 93.

⁸² Hist. MSS. Com. 13, 10th Rep. IV, *Stonyhurst*, p. 177.

⁸³ *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 423.

⁸⁴ Besse, *Sufferings*, i. 564.

⁸⁵ Berks. R.O., Oxon. Quaker Quarterly min. bk. s.a. 1677; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 708, ff. 116-17; *Secker's Visit.* 145.

⁸⁶ *Jnl. Eccles. Hist.* xxxix. 436.

⁸⁷ *Wood's Life*, ii (O.H.S. xxi), 519, 525; *Calamy Revised*, ed. A. G. Matthews, 120, 137, 222; *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 61, n. 211, 66, n. 277.

same number in 1738; three other dissenters were Anabaptist or Presbyterian in 1738.⁸⁸ Single families of Anabaptists were reported in 1759, in 1768 when a husbandman and his children worshipped at Cote, in Bampton, and in 1805.⁸⁹ In 1738 the number of dissenters was said to be 'rather lessened', and in 1834 'much diminished'; there were then 20 in all, but many may have been Methodists. In 1835 a Baptist Sunday school taught 30 children; no later reference to Baptists has been found.⁹⁰

The Wesleys, close friends of John Gambold, vicar 1735–43, visited the parish frequently; John Wesley preached there in 1738.⁹¹ There is, however, no evidence of Methodism in the parish until the 19th century: a meeting house certificate of 1814 for Sutton probably relates to Methodists, and in 1817 the vicar reported that a few Methodists were meeting in a registered house.⁹² Primitive Methodists held an unsuccessful mission in 1843, and in 1854 the vicar said there was no dissent at Stanton Harcourt.⁹³ By the 1880s there was a Wesleyan group in Sutton, at first associated with South Leigh but independent by 1884 with 13 members. At first it met in the house at Sutton Green later called Tudor Cottage; a Gothic chapel in red brick was built on New Road c. 1887 and had 25 members by 1891. The land was given by the Earlys of Witney.⁹⁴ Average membership was c. 20, but rose to 30 from c. 1913 to 1922; in 1987 there was one Sunday service.⁹⁵

By 1866 there was a Catholic Apostolic (Irvingite) chapel in Sutton, south of Sutton Lane; initially the Irvingites also attended the parish church.⁹⁶ The chapel, associated with that at Eynsham,⁹⁷ had closed by c. 1918, when the building was rented by the parish vestry; it had been demolished by 1970.⁹⁸

EDUCATION. Peter Bostock, vicar of Stanton Harcourt from c. 1611, ran a school there in 1610–11; in 1617 the church house was said to have been used as a schoolroom from time immemorial and was held in trust.⁹⁹ Charitable bequests were made to the school in 1711 and

1721.¹ Reading was taught free,² and from 1728 four boys under the Gibbons endowment³ were taught writing and arithmetic free, were supplied with books, and were clothed and apprenticed. Offertory money was used to educate poor children for most of the 18th century. In 1738 there were 16–17 boys and girls attending, but in 1774 the 17 pupils were all boys.⁴

By c. 1800 the schoolmaster received £14 8s. a year to teach the four Gibbons boys and one child from each labourer's family. In 1808 c. 25 children were taught free, and c. 20 younger children at their parents' expense.⁵ By 1815 eight children received free education and 14–15 others paid; the schoolmaster was then a feeble old man.⁶ The schoolhouse, in which he lived rent- and tax-free, was then in the church house by the churchyard, presumably the former vicarage house or a building south of the church demolished by 1876.⁷ Forty-five pupils attended in 1817; a Sunday school, newly established on the National plan, had 80 children, but closed soon after.⁸ In 1824, although 60 families each had the right to send one child to school, there were seldom more than 40 free pupils, and no boys were receiving the Gibbons bequest.⁹ By 1831 the bequest was again in use, but only 16 children attended school full-time, others working during the summer.¹⁰

In 1835 three small private schools had 41 pupils, mostly girls, and the Baptists ran a Sunday school for 30 children.¹¹ A dame school was opened c. 1860 by a mother and daughter, who in 1869 taught 35 children, mostly girls, and ran an evening school in winter; the Revd. William Vernon Harcourt gave £10 a year and a rent-free schoolroom and cottage. The charity school, said in 1860 to be sadly neglected, continued to teach one child free from each family but charged for writing lessons; the master made up his income by acting as postmaster and assistant overseer. The vicar was excluded from both the charity and dame schools.¹²

A National school, replacing the former charity school, was opened in 1871; then or earlier the school was moved to a cottage on the village street, no. 21. New buildings in brick, accom-

⁸⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 708, ff. 116–17; *Secker's Visit.* 145.

⁸⁹ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 557, f. 61v.; d 560, ff. 81v.–82; d 569, f. 105; cf. Bodl. MS. Top. Eccl. e 1, f. 91v.

⁹⁰ *Secker's Visit.* 145; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39, f. 314; below, *Educ.*

⁹¹ *Wesley's Jnl.* ed. N. Curnock, i. 483; above, *Church.*

⁹² O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 644, f. 154; d 577, f. 102v.; d 581, f. 96v.

⁹³ *Ibid.* Witney and Faringdon Methodist Circuit II/1A, s.a. 1843; *Wilb. Visit.* 135.

⁹⁴ Local inf.; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1891 and later edns.); O.R.O., Witney and Faringdon Methodist Circuit I/1E; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 15 (1899 and later edns.); above, S. Leigh, *Nonconf.*

⁹⁵ O.R.O., Witney and Faringdon Methodist Circuit I/1f–i; notice outside chapel.

⁹⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 406; c 338, f. 383v.; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1891 and later edns.); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXII. 15 (1899 and later edns.); local inf.

⁹⁷ O.R.O., E.C.A.C. I/ii/1; I/i/1–4; where two deacons named were Stanton Harcourt men.

⁹⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt c 4, f. 36v.; O.S. Map 1/2,500, SP 4006–4106 (1970 edn.).

⁹⁹ P.R.O., E 134/22 Jas. I/Hil. 26; O.R.O., MS. Misc. Pa Ia/1.

¹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 24/1/40; below.

² *10th Rep. Char. Com.* 414.

³ Below.

⁴ *Secker's Visit.* 145–6; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 565, f. 147; b 38, f. 188v.

⁵ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, H.C. 224, p. 730 (1819), ix B; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 569, f. 105; d 707, f. 159; below, *Char.*; cf. Bodl. MSS. d.d. Harcourt e 26; c 149/11, p. 15.

⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 433, f. 187.

⁷ *10th Rep. Char. Com.* 414; O.R.O., MS. Misc. Pa Ia/2; Harcourt estate office, map of 1819; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXVIII. 3 (1876 edn.); above, *Church.*

⁸ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 730; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt c 5, ff. 77v.–78; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 189.

⁹ *10th Rep. Char. Com.* 414.

¹⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 189.

¹¹ *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, H.C. 62, p. 755 (1835), xlii.

¹² *Rep. Com. on Child. and Women in Agric.* [4202–I], p. 350, H.C. (1868–9), xiii; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt e 27, pp. 31–3; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 179, ff. 364–5; d 180, ff. 1055–6; D. McClatchey, *Oxon. Clergy*, 141.

modating 90 children, were added at the back on land owned by E. W. Harcourt, who was sole manager.¹³ In 1876 fees amounted to c. £24 and voluntary contributions to c. £60. The endowment was only £4 8s., reduced to £3 18s. in 1880, but the school also received £10 a year from the Gibbons trust until 1889.¹⁴ A government grant was received from 1871, when the average attendance was 55 boys and 25 girls.¹⁵ Accommodation was increased to 114 by 1876, when attendance was 59 by day and 8 by night, and to 130 in 1901.¹⁶ The children were repeatedly said to be backward, and in the late 1880s frequent staff changes lowered standards.¹⁷

Stanton Harcourt school was reorganized as a mixed junior and infant school in 1938, the seniors going to Witney. Average attendance rose from 58 to 77 by 1939.¹⁸ From 1951 the officers' mess of the R.A.F. camp was used for the two upper forms, and the old school building for infants.¹⁹ The school acquired controlled status c. 1957;²⁰ the roll was 75 in 1954, fell to 61 in 1962, and rose again to 75 in 1970. A new building was opened in 1974 with 90 places, but in 1983 the roll was only 47.²¹

Bequests for educating poor children of Stanton Harcourt were made by William Plasterer (will proved 1711) who left £30²² and by William and Thomas Barfoot (wills proved 1714 and 1720) who left £5 each;²³ Catherine and Mary Flexney (wills dated 1721 and 1724) left £10 each, Mary directing that Bibles should be given to children who had 'learned their Bible through'.²⁴ Mary Barfoot (will proved 1726) left a 10s. rent charge,²⁵ and Edward Crutchley and James Digweed (wills proved 1728)²⁶ £10 and £5 respectively. Dr. William Gibbons, by will proved 1728,²⁷ gave £400, later vested in All Souls College, Oxford, which paid the school £10 a year from it.²⁸ The money was to educate, supply with books, and apprentice four boys nominated by the churchwardens and overseers; other poor boys were to have free education. The chosen four were also to have two suits of clothes each, paid for by All Souls in addition to the £10 endowment. As there were seldom four boys a year ready to be apprenticed, surplus money was used to buy a third suit of clothes for those in school.²⁹

In 1765 a subscription in the parish raised £54 12s. for the benefit of the poor and the schooling of poor children.³⁰ In the late 1790s all the educational charities except Gibbons's and Mary Barfoot's were incorporated into the United charities; £3 18s. a year was applied to schooling and that, with Gibbons's and Mary Barfoot's, made up the schoolmaster's salary for most of the 19th century.³¹ In 1901 the United charities were divided into educational and eleemosynary branches, each with an income of £3, but by the 1960s most of the income was used for the school.³² In 1889 the Gibbons bequest was regulated by a Board of Education Scheme, amended in 1950, whereby two separate charities were created: the Dr. Gibbons charity for the advancement of education with an income of £20 10s., to be given as prizes or awards, and the Dr. Gibbons school charity with an income of £20, for apprenticing poor boys or providing outfits for a trade or profession. The benefits were extended to girls in 1897.³³ From 1901 to 1926 no applications for apprenticeship were received, but several indentures were being paid in the early 1930s.³⁴

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR.³⁵ In 1707 eleven gifts or bequests totalling £106 were used to buy 7 a. of meadow called Dedewick, later the Poor's Land, in Northmoor. Dorothy Smith had given £33,³⁶ William Enstone, William Pencot, Henry Clanfield, Elizabeth Wood, and Alexander Pencot £10 each, Simond Simmons, Susanna Applegarth, John Lee, and Thomas Wood £5 each, and Henry Boulton £3.³⁷ The rent was distributed annually to families with at least two children. In 1815 there were 20 recipients in Stanton Harcourt and West End, and 20 in Sutton; in 1823 several families received as much as 30s.³⁸ By then the rent had fallen from £20 to £15 a year; it fell to c. £11 in the 1890s, was raised from £14 to £32 10s. in 1965, and was £50 in 1972, when c. £350 accumulated rent was invested. In 1964 £16 was distributed.³⁹

Anne Hawkins (date unknown) gave £10, the interest to be given yearly in bread on Good Friday;⁴⁰ Esther Langford by will proved 1774⁴¹ and Mary Prior by will proved 1779⁴² each gave

Henry Meads.

²⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt c 5, ff. 29-30; Bodl. MS. d.d. All Souls c 192/65.

³⁰ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt c 5, f. 31; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt e 26.

³¹ 10th Rep. Char. Com. 413; Char. Digest [292-II], pp. 54-5 (1871), lv.

³² O.R.C.C., Kimber files.

³³ Char. Com. Schemes 309595, 309171.

³⁴ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt, b 11.

³⁵ Based on 10th Rep. Char. Com. 414-16; O.R.C.C., Kimber files, incl. copy of Char. Com. Scheme 1972.

³⁶ In her lifetime; in 1657 she left an unendowed £5 for the poor: P.R.O., PROB 11/262, f. 412.

³⁷ Cf. O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 20/3/21; 202, f. 63v.; 53/1/26; 149/3/13; 113/2/28; 73/2/28; P.R.O., PROB 11/295, ff. 15 and v.; PROB 11/345, ff. 139-40; PROB 11/370, ff. 350-51v.

³⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt c 5, ff. 1-8.

³⁹ Char. Digest H.C. 292-II, pp. 54-5 (1871), iv; O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt e 6, b 11.

⁴⁰ Apparently a lifetime gift.

⁴¹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 98, f. 240.

⁴² Ibid. 54/2/7.

¹³ Returns relating to Elem. Educ. H.C. 201, p. 324 (1871), lv; P.R.O., ED 7/101/193; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt e 27, pp. 31-3, 45, 49; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXVIII. 3 (1876 edn.).

¹⁴ P.R.O., ED 7/101/193; Publ. Elem. Schs. 1875-6 [C. 1882], H.C. (1877), lxvii; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 540.

¹⁵ P.R.O., ED 7/101/193; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt c 540, pp. 120-1.

¹⁶ Publ. Elem. Schs. 1875-6; Kelly's Dir. Oxon. (1920).

¹⁷ Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt d 93.

¹⁸ Inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.

¹⁹ O.R.O., T/S Misc. 19.

²⁰ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2019; letter 11 Feb. 1957.

²¹ Inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.; O.S. Map 1/2,500, SP 4005-4105 (1970 edn.); O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt d 3, s.a. 1974.

²² O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 145/2/3.

²³ Ibid. 208, f. 92; 116/4/29.

²⁴ Ibid. 24/1/40; 128/1/8.

²⁵ Ibid. 117/1/16.

²⁶ Ibid. 94, f. 171; 125/1/49.

²⁷ P.R.O., PROB 11/621, ff. 156v.-158.

²⁸ 10th Rep. Char. Com. 413; Char. Don. 1786, p. 996, where Dr. Gibbons's bequest is wrongly attributed to

£15, the interest to be spent on bread. Catherine and Mary Flexney by wills proved 1724 and 1726⁴³ left £10 each for the poor, the interest to be given out on Good Friday. In the late 1790s those sums, together with educational bequests and a subscription raised in 1765, were invested in South Sea stock, and were later known as the United charities, yielding £8 13s. 10d. a year; c. £3 15s. was distributed annually in bread, and £1 for the Flexney bequests was distributed with the rent from the Poor's Land. The United charities were divided into educational and eleemosynary branches in 1901.⁴⁴

Daniel Flexney by will proved 1754 left £106, which was never received.⁴⁵ The vicar John Slatter by will proved 1810 left £100 stock in

trust for the poor of Cumnor (formerly Berks.) and Stanton Harcourt.⁴⁶ Elizabeth, Lady Harcourt by will proved 1826 left £200 stock, producing £5 10s. to be given in clothing to two elderly men and two women at Christmas.⁴⁷ Ernest Walsh by will proved 1921 left £400 invested to provide £10 a year for the poor of Stanton Harcourt. In 1967 Harcourt's and Slatter's charities, reduced to £4 10s. and £1 2s. respectively, were allowed to accumulate before distribution. A Scheme of 1972 combined them with Walsh's: all the eleemosynary charities were then represented by shares in the Charities Official Investment fund. In 1973 a total of c. £123 was distributed to the poor.⁴⁸

WILCOTE

WILCOTE, comprising only 319 a. (128 ha.), was, until its absorption into the civil parish of North Leigh in 1932, among the smallest rural parishes in England.⁴⁹ It lies 4 miles (6.4 km.) south by east of Charlbury, and 5 miles (8 km.) north by east of Witney, for long its market and social centre.⁵⁰ Wilcote was from the Middle Ages and possibly earlier a hamlet of Cogges, with which it was usually combined for purposes of taxation and poor relief into the 19th century⁵¹; the two places were returned together in census reports until 1831.⁵² From the mid 19th century, however, until 1932 Wilcote was regarded as a separate parish for civil purposes, and it has remained a distinct ecclesiastical parish.⁵³

The parish was elongated in shape, tapering towards the southern end but with westwards projections at the north-west and south-west corners. It has been suggested that the north-west projection derived from the incorporation into Wilcote of the site of a Romano-British settlement.⁵⁴ It has further been suggested that the boundary in the south-west skirted an 8th-century burial ground near the boundary with North Leigh:⁵⁵ the projection seems excessive for such a purpose alone, and the boundary appears rather to have followed the line of Burford Way, a road that formerly ran from North Leigh through Wilcote and Minster Lovell. The stretch of road, c. 300 m., marking the boundary has been obliterated by ploughing. The parish boundary is rarely marked by exist-

ing roads and watercourses but often by substantial hedges, ditches, and embankments, and by thick belts of woodland on the north and west where it is also the boundary of Wootton hundred. The boundary on the east follows a short stretch of the road from North Leigh to Finstock and on the south North Leigh Lane, which joins Burford Way at the south-west corner. The line of the Roman Akeman Street, discernible traversing the parish c. 100 m. inside the northern boundary, is completely ignored; only a few parish boundaries in the area made use of it.⁵⁶

Wilcote's western boundary is apparently described in charters of 969 and 1044 for Witney manor.⁵⁷ The features mentioned are not certainly identifiable but seem to begin in the parish's north-west corner, called *Wicham*, a name associated with former Romano-British *vicus* settlements. The perambulation followed the edge of a wood to Ofing acre and the old or sheep way, presumably the Wilcote-Hailey road. The next marker, Cycgan stone, may have been near the north-west tip of Holly Grove, along whose western edge, described as a green way, the perambulation proceeded to Yccenes feld, meaning open land by the Itchen, the otherwise nameless stream that traverses the southern end of the parish. The route seems then to have followed hedgerows to Madley brook in North Leigh parish. The perambulations of Wychwood forest in 1298 and 1300 seem to have passed along part of Wilcote's

⁴³ Ibid. 24/1/40, 128/1/8.

⁴⁴ *Char. Digest*, 54-5; above, Educ.

⁴⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Stanton Harcourt b 11.

⁴⁶ 32nd Rep. *Char. Com.* pt. 1, p. 276, H.C. (1837-8), xxv.

⁴⁷ *Suppl. Char. Digest 1889-90* (247), p. 16 (1890), lv; Bodl. MS. d.d. Harcourt e 26.

⁴⁸ O.R.C.C., TS. Report on Review of Oxon. Par. Chars. 1979.

⁴⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2072, letter of 1947.

⁵⁰ The principal maps used are O.R.O., tithe map (1850); O.S. Maps 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 5, 9, 13 (1881 and later edns.); 6", Oxon. XXV (1884 and later edns.); 6", SP 31 NE., SE. (1955 and later edns.); 1/25,000, SP 31 (1952 and later edns.).

⁵¹ e.g. *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868; *Feud. Aids*, iv. 163; P.R.O., E 179/161/9-10; E 179/255/4, no. 277; O.R.O., land tax assess. Cf. P.R.O., E 179/202/59.

⁵² *Census*, 1801-31.

⁵³ Ibid. 1861-1931; below, church.

⁵⁴ M. Gelling, 'Place names derived from compound *wicham*', *Medieval Arch.* xi. 87-104; idem, 'Place name evid.' *Excavations at Shakenoak*, iii, ed. A. Brodribb et al. (Oxf. priv. print. 1972), 134-40; below.

⁵⁵ P. Brown, *Britannia*, iii. 376-7; below.

⁵⁶ e.g. Finstock and N. Leigh, Stonesfield and Combe, Wootton and Combe.

⁵⁷ Gelling, *Medieval Arch.* xi. 99-103; *Excavations at Shakenoak*, iii. 136-9. Cf. Grundy, *Saxon Oxon.* 77-8, 84-5.

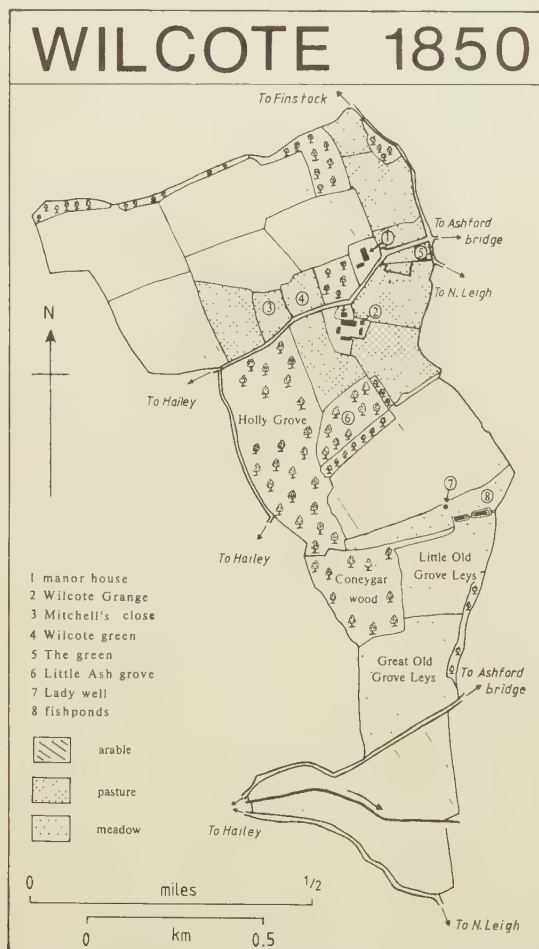
eastern boundary and possibly its southern also, but the features mentioned are not clear.⁵⁸ The perambulations then probably retraced the line of the charter boundaries along the parish's western side; the places recorded, Sigardesthorn and Nethergate, have not been identified.⁵⁹

Wilcote village stands on a hilltop towards the north-east end of the parish at a height of 140 m., the land falling to its lowest point of 105 m. in the shallow valley that cuts across the southern end of the parish. Much of the southern half of the parish lies on limestone of the Great Oolite series, overlain on the higher ground in the north by an extensive bed of forest marble, above which are smaller outcrops of cornbrash and Oxford clay surmounted by an island of unbedded glacial drift upon which stand the church, manor house, and Wilcote Grange.⁶⁰ The water table is unusually close to the surface, and the soil, except on the southern slope, where it drains more freely, is prone to waterlogging, even on the high ground. There are several ponds near the church, and in the centre of the parish an underground brook and series of springs feed the former manorial fishponds, recorded in 1581;⁶¹ two ponds remain, repaired in 1986.⁶² The valley at the southern end of the parish was apparently created by a former meander of the river Windrush.⁶³ The stonebrash on either side of the stream has traditionally provided good arable crops, although the ground just south of the stream becomes boggy in wet weather. The remaining land has been used both for arable crops and for grass, the former more usually grown in the fields north of the Hailey road, the latter in the fields adjacent to Wilcote Manor and Wilcote Grange; traces of ridge and furrow east of Wilcote Grange, however, indicate that even the heavy Oxford clay was at one time put under the plough. Almost a quarter of the parish remains woodland, most of it growing densely in the west of the parish and along the northern boundary. Further planting of broad-leaved woodland, on the manor estate, was under way in 1987. Wilcote lay within the royal forest of Wychwood until excluded at the time of the perambulations of the late 13th century.

The only metalled road to pass through the parish is that running from Ashford bridge in North Leigh to Hailey. West of Wilcote church the road forms a hollow way. In 1850 the road forked as it left the parish on the west, a branch running to Ramsden; that branch survives as a footpath. Another way, since ploughed out, ran south along the western edge of Holly Grove⁶⁴ to meet the broad path, in parts a hollow way, from Wilcote Grange through Holly Grove towards Witney. The avenue of pollarded ash trees that runs south from Wilcote Grange to

Lady well, a spring north-west of the fishponds, marks the line of a way that in the earlier 19th century continued to Burford Way. That line was partly ploughed over by 1850,⁶⁵ but later restored as a footpath. The crossroads east of Wilcote Manor gives access to Finstock, Woodstock, and North Leigh.

Flint implements of uncertain period have been found in the field north of Wilcote Manor. The earliest evidence of settlement in the parish is a Roman villa in the south-east corner of the parish, and Romano-British coins, pottery, and stoneware unearthed along the line of Akeman Street. The quantity and extent of finds there have been interpreted as the remains of a settlement larger than a single house, a possibility strengthened by the use in boundary charters of the Anglo-Saxon place name *Wicham*.⁶⁶ It was probably that site to which Thomas Hearne referred in 1724 when mentioning the discovery of Roman coins and 'some other Roman antiquity'.⁶⁷ The villa is commonly known as Shakenoak from Shakenoak Farm, c. 500 m. to the north-west.⁶⁸ Building began late in the 1st



⁵⁸ For an attempted reconstruction see above, N. Leigh, intro.

⁵⁹ *Archaeologia*, xxxvii. 436; *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 94; B. Schumer, 'Woodland Landscape of Wychwood Region' (Leic. Univ. M. Phil. thesis, 1980), 172.

⁶⁰ *Geol. Surv. Map 1"*, solid with drift, sheet 236 (1938 edn.); H. Powell, 'Geol. of Shakenoak Area', *Excavations at Shakenoak*, iii. 143-53.

⁶¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. f 36, p. 53.

⁶² County Mus., Wilcote par. file; *ibid.* P.R.N. 1204.

⁶³ Powell, *Excavations at Shakenoak*, iii. 153-5; see above, N. Leigh, intro.

⁶⁴ O.R.O., tithe map.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*; O.S. Map 1", Oxon. XLV (1833 edn.); above, N. Leigh, intro.

⁶⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 344; County Mus., P.R.N. 1297, 10629.

⁶⁷ *Hearne's Colln.* viii. 299.

⁶⁸ Following passage based on *Excavations at Shakenoak*, i-iv.

century A.D. on a site just north of the stream. While never matching the great villa at North Leigh in scale and prosperity, with painted plaster, for instance, instead of mosaics, the villa was rebuilt and expanded more than once. In the mid 3rd century the focus was transferred to a small though well appointed house south of the stream, possibly because of the villa's absorption by its wealthier neighbour. Military belt fittings and Germanic artefacts of the early 5th century have prompted the suggestion that mercenary troops, hired to protect the North Leigh villa, may have been housed at Wilcote. Despite claims for continuity of occupation at Wilcote into the 8th century, it seems more likely that the site was temporarily abandoned after c. 420,⁶⁹ about the time that North Leigh was deserted.⁷⁰ The Wilcote site was resettled in the 7th century and not finally deserted until the mid 8th, following the burial there of several men, possibly the victims of a battle. The later period of settlement has left evidence of iron smelting and wool working, and of a mixed agricultural economy based on arable farming and the keeping of cattle, sheep, and pigs.⁷¹ Settlement thereafter probably withdrew from valuable arable land, perhaps concentrating on the hilltop site of the present village. The charter of 1044 seems to enshrine folk memory of the villa site in the phrase 'Yccenes feld, where the cnihtas (servants, or soldiers) lie'.⁷² The survival of the Celtic name Yccen (Itchen) suggests contact between Romano-Britons and Anglo-Saxons, and the second part of the phrase, which is unique, a knowledge of the burials.⁷³

Only two tenants were recorded at Wilcote in 1086.⁷⁴ By the mid 13th century there may have been a sharp increase, since 20 Wilcote men were cited for forest offences in 1245–6.⁷⁵ Possibly some were not from Wilcote parish but from the part of North Leigh known as Wilcote, near Wilcote House.⁷⁶ Signs of occupation have been discovered around the crossroads on the parish boundary between the house and Wilcote Manor,⁷⁷ but only one of the Wilcote names of 1245–6 occurs in the list of North Leigh tenants in 1279. Probably the population of Wilcote parish was small: there were 5 tenants in 1279, when the return appears to be incomplete, recording only 2½ yardlands, and 7 or 8 taxpayers in the earlier 14th century.⁷⁸ Twelve people over

the age of 14 were assessed for tax in 1377.⁷⁹ The population was little different in 1642, when 12 people, including, unusually, women, were recorded as taking the Protestation oath.⁸⁰ There seem by then to have been only four houses in the parish:⁸¹ the manor house, Wilcote Grange, and, probably, the houses known from their 16th- and 17th-century occupiers as Joiner's and Mitchell's. Joiner's, a freehold of medieval origin, was said c. 1600 to be 'on the green'.⁸² closes called the Green and Wilcote Green were in 1850 in the south-west angle of the crossroads and west of the manor house respectively.⁸³ Mitchell's presumably stood in Mitchell's Close, immediately west of Wilcote Green.⁸⁴ It or Joiner's was pulled down in 1701,⁸⁵ and the other, uninhabited in 1738, had gone by 1759.⁸⁶ The population of the parish remained c. 10 for the whole of the 19th century, with the Wellington and Pickering family at the manor house, and a tenant family at Wilcote Grange. A third household enumerated in 1861, that of a gardener, perhaps lived in part of the manor house.⁸⁷ A 'row of hovels' allegedly standing until c. 1890 near Lady well, where there are earthworks and widespread nettle growth, is not shown on maps.⁸⁸ The population rose to 15 in 1921 and 1931, but there were still only the two houses.⁸⁹ The church and Wilcote Manor are described elsewhere.⁹⁰ Wilcote Grange, south-east of the church, was so called by 1899,⁹¹ apparently in the belief that it had been a grange of Cogges priory.⁹² Though the priory briefly owned two thirds of the demesne tithes,⁹³ Wilcote Grange was until the 20th century part of the manorial estate. The house was built in the earlier 18th century with a main front of four bays facing east and a lower kitchen wing on the west. It was remodelled c. 1800 when two canted bays were added to the east front and when the staircase was rebuilt, perhaps as a consequence of the entrance being moved to the south side. The barn adjoining the Grange on the west and another to the south were converted into houses between 1985 and 1987, and other outbuildings have also been converted. A claim that the avenue running south was planted by William Poole (d. 1866), a Waterloo veteran,⁹⁴ is supported by maps of 1850, showing no trees, and of 1881, showing the complete avenue.⁹⁵ The earlier map may, however, be inaccurate and

⁶⁹ L. Alcock, *Medieval Arch.* xvii. 189–90; P. Brown, *Britannia*, iii. 376–7.

⁷⁰ Above, N. Leigh, Intro.

⁷¹ *Arch. of Anglo-Saxon Eng.*, ed. D. Wilson, 262, 271, 374.

⁷² For *Yccenes feld* see above, N. Leigh, Intro.

⁷³ *Medieval Arch.* xi. 103; *Excavations at Shakenoak*, iii. 136.

⁷⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405.

⁷⁵ P.R.O., E 32/135, pp. 1–16.

⁷⁶ Above, N. Leigh, Manor and other estates.

⁷⁷ County Mus., P.R.N. 1103, 4946; pottery of late 12th–14th cent. found by author SE. of crossroads, Feb. 1987; late medieval roof tile found NE. of crossroads, Apr. 1987.

⁷⁸ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868–71; P.R.O., E 179/161/8–10.

⁷⁹ P.R.O., E 179/202/59.

⁸⁰ *Protestation Returns*, 85.

⁸¹ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, no. 277; O.R.O., Q.S.R. iv. 384, 386.

⁸² P.R.O., C 104/153, list of sales and leases, 1325–1539; *ibid.* indentures of 1594, 1597, 1601, 1602.

⁸³ O.R.O., tithe map.

⁸⁴ P.R.O., C 104/153, indentures of 1622, 1684, 1685.

⁸⁵ O.R.O., Q.S. Epiph. 1702, no. 44.

⁸⁶ *Secker's Visit.* 172; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 557, f. 156.

⁸⁷ *Census*, 1821–1901; P.R.O., HO 107/1731; *ibid.* RG 9/907; RG 10/1453; RG 11/1515.

⁸⁸ County Mus., Wilcote par. file; O.R.O., tithe map; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 9 (1881 edn.).

⁸⁹ *Census*, 1921–31. Since 1931 Wilcote has been returned with N. Leigh.

⁹⁰ Below, Church, Manors.

⁹¹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXVI. 9 (1899 edn.).

⁹² Local inf.

⁹³ Below, Church.

⁹⁴ J. Kibble, *Charming Charlbury*, 19; O.R.O., Finstock burial reg. transcript.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., tithe award; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXXVI. 9, 13 (1881 edn.).

Poole's role exaggerated, for many of the trees are c. 300 years old.⁹⁶ The likely creator of an avenue of that antiquity is John Cary, lord of the manor in the later 17th century, a keen planter who is known to have laid out 'nurseries of walnuts and ashes' at Woodstock for Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon.⁹⁷ The conversion of farm buildings and the building in 1938 of a pair of cottages west of Wilcote Grange⁹⁸ and in the 1950s of two bungalows across the road from Wilcote Manor have had little impact on the quiet air of a secluded private estate. The stone gateposts at the entrance to the parish east of the manor house appear to guard a private drive, and strangers hesitate before passing through.

Wilcote people, including the rector in 1362, were commonly cited for poaching and taking wood from the forest in the Middle Ages.⁹⁹ In the earlier 19th century the tenant farmer at Wilcote Grange, George Brown, was repeatedly fined for poaching.¹ In 1800 Wilcote was caught up in the widespread disturbances provoked by high prices and the scarcity of provisions: in September a group of protesters from Witney, allegedly 500 in number, came to Wilcote and forced a promise from the farmer there, presumably George Brown, to bring produce to Witney market at reduced prices.² Lady well has historically been the scene of rites similar to those held elsewhere in the Wychwood area, and possibly ancient in origin if not in form: on Palm Sunday children from Wilcote and Finstock processed with bottles containing liquorice down to and around the well before filling them with water to make Spanish juice.³

MANOR. In 1086 *WILCOTE*, assessed at 1 hide, formed part of the extensive Oxfordshire holdings of Odo, bishop of Bayeux.⁴ On Odo's fall Wilcote, among other manors, was granted c. 1100 to Manasser Arsic, forming part of his barony of Cogges. The overlordship of Wilcote followed the barony's descent until the latter's division in the 13th century, after which it passed with the de Grey moiety of Cogges.⁵ In 1359, however, Wilcote passed on the death of John, 1st Lord Grey, to his younger son Robert, on whose death without issue in 1367 it seems to have escheated to the Crown despite the claims of Robert's elder brother John, 2nd Lord Grey.⁶

Martin Lacy was recorded as overlord in 1455, and William Brewer in 1465 and 1466,⁷ presumably by Crown grant, but no other reference to the overlordship has been found.

Wilcote, like Cogges, was held of Odo in 1086 by Wadard.⁸ No reference to his successors has been found before 1215, when the king ordered the sheriff to give possession of the manor to Reynold of Drumar during pleasure; the former tenant was said to be Adam Butler (*pincerna*).⁹ Adam, however, was still in possession in 1220, but was dead by 1224, when his widow Joan claimed 1 hide of land in Wilcote as her marriage portion.¹⁰ In 1225–6 Joan, also called Joan of Arsic,¹¹ claimed half Wilcote manor, presumably the same 1 hide, against Luke de Keynes and his wife Emma, who said that Adam, Emma's father, had given it to them on marriage. Adam's son and heir William had evidently died by 1236 when William Avenel claimed 1 hide in Wilcote against Joan and her then husband William de Stanes and another against Hugh Butler,¹² presumably a younger son of Adam. Avenel was unsuccessful, for in 1248 Joan granted all her right in Wilcote to Hugh.¹³ He was succeeded c. 1262 by Thomas Butler, perhaps his son. Thomas still held Wilcote in 1277,¹⁴ but by 1279 it had passed to his son Robert.¹⁵ He or another Robert Butler, presumably his son, held the estate in 1316¹⁶ but was bought out in 1338 by the overlord, John, 1st Lord Grey.¹⁷ The manor seems subsequently to have come into the hands of John London and his wife Joan, who also held land at Charlbury, and who in 1372 sold Wilcote to William Wykeham, bishop of Winchester.¹⁸ During the 1380s the manor was held by the bishop's foundation of New College, Oxford, but in 1392 William settled Wilcote on Thomas Perrott, later Wykeham, son of his niece Alice.¹⁹ The estate passed between 1410 and 1421 to Thomas's mother-in-law Elizabeth, widow of Sir William Wilcotes.²⁰ She retained possession until 1433²¹ and possibly later, but at her death in 1445 no mention was made of Wilcote among her lands.²² The manor was acquired by the Lovel family and was held by William, Lord Lovel (d. 1455), by his son John (d. 1465), and by John's son Francis, whose lands were forfeit by attainder in 1485.²³ Wilcote seems to have been among the Oxfordshire estates granted by

⁹⁶ Core samples analysed Aug. 1987 by Mr. I. Gourlay, Oxford Forestry Institute, whose assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

⁹⁷ P.R.O., C 104/109, letters of 27 Sept. 1668, 3 Sept. 1669; *ibid.* note of 19 Nov. 1675.

⁹⁸ Inf. from Sir Mark Norman.

⁹⁹ P.R.O., E 32/135, 137, 251; E 32/306/1.

¹ O.R.O., Q.S.R. ix. 160, 167, 170.

² *Ibid.* land tax assess.; P.R.O., HO 42/51, no. 469.

³ D. Allport, *Ramsden* (1965), 56; County Mus., Wickham Stead MSS., N. Leigh folder 3, p. 31.

⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405.

⁵ Above, Cogges, Manor.

⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xii, p. 118.

⁷ P.R.O., C 139/158, no. 28; C 139/488, no. 27; C 139/497, no. 20; *Lib. de Antiq. Legibus* (Camd. Soc. [1st ser.], xxxiv), p. ccxxix.

⁸ *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), 235.

⁹ *Ex. e Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.), 120.

¹¹ Not Joan, dau. of Rob. Arsic (d. 1230), who succeeded her father to the overlordship of Cogges and Wilcote:

Sanders, *Eng. Baronies*, 36–7.

¹² *Cur. Reg. R.* xii. pp. 109, 243, 380–1; xvi, p. 152; *Close R.* 1234–7, 336, 347, 517.

¹³ *Oxon. Fines*, p. 152.

¹⁴ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii, p. 166.

¹⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868.

¹⁶ *Feud. Aids*, iv. 163.

¹⁷ P.R.O., CP 25(1)/190/18, no. 20; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xii, p. 118.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* CP 25(1)/190/22, no. 46; CP 40/499, m. 659; Hants R.O., 159454, m. 36d.; *V.C.H. Oxon.* x. 136.

¹⁹ New Coll. Arch., 7330, 7333–4, 7336; P.R.O., CP 25(1)/191/24, no. 24; B.L. Add. Roll 41, 642; *D.N.B.*

²⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 245, ff. 101, 122; *ibid.* MS. d.d. All Souls Coll. c 269; *Cal. Close*, 1422–9, 256. For the Wilcotes fam. see above, N. Leigh, Manor and other estates; D. Fiennes, *Oxon. Fam. Hist.* ii (1), 8–10.

²¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 245, f. 130.

²² P.R.O., C 139/122, no. 33.

²³ *Ibid.* C 139/158, no. 28; C 139/488, no. 27; C 139/497, no. 20.

the Crown in 1485 to Jasper Tudor (d. 1495), duke of Bedford,²⁴ and in 1514 to Thomas Howard (d. 1524), duke of Norfolk.²⁵ Thomas was succeeded by his son Thomas, who apparently in 1540 sold Wilcote back to the king.²⁶ In 1543 Wilcote was bought by Sir Thomas Pope,²⁷ in whose family it remained thereafter.²⁸

By 1518 the manor was being leased from the duke of Norfolk by Thomas Ridley of North Leigh.²⁹ Leasing became the norm, notably by the Power (Poure) family. Stephen Power (d. 1545), younger son of John Power of Bletchington, acquired a lease of the manor in 1539,³⁰ and was succeeded by his son Richard (d. 1593) and grandson Thomas (d. 1597). Richard's widow Anne (d. 1608)³¹ sublet the manor in 1597 and in 1601, reserving living accommodation in the manor house. She sold the lease in 1602 to Richard Greene, and in 1609 it was resold by Sir William Greene of Great Milton to Rice Jones of Asthall. Thomas Chamberlain bought it in 1615, but no further leaseholders have been traced.³²

Wilcote formed part of the settlement made by Thomas Pope, earl of Downe, on his daughter Elizabeth at her marriage in 1660 to Sir Francis Lee of Ditchley.³³ It was bought in 1667 by John Cary (d. 1702), who was succeeded by his son the Revd. Francis Cary (d. 1711). The estate, which was entailed, passed not to Francis's daughter Jane but to his nephew Richard Cary (d. 1760).³⁴ In default of male heirs it descended to Richard's sister Elizabeth (d. 1795), widow of George Wellington, who was succeeded by her son James (d. 1816), who assumed the surname Cary.³⁵ James's heir was his daughter Mary, wife of the Revd. Richard Pickering, and on her death in 1866 Wilcote passed to her nephew Leonard Pickering (d. 1880), who was succeeded by his niece Eliza Pickering (d. 1918).³⁶ Eliza was succeeded by Leonard Pickering (d. 1931), and he by his nephew Francis, who sold the manor in 1936 to Oliver Stephens of Warminster (Wilts.). John Collier of Gray's Inn, London, bought the manor in 1937,³⁷ and sold it in the same year to Antony Norman, who was succeeded in 1972 by his nephew Sir Mark Norman, who remained the owner in 1987. The landed estate was divided in 1937, Wilcote Grange and c. 200 a. being bought by Eric Boston; most of that land was sold in the 1970s to the Hon. C. E. Cecil of Wilcote House in North Leigh.³⁸

Wilcote Manor stands towards the eastern edge of the parish, presumably on the site of the medieval manor house, which was known by the 15th century as Butler's Court,³⁹ after the family that held the manor in the 13th and 14th centuries. Called Wilcote Grove between the 1840s and 1870,⁴⁰ it has since been known as Wilcote Manor. Repairs to the 'room at the end of the hall' were recorded in 1390-1,⁴¹ and in 1597 and 1601 there were two rooms, one over the other, at the lower end of the hall, and a 'great cock-loft'.⁴² In 1987 the oldest part of the house was the south wing, a substantial parlour block, originally with two rooms on each floor, of the early 17th century; a newel stair remained at the side of the stack. The main range, perhaps incorporating the medieval house, was rebuilt later in the 17th century, and was extended in the early 19th over part of a range of early 18th-century outbuildings. In 1938 the house was virtually derelict. In that year the east front was buttressed, the house extensively restored, and the gardens laid out.⁴³ Some 18th-century panelling in the house was used as a model for the decoration of the principal rooms.

ECONOMIC HISTORY. A reference of 1270 to the fields of Wilcote⁴⁴ suggests that the parish was an independent agrarian unit, and the division of a small freeholding in the early 17th century between two fields may reflect an earlier, conventional, system of rotation. One field lay in the north half of the parish, the other in the south. The former bore the collective name Wilcote fields, and presumably comprised several fields once grouped together for rotation purposes; 2 a. of the freehold lay in one piece there but seem to have been open field land. In the southern field, Parson's field, the freehold was divided into nine parcels scattered among the furlongs.⁴⁵ An instruction of 1593 that land was to be ploughed and sown 'according to the use of the fields'⁴⁶ implies that there was still common management, as does a mention of rights of common in 1601.⁴⁷ Some inclosure had taken place by the mid 16th century, and the process was still under way in the early 17th,⁴⁸ although it is likely to have been completed shortly after: a freehold estate of 14 a. lay in 1622 entirely in a compact block in the north end of the parish, in the fields later known as Mitchell's and Mitchell's close.⁴⁹ Wilcote's

²⁴ Lincs. R.O., Reg. xxii, f. 107; above, Cogges, Manor.

²⁵ P.R.O., C 104 153, loose deed of Feb. 1518; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i (1), p. 373.

²⁶ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 218.

²⁷ Ibid. xviii (1), p. 526; xx (1), p. 216; P.R.O., C 104 153, loose note re leases of 1540s.

²⁸ Above, Cogges, Manor.

²⁹ P.R.O., C 104 153, loose deed of Feb. 1518.

³⁰ Ibid., undated loose pps.; *Oxon. Visit.* 211.

³¹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 50 r 72; *ibid.* 187, f. 345; *ibid.* 50 3 15.

³² P.R.O., C 104 153.

³³ O.R.O., Jo. II 1.

³⁴ P.R.O., C 104 109 1, indenture of June, 1671; *ibid.* CP 25(2)/1051/11 Geo. I, Trin. no. 3; *ibid.* PROB 11 465, ff. 301-304v.; PROB 11 525 (P.C.C. 24 Barnes).

³⁵ O.R.O., transcript of Spelsbury par. reg.; Bodl. MS. d.d. Fitt c 4, Cary fam. pedigree.

³⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2072, letter of Feb. 1904; dates on ch. monuments.

³⁷ St. James's ch., Ramsden, Wilcote par. rec., burial reg. 13 Dec. 1931; *ibid.* letters of 30 Oct. 1936, 19 Feb. 1937; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2072, letters of 1930, 1937.

³⁸ Inf. from Sir Mark Norman.

³⁹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 325, 334.

⁴⁰ e.g. *Oxf. Jnl.* 17 June, 1848; 18 Apr. 1868; *Return of Owners of Land in Oxon.* [C. 1097], H.C. (1874), lxxii (2).

⁴¹ New Coll. Arch. 9156.

⁴² P.R.O., C 104 153.

⁴³ Inf. from Sir Mark Norman.

⁴⁴ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 275.

⁴⁵ P.R.O., C 104 153, undated survey and sketch map. The surveyor, Elias Allen, also witnessed an indenture of 1615; *ibid.* The names Wilcote field and Parson's field survived in 1850: O.R.O., tithe award.

⁴⁶ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 190, f. 6v.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., C 104 153, agreement of Apr. 1602.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* copy of survey of 1543 (dated Nov. 1615); agreement of May 1601.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* indenture of 30 June, 1622; O.R.O., tithe award.

fields were described in 1759 as 'old inclosures'.⁵⁰

Woodland in 1086 measured 4 by 1 furlong,⁵¹ and probably lay then, as later, mainly in the centre and north.⁵² A new assart recorded in 1270 seems to have adjoined the boundary with Ramsden, and, since it lay 'in the fields of Wilcote', it may indicate the period in which Wilcote's arable fields reached their greatest extent.⁵³ Assarts recorded at about that time were small, and the bulk of clearance may already have taken place.⁵⁴ Woodland provided Wilcote people, sometimes illegally, with fuel, food, and pasture,⁵⁵ both for subsistence and for sale, as, presumably, in the case of the Wilcote man who was in 1246 arrested near Oxford with an oak.⁵⁶ An unspecified, but possibly extensive, amount of timber was felled in the 1640s, first to relieve the financial crisis of Thomas Pope, earl of Downe, and then by order of the County Committee, which was accused of laying waste the timber on the Pope estates in the area.⁵⁷ A small freehold, possibly that mentioned above with arable in Parson's field, was in 1685 stripped of as many as 300 oaks and elms.⁵⁸ Wilcote's woodland was not, however, permanently cleared. In the later 18th century it comprised at least 50 a., managed as coppices, the underwood cut on a short average rotation of c. 10 years.⁵⁹ In 1850 there were c. 70 a. of woodland in the parish, and two field names, Great Old Grove Leys (19 a.) and Little Old Grove Leys (12 a.), suggested former woodland.⁶⁰ By 1876 another wood, Little Ash Grove (c. 7 a.), east of Holly Grove, had been cleared for pasture.⁶¹ During the First World War much of Holly Grove was cut down to provide fuel⁶² but was then replanted; Coneygar Copse, which was not affected, retains much older trees. In 1987 there were c. 60 a. of woodland in the parish, and coppicing had been reintroduced with government assistance through the Manpower Services Commission and privately on the manor farm.⁶³

There were said in 1086 to be 12 a. of demesne meadow in Wilcote.⁶⁴ It may have included rights in a meadow called in 1543 Butler mead, later Wilcote or Poure's (Power's) mead, said to lie in Cogges, Ducklington, and Wilcote, and presumably shared by those places, although probably lying physically in Cogges.⁶⁵ Some meadow may have lined the stream that traverses the southern tip of Wilcote, but in the 19th century, and possibly in the 17th, the land

there was arable; the 39 a. of meadow recorded in 1850 lay in Great and Little Old Grove Leys.⁶⁶

Wilcote was assessed at 1 hide in 1086 and in 1220,⁶⁷ but from the 1230s there were 2,⁶⁸ perhaps reflecting an expansion of land under cultivation. In 1086 there was said to be land for 1½ ploughs, although only one was at work, on the demesne, presumably operated by the two bordars who were the only recorded tenants. There was evidently an increase in the number of tenants by the 13th century.⁶⁹ It seems likely that the return for Wilcote in the Hundred Rolls of 1279 is incomplete, recording only 1 a. of demesne, 2 yardlands of unfree tenant land, and a half-yardland freeholding; the division of the 2 yardlands among 4 tenants holding ½ yardland each suggests a shortage of land. The half-yardlanders paid rent of only 1s. each for all services; the free tenant, Hugh the clerk, paid 4s.⁷⁰ Tax assessments of the earlier 14th century, usually returned with those for Cogges, seem to account for seven or eight Wilcote taxpayers. The only separate Wilcote return, that for 1316, recorded seven, assessed at a total of £1 1s. 8d., of which 13s. 4d. was the assessment of the manorial lord, Robert Butler. In 1327 assessments apparently relating to Wilcote men were more evenly spread: five, including that of John Butler, ranged from 5s. to 3s., and three more were of 1s., 10d., and 6d. respectively.⁷¹ It may be that manorial demesne, that was not recorded in 1279 and was in the lord's hands in 1316, was in 1327 held by tenants. In the 1380s, when the demesne was leased annually by New College to a single farmer, it seems to have comprised 1 hide: the stock handed over each year included a plough, 6 oxen, and seed comprising 8 qr. of wheat, 16 qr. of barley, 8 qr. of dredge, 6 qr. of oats, and 4 qr. of pulse. Other tenants remained few in number: 12 people were assessed for the poll tax of 1377, and only three heriots fell due between 1387 and 1391. In 1387–8 no tenant could be found for one small piece of land, although that may have been unusual.⁷²

By the 16th century the tenants other than the farmer of the manor appear to have held little more than their cottages: in 1524 Thomas Ridley of North Leigh was assessed for subsidy on goods in Wilcote at 6s. 8d., whereas the remaining four taxpayers were assessed on wages at 4d., the lowest level permissible.⁷³ Tenancy of the manorial estate appears to have been lucrative and sought after. Anne Power sublet it for 3

⁵⁰ O.R.O., North Leigh incl. award.

⁵¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405.

⁵² B. Schumer, 'Woodland Landscape of Wychwood Region Before 1400' (Leic. Univ. M.Phil. thesis, 1980), 69–71; O.R.O., tithe award.

⁵³ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 275.

⁵⁴ P.R.O., E 32/137.

⁵⁵ e.g. *ibid.* P.R.O., E 32/135; E 32/251.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* E 32/135.

⁵⁷ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1640–1, 494; *Cal. Cttee. for Compounding*, ii, 934.

⁵⁸ P.R.O., C 104/109/1, indenture of Jan. 1685.

⁵⁹ *Oxf. Jnl.* 16 Nov. 1782.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., tithe award.

⁶¹ O.S. *Area Bk.*

⁶² G. Murray, 'Study of Land Use in Wilcote' (TS. of 1973 in County Mus.), 5.

⁶³ Local inf.

⁶⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405.

⁶⁵ P.R.O., C 104/153, copy of survey of 1543; O.R.O., Jo. II/1.

⁶⁶ P.R.O., C 104/153, survey and sketch map; O.R.O., tithe award.

⁶⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 405; *Bk. of Fees*, i. 318.

⁶⁸ e.g. *Close R.* 1234–7, 336, 347, 517; *Cur. Reg. R.* xvi, p. 152; *Oxon. Fines*, pp. 137, 152; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii, p. 166.

⁶⁹ Above, Intro.

⁷⁰ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868: Wilcote is grouped with the de Grey moiety of Cogges.

⁷¹ P.R.O., E 179/161/8–10.

⁷² New Coll. Mun., 7330, 7333–4, 7336, 9153–6; P.R.O., E 179/202/59.

⁷³ P.R.O., E 179/161/175, m. 8; C 104/153, copy of survey of 1543.

years in 1601 at £90 a year, and in 1615 the remaining 8½ years of a 21-year lease were sold for £650.⁷⁴ The Power family had prospered at Wilcote during the 16th century: Stephen Power (d. 1545) left goods valued at only £42, but his son Richard's estate was worth £455, and grandson Thomas's £300.⁷⁵ An 18th-century successor, Thomas Sansom (d. 1729), made bequests totalling £350 to three of his children.⁷⁶ In contrast, George Spurr, occupier of a two-room cottage, left at his death in 1684 an estate valued at £24, of which £22 was in debts owing to him.⁷⁷ A carpenter, mentioned in 1577,⁷⁸ is the only tradesman to have been traced.

The manorial estate gradually became yet more dominant, absorbing the small amount of freehold land outstanding. The freehold known from the late 16th century as Joiner's, said in 1405 to comprise a house and 9 a. and in 1594 a house and c. 16 a., was probably absorbed in the late 17th century or early 18th. Another freehold, comprising a house and 14 a. known as Mitchell's, was bought in 1685 by Francis Cary and incorporated in the manorial estate in 1742, when it was bought by Richard Cary from Francis's descendants.⁷⁹ In effect the entire parish was run as a single large farm, sometimes kept in hand, more often leased to tenants, for whom Wilcote Grange served as farmhouse. Prominent among them was Thomas Castle, tenant for much of the later 18th century.⁸⁰ During the 19th century Wilcote was more commonly farmed by its owner, notably by Leonard Pickering until his death in 1880. In the later 19th century and earlier 20th the estate was farmed by Eliza Pickering's brothers-in-law, William and Charles Sutton.⁸¹ From 1937 Grange farm was farmed by Eric Boston, and the manor farm by the Norman family.⁸²

Wilcote's rather stony soil has usually been regarded as best suited to a combination of sheep and cereals, and mixed farming was the norm. Wheat and barley were the main crops, but with oats, peas, and, in 1608 hops also mentioned. Flocks of c. 50 sheep were recorded in the 16th century, and of c. 80 in the 17th. As usual in a woodland parish, pigs were raised. Less expected, given the shortage of rich grassland, was an apparent emphasis on dairying: William Winter (d. 1564), for example, owned at least 9 cattle and a bull, and Richard Charlés (d. 1662) had 6 cattle and 40 cheeses.⁸³ Labour, particularly at harvest time, was presumably obtained in the main from neighbouring parishes: by 1693 there were only two cottages in

Wilcote, and one of those was pulled down in 1701.⁸⁴

In the mid 19th century half the parish was given over to arable, in fields grouped north of the Ramsden road, north of Lady well, and against the southern boundary. The remainder comprised c. 50 a. of pasture, c. 40 a. of meadow, and c. 70 a. of woodland.⁸⁵ In the later 19th century the proportion of arable changed little, although some land in the north was taken out of cultivation, while the whole of the southern part, including much former meadowland, was put under the plough.⁸⁶ In 1914 a quarter of the parish's arable was given over to wheat, a high proportion for the area; another quarter was almost equally divided between barley and oats. Potatoes, increasingly grown in the neighbourhood were an insignificant crop at Wilcote. Almost half the parish was permanent pasture, given over to cattle, sheep, and pigs, and there was a herd of Old English wild white cattle.⁸⁷ In the later 20th century rather more land was given over to arable, still concentrated in the northern and southern thirds of the parish. In the 1970s as many as 1,000 sheep were kept on the manor farm, but in the 1980s sheep rearing was abandoned there, while at the Grange it became more specialized with the introduction of flocks of Jacob's sheep. Dairy farming was abandoned c. 1980 in favour of beef cattle.⁸⁸

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. A small freehold in Wilcote, recorded in 1279, owed suit of court at Cogges every three weeks.⁸⁹ Manorial courts were held at Wilcote in the Middle Ages, rarely recording more business than the collection of a single fine or a solitary heriot.⁹⁰ A survey of the manor in 1543⁹¹ made no mention of fines or perquisites of court, and it may be that courts were by then no longer held.

Although Wilcote was separately assessed for poor rates, it was administered with Cogges for poor law purposes.⁹² The smallness of Wilcote's population, however, and a policy of preventing settlement in the parish ensured that it was little affected by the problems facing its neighbours. A labourer who in 1701 left his family chargeable on the parish was imprisoned, and his house was demolished.⁹³

In 1834 Wilcote was included in Witney poor law union, and in 1894 it became part of Witney rural district. In 1922 Wilcote was combined with Ramsden for electing district councillors, an arrangement superseded in 1932 by Wilcote's absorption into North Leigh civil parish.⁹⁴

⁷⁴ Ibid. C 104/153, indentures of 1601, 1615.

⁷⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 179, f. 118v.; 187, f. 345; 190, f. 6v.

⁷⁶ Ibid. 151/2/25.

⁷⁷ Ibid. 62/2/1; P.R.O., E 179/255/4, no. 277.

⁷⁸ *Cal. Witney Ct. Bks.* (O.R.S. liv), 82.

⁷⁹ P.R.O., C 104/153, list of sales 1325–1539; *ibid.* indenture of 1594; *ibid.* indentures of 1684, 1685; *ibid.* C 2/Jas. I/ I & J 9/65; C 2/Jas. I/P 25/64; Bodl. MS. d.d. Fitt c 4, loose pps. re Mitchell's estate.

⁸⁰ O.R.O., land tax assess.

⁸¹ *P.O. Dir.* (1877 and later edns.); E. Matthews, 'Wilcote Grange' (TS. of 1981: kindly lent by Sir Mark Norman).

⁸² Inf. from Mrs. E. Boston and Sir Mark Norman.

⁸³ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 179, f. 118v.; 184, ff. 136v.–137; 50/3/15; 13/4/23.

⁸⁴ Ibid. Q.S.R. iv. 384, 386; Q.S. Epiph. 1702, nos. 15, 44.

⁸⁵ Ibid. tithe award.

⁸⁶ O.S. *Area Bk.*

⁸⁷ Orr, *Oxon. Agric.* 218, statistical plates.

⁸⁸ Local inf.

⁸⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 868; above, Manor.

⁹⁰ New Coll. Mun., 9153–6.

⁹¹ P.R.O., C 104/153 (copy made in 1615).

⁹² Above, Cogges, Local Govt.

⁹³ O.R.O., Q.S. Epiph. 1702, nos. 15, 44.

⁹⁴ Ibid. RO 3251, p. 203; RO 3267; Local Govt. Order, 8 Feb. 1922: copy in *ibid.*; *Census*, 1931.

CHURCH. The church of 'Wivelicota', granted to Oseney abbey in 1151 by Ralph Basset, son of the justiciar, may have been Wilcote, although Ralph is not otherwise recorded as having any connexion with the place. That church was subsequently lost by the abbey.⁹⁵ The earliest incontrovertible evidence of a church at Wilcote lies in the fabric, part of which is of the later 12th century. Wilcote has remained an independent rectory. A proposal of 1860 to unite the living with that of Ramsden was abandoned in favour of the livings being held in plurality.⁹⁶ By a scheme of 1984, put into effect in 1987, a joint benefice was created, known as Ramsden, Finstock and Fawler, Leafield with Wychwood and Wilcote.⁹⁷

The first known presentation to the living was that made between 1209 and 1219 by Adam Butler,⁹⁸ and the advowson passed with the manor thereafter. After a period of disputed claims to the manor William de Stanes, husband of Joan Arsic, presented in 1242 and Joan herself in 1243. In 1247 Joan granted the advowson to Hugh Butler, who presented in 1248.⁹⁹ In 1469 the bishop of Lincoln presented by lapse.¹ From the mid 16th century the advowson was, like the manor, leased to the Powers and their successors. Presentation thereafter was by the lords of the manor, except in 1680 and in 1839, when the Crown and the bishop of Oxford respectively presented by lapse.²

In 1103 Manasser Arsic granted two-thirds of the demesne tithes of Wilcote to Cogges priory, which lost possession soon after.³ Wilcote rectory was exempted from taxation in 1291 and 1341 because of poverty; its value, £2 13s. 4d., remained unchanged in 1536.⁴ In 1599 the rector leased out the tithes and the glebe, whose extent has not been discovered, for £8 a year.⁵ In 1707 and in 1808 the rector was said to receive a stipend of £21 10s. from the lord of the manor, presumably in exchange for tithes and glebe.⁶ Augmentations from Queen Anne's Bounty were received in 1798, 1811, and 1812, raising the income to £62, and there was a further augmentation in 1828.⁷ In 1850 tithes were commuted for a rent charge of £52 10s.,⁸ but the total income of the rectory was said in 1860 to be only £75, approximately the level at which it remained at the end of the century.⁹ No record has been found of a rectory house, and John Hody (d. 1558), who seems to have held Wilcote in plurality with Nunley (Warws.), referred in his will to his servant living at the

manor house.¹⁰ From the 18th century it was repeatedly stated that there was no house belonging to the living.¹¹

The earliest known rector was Geoffrey, instituted between 1209 and 1219.¹² A local man, William of Wilcote, was presented in 1333. The poverty of the living presumably accounted for the rapidity with which most medieval incumbents resigned it. Thomas Raynes, rector 1459–70, and Thomas Cornwell, 1470–82, are the only two medieval rectors known to have been graduates.¹³ From the 16th century and perhaps earlier non-resident pluralist rectors commonly served the parish through curates from neighbouring parishes.¹⁴ Curates' stipends were small, usually c. £10 in the 18th century, but there seems always to have been a service and a sermon on Sundays, attended by congregations far in excess of the parish's population, their numbers boosted by villagers from nearby Finstock and Ramsden, who attended services at Wilcote until churches of their own were opened in 1842 and 1872 respectively. It was estimated in 1831 that as many as 100 people, ten times Wilcote's population, attended Sunday service there.¹⁵ In the later 19th century dwindling congregations sometimes comprised only the families from the manor house, Wilcote Grange, and the rector's family; there were never more than ten communicants.¹⁶ It was said in 1930 that the church was 'almost a private chapel'.¹⁷ Closure was considered in 1937, but Antony Norman undertook to maintain the church and to hold three or four services annually, an arrangement that continued in 1987.¹⁸

The church of *ST. PETER* comprises a small, low chancel, a nave with west bellcot, and a north porch, and is built of coursed limestone rubble with a stone slate roof. The nave and chancel are of the later 12th century, the date of a window reveal in the chancel and of a blocked south doorway. The chancel arch and the chancel east wall were rebuilt in the 13th century. A south chapel was added to the nave in the early 14th century, and at about the same time the north doorway was rebuilt and new windows were put into the north and west walls. The arrangement at the west end of the nave, where two windows flank a large central buttress, has been described as 'much and justly admired'. Carved on the buttress are two mass dials and a cross. A small 14th-century window of three lights in the east end of the chancel was replaced in 13th-century style in the 19th century.¹⁹ The

⁹⁵ *Oseney Cart.* vi, pp. 129, 131.

⁹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 178, f. 557.

⁹⁷ Ibid. c 1983/2; inf. from Sir Mark Norman.

⁹⁸ *Rot. Welles*, i (L.R.S. iii), 95.

⁹⁹ *Rot. Grosse*. (L.R.S. 'xi), 478, 483, 493.

¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 245, ff. 64, 80, 101, 122, 130, 148, 155, 169.

² Above, Manor; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 76, no. 52; Wilcote par. rec., list of rectors.

³ J. Blair, 'Cogges Priory', *Oxoniensia*, xlvii, 46–50.

⁴ *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 138; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 185.

⁵ P.R.O., C 104/153, indenture of May 1605.

⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 155, f. 40v.; c 446, f. 202; Bacon, *Liber Regis*, 808.

⁷ Hodgson, *Q.A.B.* p. cccxxv; *Acct. of Benefices*, H.C. p. 167 (1818), xviii.

⁸ O.R.O., tithe award.

⁹ Ibid. MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 178, f. 557; c 359, ff. 457–8.

¹⁰ Ibid. MS. Wills Oxon. 183, f. 279v.

¹¹ e.g. *Secker's Visit.* 172; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 224.

¹² *Rot. Welles*, i (L.R.S. iii), 95.

¹³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 245, list of rectors; Emden, *O.U. Reg.* to 1500.

¹⁴ e.g. *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* ii, 57; *O.A.S. Rep.* (1911–13), 100; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. e 9, f. 184v.

¹⁵ *Secker's Visit.* 172; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 651, f. 12v.; d 557, f. 156; b 38, f. 224; J. Kibble, *Charming Charlbury*, 17.

¹⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 180, ff. 256–7; c 347, ff. 457–8; c 356, ff. 450–1; Matthews, 'Wilcote Grange', 2.

¹⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2072, letter of Apr. 1930.

¹⁸ Wilcote par. rec., letter of 30 Dec. 1937; *ibid.* reg. of services since 1951; inf. from Sir Mark Norman.

¹⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 69, nos. 595–7; drawings of 1821; J. C. Buckler, *St. Peter's Ch., Wilcote* (1844); copy with overlays in Bodl. G.A. fol. A. 126; Parker, *Guide*, 161.

chancel contains a 14th-century piscina and credence table on the south wall, and, on the north, an aumbry. There is a squint on the south side of the chancel arch.

There was a rood screen in the church in 1545.²⁰ A description of 1846²¹ noted that the church then had whitewashed coved ceilings, presumably of the 17th or 18th centuries, that there was a 'modern' marble font, and that there was a 'raised place', but no gallery, for singers. The south chapel had been removed by 1844 when the church was surveyed for the Oxford Architectural Society, which recommended a pioneering rebuilding 'in the Decorated style'.²² In the event nothing was done until 1853 when there was a restoration by H. Woodyer²³ presumably on a minor scale, since in 1868 it was said that only the walls were 'fit to be left up'. In that year there was a comprehensive restoration under the supervision of A. W. Blomfield and at the expense of Leonard Pickering.²⁴ The chancel was given a new boarded roof, decorated with ribs and bosses, and the nave a crown-post arch-braced roof of three bays. Total reflooring included extensive use of decorated tiles. The church's doors were replaced, and the north porch was rebuilt. A new east window was modelled on the old one, though made much larger, and the other windows were reglazed. Stained glass in the east window and armorial glass in the west windows was installed by the London firm of Heaton, Butler, and Hayne, as was the mosaic over the altar. New fittings included wooden pews, altar, altar rails, and pulpit, and a carved stone font. The bellcot was rebuilt and a bell hung. The quality of the new work misled a survey of 1922 into believing that the church was almost entirely original.²⁵ The overall effect has since been dismissed as 'bleak',²⁶ though it does not appear so when the

church is lit by its oil lamps, which remain the only form of artificial lighting.

Some parish records were apparently destroyed by fire in 1848, and surviving registers date only from 1755.²⁷ They, and other parish records, are kept in the vestry at St. James's church, Ramsden. The church plate formerly comprised a silver paten of 1772 and a silver chalice, paten, and flagon dated 1772 and inscribed with the initials EW,²⁸ for Elizabeth Wellington. The plate was claimed as an heirloom by Francis Pickering when he succeeded to the Wilcote estate in 1931. His right was disputed, but in 1938 the parish agreed to accept in exchange a new silver chalice and paten, which it retained in 1987.²⁹ The churchyard is large for such a small parish, but thinly populated. Headstones survive from the 18th century. Drawings of the 19th century show headstones scattered around the churchyard,³⁰ but most have since been removed to the east end.

NONCONFORMITY. Wilcote lay in an area notable for dissent in the later 17th century, and in 1669 it was claimed that 'towards 100' Anabaptists were meeting at the house of Francis Ambrose, 'a great promoter of such meetings'; the teacher was an Abingdon miller named Combes.³¹ No other reference to Ambrose at Wilcote has been traced. If so large a congregation met inside his house he was presumably tenant of the manor house or of Wilcote Grange, but the meetings may have been held in an outbuilding there or elsewhere. No other record of nonconformity has been discovered.

EDUCATION. No evidence.

CHARITIES. None known.

WOLVERCOTE

WOLVERCOTE, an ancient parish lying on the north-west of the city and liberty of Oxford, c. 2½ miles north of the city centre, contained two settlements, Upper and Lower Wolvercote; the adjoining extra-parochial areas of Godstow, Cutteslowe, King's Weir, and Pixey Mead were incorporated in the later 19th century. The south-eastern part of the parish, including Upper Wolvercote, was absorbed into the built-up area of Oxford in the earlier 20th century, and in 1929 the whole of the southern part of the parish was taken into the city. The boundaries of the earlier 19th-century parish (746 a. before boundary changes in 1857 and 1868) followed streams of the Thames on the west, the Banbury road on part of the east, small streams on part of the north, and field boundaries for the rest. The

extra-parochial area of Godstow (411 a.), south and west of Wolvercote, was divided into four separate parts, three along the Thames in the west, and the fourth and largest (221 a.) between Wolvercote and North Oxford. The extra-parochial areas of King's Weir (0.09 a.) and Pixey Mead (51 a.), which was then common to Yarnton and Begbroke, lay north of Wolvercote. To the east was the extra-parochial area of Cutteslowe (281 a.).³² To the south is Port Meadow, the common pasture of the Oxford freemen, where Wolvercote inhabitants have from an early date had rights of common.³³

Wolvercote was, until the late 17th century, part of the ecclesiastical parish of St. Peter-in-the-East, Oxford, but it was a separate manor by 1086,³⁴ and remained independent of St. Peter's

²⁰ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 179, f. 118v.

²¹ Parker, *Guide*, 160-1.

²² Buckler, *St. Peter's Ch.*

²³ J. Sherwood, *Guide to Oxon. Chs.* 201. Pevsner, *Oxon.* 842 dates the restoration 1858.

²⁴ *Oxf. Jnl.* 18 Apr. 1868.

²⁵ *The Builder*, 13 Oct. 1922.

²⁶ Pevsner, *Oxon.* 842.

²⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 515, f. 130.

²⁸ Evans, *Ch. Plate Oxon.* 181.

²⁹ Wilcote par. rec., corresp. 1936-8. The ch. plate listed in Pevsner, *Oxon.* 842 is presumably that no longer in the parish.

³⁰ e.g. Buckler, *St. Peter's Ch.*

³¹ *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* pp. xiv, 46-7.

³² O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXIII (1881 and later edns.); 1:10,000 SP 41 SE.; SP 40 NE. (1981 edn.).

³³ Below, Econ.

³⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 416; below, Church.

and of Oxford for all but ecclesiastical purposes. The north and east boundaries probably remained unchanged from an early date, apart from the transfer of Twisdelowe (later 40 a.) in the north-east to Cutteslowe in 1358; Twisdelowe was further transferred to Water Eaton in 1588.³⁵ The treatment, from the 16th century or earlier, of the demesne land and site of Godstow abbey as an extra-parochial area, altered the southern and western boundaries of Wolvercote substantially.

Godstow was composed of the site and demesne lands of Godstow abbey, a Benedictine nunnery founded c. 1133 on land given by John of St. John, the lord of Wolvercote manor.³⁶ The site of the abbey, between streams of the Thames, was thus presumably part of Wolvercote, although, unlike the rest of Wolvercote and Godstow, it was within the ridden boundary of Oxford.³⁷ To the west were three closes (14 a.) which were in the 19th century a detached part of Wootton hundred; it is possible that they had originally been in Wytham (Berks.), where Robert of Wytham and Abingdon abbey gave Godstow the meadows beside the nuns' church and bounding their garden.³⁸ A 16th-century account of the ridden boundary of Oxford suggests that it and the county boundary followed the same stream by the site of Godstow nunnery, perhaps passing east of the three closes, which seem to have been excluded from a survey of Godstow and Wolvercote in 1636. County maps of the 18th century placed the whole abbey site in Berkshire, suggesting uncertainty as to the county boundary, but an estate map of Wytham made in 1726 marked the westernmost stream as the Shire Lake, as in the 19th century.³⁹ Most of the rest of the extra-parochial area of Godstow, comprising the demesne land of the abbey, had formerly been part of Wolvercote, but the southernmost part, along the Woodstock road, had formed part of the abbey's manor of Walton in North Oxford.⁴⁰ King's Weir had also belonged to Godstow, being granted to the abbey by Reynold of St. Valery before 1156.⁴¹ It was included with Godstow in surveys of 1636 and 1765, but was a separate extra-parochial area in 1841.⁴²

Pixey Mead was given to Godstow by Reynold of St. Valery c. 1166; at that date Wolvercote, Yarnton, and North Leigh seem to have had an interest in it.⁴³ Later evidence suggests that the grant was of only the northern part of the meadow, later included in Godstow and

calculated to be 53 a.; the remainder of the meadow was by the 18th century divided between the lords of the manors of Yarnton and Wytham (Berks.), the lords of Wytham having 14½ a. along the west side of the meadow, the lords of Yarnton the remaining 51 a.⁴⁴ The 14½ a. was included on an estate map of Wytham made in 1808,⁴⁵ but by 1876 it was part of Godstow. The 51 a. remained common to Yarnton and Begbroke.⁴⁶

The extra-parochial area of Cutteslowe derived from an early grant to St. Frideswide's minster in Oxford of 2 hides of a 5-hide estate there. A confirmation of the minster's possessions in 1004 seems to describe an area roughly the same as that of the later estate. The boundary followed the Banbury road on the west and a stream on the east; Wilsey by the Cherwell was at the south-east corner, but the remainder of the southern boundary and the northern were probably altered in the mid 14th century when Oseney abbey exchanged 17 a. at Cutteslowe with St. Frideswide's priory for a total of 13 a. in Water Eaton.⁴⁷

In 1341 Cutteslowe was included in St. Edward's parish, Oxford, presumably because St. Edward's had taken over St. Frideswide's parish church (closed in 1298), which had assumed the parochial functions of the minster church.⁴⁸ By 1556, when a Cutteslowe man requested burial at Wolvercote,⁴⁹ the area seems to have been served by Wolvercote church. An attempt in the 1660s to annex Cutteslowe to Kidlington parish failed.⁵⁰ The area was extra-parochial in 1771 and 1789.⁵¹ Cutteslowe and Godstow formed a unit for payment of land tax, and Cutteslowe, Godstow, and Wolvercote for window tax.⁵² Cutteslowe was included without comment in Wolvercote in the earlier 19th-century census reports.⁵³ It was separately entered, as a hamlet of Wolvercote, in the 1871 census, and as a civil parish in 1881.⁵⁴

Godstow and King's Weir were united with Wolvercote by legislation of 1857 and 1868 dealing with extra-parochial places.⁵⁵ Under the Divided Parishes Act of 1882, small areas of Yarnton and Water Eaton, totalling only 2 a., were transferred to Wolvercote, increasing its area from 1,158 a. to 1,160 a.⁵⁶ The Local Government Act of 1888 transferred c. 38 a. of Wolvercote within the Oxford City boundary (most of the parish west of Godstow bridge) to Binsey civil parish, and the Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation Act of

³⁵ *Cart. St. Frid.* i, p. 472; Sawyer papers (in possession of Mr. R. Sawyer, Water Eaton Manor, Kidlington).

³⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii. 71.

³⁷ *Ibid.* iv. 260-1, 267.

³⁸ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 29, 49.

³⁹ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. b 116, f. 6; c 334, ff. 2-3; MS. Rolls Berks. 43; J. Rocque, *Berks. Map* (1761); T. Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); R. Davis, *Oxon. Map* (1797).

⁴⁰ Below, Econ.

⁴¹ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* ii, p. 655.

⁴² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 334, f. 4; Blenheim Mun., E/P/12; *Census*, 1841.

⁴³ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* ii, pp. 572-3.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., SC 11/550; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 334, ff. 4-5; MS. Top. Berks. b 13, f. 14v.; MS. Rolls Berks. 43; Blenheim Mun., box 149; conveyance of 1710; *ibid.* E/P/12.

⁴⁵ Bodl. map MS. C 17:13(44)R.

⁴⁶ O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXIII (1881 edn.); below, Yarnton.

⁴⁷ J. Cooper, 'Four Oxon. Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries', *Oxoniensia*, I. 21-2; *Oseney Cart.* iv, p. 102. For Cutteslowe's boundaries, above, Kidlington, Intro.

⁴⁸ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 381.

⁴⁹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 181, f. 56.

⁵⁰ *Wood's Life*, i (O.H.S. xix), 353.

⁵¹ Blenheim Mun., box 149; Ch. Ch. Arch. MS. Estates 69, f. 16.

⁵² O.R.O., land tax assess.; Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 12 Aug. 1769.

⁵³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Wolv. b 6; *Census*, 1841.

⁵⁴ *Census*, 1871, 1881.

⁵⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii. 213; *Census*, 1861; cf. O.S. *Area Bk.* (1877).

⁵⁶ *Census*, 1891.

WOLVERCOTE 1765

including extra-parochial areas of Godstow and Pixey mead



1889 transferred the 14 a. west of that area, formerly a detached part of Wootton hundred, to the parish of Wytham, Berks.⁵⁷ Under the Oxford Extension Act of 1928 Wolvercote was divided between the city of Oxford (613 a.) and Cutteslowe (452 a.); under the same act 92 a. of Cutteslowe were transferred to Oxford, leaving 682 a. in the civil parish. In 1932, under the Oxfordshire Review Order, Cutteslowe, with the 51 a. of Pixey Mead common to Begbroke and Yarnton, was incorporated into the civil parish of Gosford and Water Eaton.⁵⁸

The western part of the ancient parish lies on the alluvium of the Thames and of the old course of the Cherwell later followed by the Oxford canal. The eastern, higher, ground is on Oxford Clay and the Wolvercote gravel terrace, with an area of brick earth near the Water Eaton boundary. Lower Wolvercote village, the site of Godstow abbey, and Wycroft on the eastern edge of Port Meadow all lie on patches of flood-plain gravel; the nucleus of Upper Wolvercote, around the church, is on a patch of the Wolvercote gravel terrace, as is the 19th-century Pear Tree Farm in the north-east.⁵⁹ The land rises from 60 m. or lower along the Thames to over 70 m. in the east, along the Woodstock and Banbury roads.⁶⁰ The division between the low-lying alluvium and the higher gravel and clay has been reflected in the division of the parish into meadow and pasture in the west and arable in the east.

The Oxford–Banbury road, an ancient route which was called the port street (i.e. paved road to the market town) in 1004,⁶¹ divides Wolvercote from Cutteslowe; it was turnpiked in 1755 and disturnpiked in 1875. The Oxford–Woodstock road, turnpiked in 1719 and disturnpiked in 1878, runs from south to north.⁶² The liability for the repair of both roads was disputed in the earlier 17th century between the owners of land in Godstow, Wolvercote, and St. Giles's parishes.⁶³ The Oxford northern bypass, running across the north side of the parish, was opened in 1935, and the western bypass across the north-west corner in 1961.⁶⁴

Upper Wolvercote was reached by Church Road (called First Turn in 1930), which branches westwards from the Woodstock road; it seems to have been described as a highway in 1736.⁶⁵ Another, probably smaller, road ran west from the Banbury road, through Upper Wolvercote and across Goose Green to Lower Wolvercote, roughly on the line of the modern Godstow Road, continuing to Godstow and Wytham. The section from Godstow bridge to

Wytham was a private road, used in the 18th century and the early 19th only by the earls of Abingdon and their family; other travellers had to take a lane north-west through the meadows to cross the Thames at Wytham mill.⁶⁶ A road running between the Banbury and Woodstock roads, later called Five Mile Drive, appears to have been only an access road for fields west of the Woodstock Road in 1765; by 1821 it ran through to the Banbury road, but its course was altered at inclosure in 1834.⁶⁷

Footpaths connected Wolvercote to Oxford, Yarnton, and Water Eaton.⁶⁸ Those to Oxford and Yarnton were used by Charles I in his night march from Oxford in June 1644. The path from Oxford presumably ran from Walton Street along the edge of Wycroft closes to Port Meadow. There seem to have been two paths to Yarnton. One ran north from Goose Green along the edge of Wolvercote Mead, keeping east of the Thames; the other branched north from the Godstow road just west of Toll Bridge along a lane marked on a map of c. 1730 as the way to Pixey, and then across Pixey Mead to cross the Thames by a ford at the end of Mead Way, Yarnton. The latter route was said in the 19th century to have been 'once the regular market road to Oxford', but had the disadvantage of crossing the Wolvercote mill stream twice, whereas the more easterly route avoided any major river crossing.⁶⁹

The road from Wolvercote to Wytham crossed the Wolvercote mill stream and the main stream of the Thames by bridges that were in existence by 1139.⁷⁰ Godstow bridge, over the main stream, marked the northern boundary of the city and university of Oxford in the 15th century.⁷¹ In 1718 the bridge, of two arches, was called Little Bridge; that year it was repaired by the duke of Marlborough.⁷² The bridge was sold to the earl of Abingdon in 1811.⁷³ The southern arch was rebuilt in 1892, but the northern one was still partly medieval in 1984.⁷⁴ Toll Bridge, immediately west of Lower Wolvercote, was so called in the earlier 16th century,⁷⁵ presumably from tolls collected there for Godstow's fair. About 1540 it was called Stone Bridge.⁷⁶ The bridge was rebuilt in the 16th or 17th century, of five arches, a large one in the middle and two smaller ones at either end; the work may have been carried out soon after the Dissolution, for Anthony Wood remembered a song about the breaking of Godstow bridge and cross beginning 'Godstow bridge is broken down'; the cross stood at Toll Bridge.⁷⁷ The central arch of Toll Bridge was rebuilt in 1796 at the duke of Marl-

⁵⁷ *Census*, 1901; L. L. Shadwell, *Enactments in Parl. iv* (O.H.S. lxi), 172.

⁵⁸ *Census*, 1931; above, Kidlington, Intro.

⁵⁹ *Geol. Surv. Map*, 1" solid and drift, sheet 236 (1938 edn.).

⁶⁰ O.S. Maps 1/10,000, SP 41 SE., SP 40 NE. (1981 edn.).

⁶¹ *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii, 485.

⁶² Turnpike Acts, 5 Geo. I, c.1 (Priv. Act); 28 Geo. II, c. 46; 38-9 Vic. c. 194; 40-1 Vic. c. 64.

⁶³ P.R.O., E 134/4 Chas. I/Trin. 6.

⁶⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 286.

⁶⁵ *Blenheim Mun.*, map of 1765; O.R.O., incl. award; inf. from Mrs. A. Spokes-Symonds.

⁶⁶ O.R.O., Cal. Q.S. Rec. viii, p. 592.

⁶⁷ *Bodl. MS. Top. Berks.* c 36 (Wytham incl. award); *ibid.*

G.A. fol. A 137.

⁶⁸ O.R.O., *Wolv.* incl. award.

⁶⁹ Vaughan Thomas, *Night March of Chas. I from Oxf.* (1850), 19, 21; copy in *Bodl. G.A. Oxon.* 8° 73; *Blenheim Mun.*, shelf G1, box 10; *ibid.* map of 1765.

⁷⁰ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, p. 29.

⁷¹ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1341-1417, 410; *Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon.* c 72, p. 4.

⁷² *Bodl. MS. Hearne's Diaries* 68, f. 236v.; *Hearne's Colln.* vi (O.H.S. xliii), 172, 228.

⁷³ *Blenheim Mun.*, shelf G 1, box of misc. pps.

⁷⁴ *County Mus.*, P.R.N. 1234.

⁷⁵ *Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon.* b 116, f. 6; below Econ.

⁷⁶ P.R.O., SC 11/550.

⁷⁷ *Bodl. MS. Hearne's Diaries* 68, f. ii; *Hearne's Colln.* v (O.H.S. xlii), 201; *Wood's Life*, i (O.H.S. xix), 338.

borough's expense; in 1876 the whole bridge was demolished and rebuilt by the county council, an attempt to force the University, as owners of Wolvercote mill, to carry out repairs having failed.⁷⁸

In 1718 there was a third bridge, Wolvercote bridge, of three arches.⁷⁹ It may have been between Upper and Lower Wolvercote where a drainage ditch or ditches ran south from Wolvercote Leys to Wolvercote Common and Port Meadow. Between 1768 and 1770 the churchwardens mended bridges and a causeway, perhaps in that area, and in 1780 they built a new bridge of stone and timber.⁸⁰ West of the site of Godstow nunnery the old road to Wytham crossed the Shire Lake and another small stream. Of the two surviving bridges, that on the east has a pointed, possibly medieval arch.

In the 18th century, and probably earlier, there was a winch just above Godstow bridge to pull boats through the bridge.⁸¹ In 1780 a cut was made through the site of Godstow abbey, to the west of the old navigation stream, and a pound lock was built at its lower end in 1790.⁸² The cut, already over a foot too shallow in places in 1792, was widened and deepened by the Thames Conservancy and the Thames Valley Drainage Commissioners in 1884 and 1885. The road to Wytham crossed the cut by a bridge, built by the Thames Commissioners in 1780 and lengthened in 1885.⁸³ The Oxford canal was made through the parish in 1788, and the following year a short branch, Duke's Cut, was made for the duke of Marlborough, between the main canal and the north end of the Wolvercote mill stream. Its main purpose was to provide access to Wolvercote paper mill, but it also enabled boats to join the Thames above King's Weir.⁸⁴

The Oxford–Rugby railway line was built through the parish in 1846, and the line to Bletchley, branching from it, in 1853. A halt at Wolvercote Green was opened in 1905 and closed in 1926.⁸⁵ Oxford buses were running to Wolvercote Turn before 1910, and a service from Carfax to Wolvercote village began in 1914.⁸⁶ Gas reached Upper Wolvercote in 1913, mains water before 1919, mains drainage c. 1920, and electricity by 1923. Despite several complaints, notably about the polluted water supply, no services were provided to Lower Wolvercote until after its incorporation into Oxford city in 1929.⁸⁷

About 200 palaeolithic implements were found in the later 19th century near the junction of Five Mile Drive and the Banbury road in a long disused channel of the Cherwell. The medieval field names Twisdelow and Hodelow and the 17th-century Harslow and Henslow indicate the former existence of prehistoric barrows on the higher ground in the north-east part of the parish,⁸⁸ but the first clear evidence for settlement in the area is the Romano-British pottery found near the modern Oxford bypass in the north of the parish, and on the edge of Port Meadow, which suggests an extension of the scattered agricultural settlement of that date found in North Oxford.⁸⁹ There was a Roman villa on the boundary between Cutteslowe and Water Eaton.⁹⁰ The barrow from which Cutteslowe takes its name was associated with Cutha, possibly the West Saxon leader of that name killed in 584, but it is unlikely to have been his burial place, as its later use as a robbers' hide-out suggests that it was a chambered long barrow. It was destroyed c. 1261 on the orders of the justices.⁹¹

The place name Wolvercote, Wulfgar's cottage or cottages, suggests that the settlement was at first a small and probably secondary one, but in 1086 a total of 20 tenants was recorded there.⁹² There was also, by the 12th century, a farmstead or small settlement at Wyke or Wy-croft 'farm inclosure' on a patch of flood-plain gravel on the eastern edge of Port Meadow;⁹³ the site, originally in St. Giles's parish, was later included in Godstow. In 1279 the abbess of Godstow had 33 tenants at Wolvercote, and the population of the village was swelled by some of the abbey servants.⁹⁴ As many as 144 people paid poll tax in Wolvercote and Godstow in 1377,⁹⁵ but the population had apparently declined by the early 16th century, and fell further after the Dissolution. There were only 25 tenants on the manor in 1541.⁹⁶ Forty-six men took, and one refused, the protestation oath in 1642; only 19 people paid hearth tax in Wolvercote (excluding Godstow) in 1662, and only 66 adults were recorded in the parish in 1676.⁹⁷ The population loss may have been due to the abandonment of the Walters' house at Godstow, which presumably employed a number of household servants as well as supplying work for the villagers.

Eighteenth-century curates estimated the size of the village as between 40 and 50 houses,

⁷⁸ O.R.O., County Bridge Bk. ff. 49–52; Oxon. C. C. Rep. on Toll Bridge (1873): copy in Bodl. G.A. fol. A 137.

⁷⁹ Bodl. MS. Hearne's Diaries 68, ff. ii, 232v., 236v.

⁸⁰ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Wolv. b 5, ff. 12v., 14v., 27v.; *ibid.* incl. award.

⁸¹ Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 10; Oxon. C. C. Rep. on Toll Bridge (1873): copy in Bodl. G.A. fol. A 137.

⁸² Oxon. C. C. Rep. on Toll Bridge (1873); Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 23 Oct., 27 Nov. 1790.

⁸³ Rep. on Navigation and Trade upon Thames and Isis (1793) H.C. 1st. ser. xiv, p. 233; Oxf. City Arch., P.1.14 (1), (30); P.2.16 (d); Oxf. Times, 31 Jan. 1885.

⁸⁴ H. J. Compton, Oxf. Canal, 37, 52; *idem*, 'The Link', *Jnl. Rly. and Canal Hist. Soc.* x (4), 51.

⁸⁵ E. T. Macdermot and C. R. Clinker, *Hist. G.W.R.* i. 153, 261; V.C.H. Oxon. iv. 294–5.

⁸⁶ *City of Oxf. An Illustrated Hist. [of the Omnibus Service]*, (Omnibus Soc. add. publ. 1966), 3, 5: copy in Westgate Libr.

⁸⁷ Oxf. City Arch., Y. 3. 6–7, *passim*; Southern Electricity Bd. pps. at Yarnton; V.C.H. Oxon. iv. 354.

⁸⁸ D. A. Roe, *Lower and Middle Palaeolithic Periods in Britain*, 118–28; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 334, ff. 30–1; *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, p. 380; ii, p. 423.

⁸⁹ V.C.H. Oxon. i. 298, 302, 394; iv. 5; County Mus., P.R.N. 1381, 1653, 4645.

⁹⁰ Above, Kidlington, Intro.

⁹¹ H. M. Cam, 'The Hoga of Cutteslowe', *Antiquity*, ix. 96–8; J. N. L. Myres, *Oxford Region*, 99–100; T. M. Dickinson, *Cuddesdon and Dorchester-on-Thames*, 30–5; V.C.H. Oxon. i. 356.

⁹² V.C.H. Oxon. i. 416; P.N. Oxon. (E.P.N.S.), i. 33–4.

⁹³ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* ii, p. 459.

⁹⁴ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 857; *Godstow Eng. Reg.* ii, pp. 577–9.

⁹⁵ P.R.O., E 179/202/59.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* E 318/824.

⁹⁷ *Protestation Return*, 95–6; *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 426; P.R.O., E 179/255/4.

except in 1771 when 36 houses, perhaps an accurate count, were recorded.⁹⁸ There was a considerable increase in population in the last two decades of the 18th century, probably associated with the expansion of the paper mill at that time.⁹⁹ By 1801 the 64 houses in the parish were occupied by 88 families, a total population of 341. The population rose steadily to 524 in 1831, fell to 470 in 1841, but rose again to 637 in 1851 when numbers were swollen by the temporary presence in the parish of 74 railway labourers. In 1861 the population was 617 and in 1871 it was 680, 665 in Wolvercote and 15 in Cutteslowe, figures for which had hitherto been included under Wolvercote. In the later 19th century the population rose rapidly as the north-east part of the parish was built up, reaching 1,351 in 1921, the last year for which separate figures are available.¹

No tenants were recorded at Cutteslowe in 1086, and the account of the estate in 1279 has not survived, but 6 people were assessed for subsidy in the hamlet in 1316 and 8 in 1327.² Cutteslowe, never very large, seems to have been depopulated in the later Middle Ages. Only 7 people paid poll tax there in 1377, and the hamlet was not separately assessed for 16th-century subsidies. In 1662 six houses in Cutteslowe and Godstow were returned as liable to hearth tax.³ Cutteslowe was included with Wolvercote in the earlier 19th-century censuses; in 1841 its population was 20. In 1871 it had two houses, occupied by 15 people, and the population was still only 20 in 1911. By 1921 houses had begun to be built in the township, and the population had risen to 63, but boundary changes reduced it to 62 in 1931.⁴

Wolvercote has, from the 16th century or earlier, contained two settlements, Upper Wolvercote around the church on the higher ground near the Woodstock road and Lower Wolvercote on the flood plain gravel near the mill. A house in the 'over town' was recorded in 1541; in 1542-3 there was also a 'middle town', perhaps the eastern end of the later Lower Wolvercote.⁵ The division between the two settlements became more pronounced after the building of the canal in 1789 and the railway in 1846, and was particularly sharp in the early 20th century as Upper Wolvercote was absorbed into North Oxford. In the 18th century Upper Wolvercote was a small, scattered village, most of whose houses lay on or near the later Church Lane, although there were also a few houses on the later Wolvercote Green, and the substantial St. John's College farmhouse, later Manor Farm, further north. The church stood somewhat isolated on the eastern edge of the village. The houses of Lower Wolvercote lay on either side of the road to Godstow, and of its branch leading

to Wolvercote mill. The road widened at the junction, in the west end of the village, into a small green, encroached on by 1765. By 1765 there was a cottage north of Upper Wolvercote, at the north-east corner of Goose Green, and in the early 19th century two or three others were built, besides a canal keeper's house on the west bank of the canal.⁶

Most of the older houses in both villages are of local rubble, and many probably incorporate stone from Godstow House or the abbey which preceded it. The Red Lion inn in Lower Wolvercote has above its southern ground floor window the two halves (reversed) of a late 15th-century doorway, and in the north gable of Manor Farm is a 15th-century corbel head of a king. The more substantial surviving early houses are in Upper Wolvercote. Church Farm House, west of the church, incorporates in its back wing fragments of an earlier 17th-century house, perhaps that built by Matthew Cheriton, a freeholder, who lived in a house on the site between 1625 and 1642. The front range of the house, with an external chimney in the parlour and an internal one in the dining room across the entrance passage, was built in the 18th century, perhaps by John Nicholls, one of its few owner-occupiers, between 1726 and 1742. The early 19th-century tenant, Henry Osborn, added a new and grandiose front, incorporating within it an early 16th-century doorway with a four-centred head; he probably also reset some late 16th- or early 17th-century panelling and a fireplace with overmantel in the parlour, and a smaller fireplace in the room above. The work was probably done after 1829 when Osborn, who had earlier occupied only half the house, took over the whole.⁷ Manor Farm was built by John Bell of Oxford University, on the site of an earlier house, shortly before 1636 when it was sold to St. John's College. It was refronted and otherwise improved in the early 19th century, presumably by the college tenant Richard Williams.⁸ The house was again remodelled c. 1900 when prominent attic dormers were added to the west front and a new short hall was formed; c. 1970 a large music room was added on the east. Tudor Cottage opposite Manor Farm, demolished in 1951, had a 17th-century north wing incorporating a re-used 16th-century window head from Godstow. The house was substantially altered and enlarged in the 18th century.⁹ No. 5 Wolvercote Green, another St. John's farmhouse, dates from the later 17th century. The neighbouring house, nos. 11-13 Wolvercote Green, is a large, brick-fronted farmhouse, probably built in the third quarter of the 18th century by Thomas Howell (d. 1764), a man 'of independent fortune', whose son Thomas owned it in 1765; it was altered in the earlier

⁹⁸ *Secker's Visit.* 176; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 560, f. 195; d 563, f. 187.

⁹⁹ Below, Econ.

¹ *Census*, 1801-1921; P.R.O., HO 107/1730.

² *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 409; P.R.O., E 179/161/8, 9.

³ *Deserted Villages of Oxon.* 36; P.R.O., E 179/164/504.

⁴ *Census*, 1801-1931.

⁵ *Royal Letters to Oxf.* ed. O. Ogle, 151; P.R.O., C

1/939/38.

⁶ Blenheim Mun., map of 1765; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Wolv. b 6; map of 1821; notebk. of Thomas Gregory (MS. in possession of the vicar of Wolvercote), map.

⁷ O.R.O., Dash. XVI, *passim*; XXIII/7; *ibid.* land tax assess.; Gregory notebk. p. 99.

⁸ St. John's Coll. Mun., reg. *passim*.

⁹ County Mus., P.R.N. 6366.

19th century, probably by its owner John or James Dale, a builder and farmer.¹⁰

The oldest surviving house in Lower Wolvercote is probably the 17th-century 'Nunnery Close' at the western edge of the village. It was extended in 1702 by Richard Rowland whose initials appear on a datestone at the east end of the north wall. From 1764 to 1786 the house was a public house, the Crown, later the Cow; in the early 19th century it was divided into two and then three dwellings, but was occupied as a single house in 1884.¹¹ No. 11 Mill Road was built by the miller, John Beckford, c. 1700; in 1757 it was sold to the first of a series of brewers, and from 1771 was certainly an alehouse. From 1774 to 1821 or later it was the Boot, by 1834 it was the Crown; it closed c. 1837 and was thereafter occupied as a private house.¹² Two of the surviving public houses, the White Hart and the Red Lion, facing the small green in the centre of the village, are both of the mid 18th century. Many of the houses on Godstow Road are also of 18th-century origin; no. 67 has in a ground-floor room some re-used 17th-century panelling, presumably from Godstow House. No. 139 is part of a former workshop, built originally in the early 18th century and converted into a dwelling house c. 1800.¹³ Most of the houses in Mill Road are of the 19th century; they include a good terrace (nos. 1-7) of rubble cottages with wood lintels. Other 19th-century houses, mostly of brick, are scattered among the earlier cottages in Godstow Road. Bedford House (no. 102), by contrast, is a substantial late Victorian villa, of ashlar, and nos. 85 and 87 are a pair of semi-detached middle class houses.

Behind nos. 85 and 87 Godstow Road is the Rookery, a block of 8 small back-to-back houses, built in the 1880s or 1890s; each had one room downstairs and two small rooms upstairs, with a wash-house and privy in the garden.¹⁴ A similar block to the west has been demolished. Cyprus Terrace, just south of the church in Upper Wolvercote is another late 19th-century terrace of workers' houses, slightly larger than those in the Rookery and not back-to-back.

West of Toll Bridge, on land considered part of Godstow not Wolvercote, is a small group of late 19th-century houses, built on an encroachment from the road. By the Thames at Godstow bridge is the Trout inn, dating from the 17th and 18th centuries. The first recorded house on the site seems to have been occupied by fishermen who leased the fishing from successive lords of Godstow and Wolvercote, but it was probably an inn by 1625 when the mayor of Oxford and his party lunched there on their way

round the city franchises.¹⁵ From 1707 onwards the house, which was within the boundaries of Oxford, was licensed by the city magistrates. Some additions seem to have been made to the house in 1720, using stone from the former abbey grange north of the road, but in 1737 it was almost entirely rebuilt by the tenant, Jeremiah Bishop, leaving only one room, on the south side, from the former building.¹⁶ In the early 20th century an elaborate garden was laid out on the island opposite the house.

From the late 19th century the land along the Woodstock and Banbury roads was steadily built up as part of the development of North Oxford. From 1902 onwards, but particularly in the 1930s, the dukes of Marlborough leased or sold their land in the east part of the parish for building, and other landowners, notably the owner of Cutteslowe farm, did the same.¹⁷ Houses were also built in Lower Wolvercote, but because of the railway and the canal that has remained distinct from North Oxford.

Their nearness to Oxford made Wolvercote, Godstow, and to a lesser extent Cutteslowe, popular with undergraduates and Oxford citizens. Anthony Wood recorded visits to alehouses at Cutteslowe and Godstow in the 1660s and 1670s. In 1662 undergraduates rescuing a comrade from the stocks at Wolvercote (where he had been put for stealing a goose from Port Meadow) broke all the windows in the village.¹⁸ Eighteenth-century undergraduates, perhaps more decorously, played skittles at Wolvercote and Godstow, and Jeremiah Bishop, the inn-keeper at Godstow, was said at his death in 1771 to have been 'well known to most of the gentlemen who have been members of this university within the last 50 years'; Woodforde visited the inn on several occasions, referring to Bishop as 'old Jerry'.¹⁹ Three or four alehouses (excluding the Trout, then called Godstow House, which was within the city) were usually licensed in Wolvercote parish in the mid 18th century. In 1774 they were the Red Lion, the Boot, and two called the Crown. The Blue Boy, later the Green Man and finally the White Hart in Lower Wolvercote, first appeared by that name in 1782, although a former owner had been licensed to sell ale in 1771. The Plough, on the green in Upper Wolvercote, first appeared by that name in 1812 and may have been new then; the house was rebuilt in 1840.²⁰ In 1984 there were three public houses in the village, the Plough, the Red Lion, and the White Hart; none of them has ever achieved the popularity of the Trout.

In most years between 1680 and 1880 horse races were held on Port Meadow; in the earlier

¹⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 134/2/47; 34/2/11; *ibid.* incl. award; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Wolv. b 6, map of 1821; Blenheim Mun., E/P/12; *ibid.* map of 1765; P.R.O., HO 107/890.

¹¹ Blenheim Mun., box 151; *ibid.* map of 1765; O.R.O., vctrls' recogs.; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Wolv. b 6, map of 1821.

¹² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Hall's Brewery c 51, nos. 7-8; *ibid.* vctrls' recogs.; incl. award; MS. d.d. Par. Wolv. b 6, map of 1821; Blenheim Mun., map of 1765; *ibid.* E/P/12.

¹³ County Mus., P.R.N. 6656: unpublished pp. on Wolvercote houses by Arnold Pacey.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Oxf. Council Acts 1583-1626*, ed. H. E. Salter, p. 425.

¹⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 334, f. 2; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Dew

c 38; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 178, f. 192v.; St. John's Coll. Mun., LXXXIX.A. 13; Oxf. City Arch., N.4.4.; N.4.5.; Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 10; Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 22 May, 1771; *Hearne's Colln.* vii (O.H.S. xlviii), 203.

¹⁷ Blenheim Mun., modern sales; O.R.O., CJ IX/xiv/4; inf. from Oxford City Solicitor.

¹⁸ *Wood's Life*, i (O.H.S. xix), 457; ii (O.H.S. xxi), 151, 177, 189-91.

¹⁹ *Studies in Oxf. Hist.* (O.H.S. xli), 78; Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 22 May 1771; *Woodforde at Oxf.* (O.H.S. N.S. xxi), 9, 137, 142, 145.

²⁰ O.R.O., vctrls' recogs.; Gregory notebk. p. 5.

19th century the churchwardens of Wolvercote took toll from those attending.²¹ Another annual event was the Whitsun Ale, which continued, probably unofficially, until 1772 or later, the churchwardens on two occasions paying for 'crying the Whitsun Ale down.' In the later 19th century the Foresters' Friendly Society held its annual festival on Whit Monday, with a church service, cricket match, and entertainment.²²

Godstow was made famous from the late 12th century by its association with 'fair Rosamund', the daughter of Walter Clifford and mistress of Henry II, who was buried there in the late 1170s. Her tomb, originally in the chancel but moved out of the church on the orders of St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, was destroyed at the Dissolution, but its supposed site was shown to visitors into the 19th century. A hazel tree on the site of the tomb, which was said to produce nuts with no kernels, was the subject of a sonnet by Robert Southey.²³

Wolvercote, like the other villages around Oxford, suffered in the Civil War. Royalist troops, including the artillery, were billeted there in 1643 and 1644, and part of the mill was adapted for grinding sword blades.²⁴ The outbreak of 'morbus campestris' in the summer of 1643 spread from Oxford to Wolvercote, where 21 people, including 2 soldiers, died in June, July, and August. Mortality was again high in 1644, perhaps because of plague.²⁵ In September 1644 parliamentary troops from Banbury attempting to arrest 'a gentleman of quality', perhaps David Walter, attacked the village on a Sunday morning. They disrupted the church service and took the duke of York's dwarf but failed to capture their main quarry.²⁶ David Walter fortified Godstow House for the king, but evacuated it in May 1645. Although he fired the house, it was not completely destroyed and the parliamentary forces were able to occupy it for a time.²⁷ A coin hoard buried in or shortly after 1646 testifies to the continuing fears and uncertainties in the parish.²⁸

Wolvercote was the scene of an early flying accident in 1912 when two officers of the Royal Flying Corps were killed near Toll Bridge. They are commemorated by a large marble plaque at the north-east end of the bridge. An airfield was built on the north end of Port Meadow during the First World War, and the site was used for a short time in the Second World War as a military camp.²⁹

SITE AND REMAINS OF GODSTOW ABBEY. Godstow abbey was built on an island between streams of the Thames given to the foundress c. 1133 by John of St. John. The site was enlarged in 1139 by John's grant of a further piece of land in front of the church (or abbey) gate, probably the site across Godstow bridge on which the abbey's grange was later built.³⁰ At the Dissolution the site was granted to Henry VIII's physician, George Owen.³¹ It was sold, with the rest of Owen's Wolvercote property, to Sir John Walter in 1616, and descended in his family until 1702 when Sir John's great-grandson, another Sir John Walter, sold Godstow to Montagu Bertie, earl of Abingdon.³² Most of the estate, including the grange and its surrounding land, was sold to John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, in 1710, but the site of the main abbey buildings remained in the possession of successive earls of Abingdon until 1902 when it was sold to J. T. Dodd. Dodd sold it in 1921 to trustees for R. W. Ffennell of Wytham Abbey, who in 1924 gave the site to Oxford University, on trusts to preserve the ruins for the nation.³³

A church, and presumably the chief monastic buildings, had been built on the northern part of the site by 1139 when the church was consecrated; two wooden buildings of about that date, on the line of the modern Wolvercote–Wytham road, were excavated in 1959 north-west of a surviving wall.³⁴ Water was supplied by a conduit from Wytham.³⁵ The abbey was enlarged or rebuilt between 1176 and 1188 when Henry II gave a total of £258, including £100 for the church, 40,000 shingles, 4,000 laths, and a large amount of timber.³⁶ Following a serious flood in the mid 13th century the buildings near the Wolvercote–Wytham road were rebuilt on a slightly different alignment, and fragments of masonry found in the Thames suggest that work continued throughout the 13th century and the earlier 14th.³⁷ In 1423 the frater was in need of repair, and in 1445 the conduit.³⁸ The earliest of the surviving walls appear to be of the 15th or 16th century.

The abbey buildings were converted into Godstow House by George Owen, and occupied by him and his successors until 1645, when the house was severely damaged in the Civil War.³⁹ Thereafter the site was used as a quarry for building stone. The following attempt at a reconstruction of the medieval buildings is based mainly on drawings, of doubtful accuracy, made

²¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 429; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Wolv. b 5, ff. 77v.–84.

²² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Wolv. b 5, ff. 12v., 17v.; *Par. Mag.*: copy in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. 8° 593.

²³ *D.N.B.*; *Hearne's Colln.* ii (O.H.S. vii), 393; *N. & Q.* 5th ser. xi. 328.

²⁴ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1641–3, p. 501; 1625–49, 661; *Royalist Ordnance Pps.* (O.R.S. xliii), 28.

²⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Wolv. b 1; cf. *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 82.

²⁶ *Mercurius Aulicus*, 1 Sept. 1644, p. 1143.

²⁷ *Letter Bks. of Sir Sam. Luke* (Beds. Rec. Soc. xlii), p. 545; *Wood's Life*, ii, p. 449; F. Madan, *Oxf. Books*, ii, p. 395.

²⁸ C. H. V. Sutherland, 'A Wolvercote Coin Hoard', *Oxoniensia*, ii. 101–2.

²⁹ R. Com. on Common Land, *Min. of Evid.* xiv (H.M.S.O. 1957), 473–4.

³⁰ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 27–9; for the date see *V.C.H.*

Oxon. ii. 71; for a discussion of the buildings see D. Ganz, 'The buildings of Godstow Nunnery', *Oxoniensia*, xxxvii. 150–7.

³¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 178.

³² Below, Manors.

³³ *Blenheim Mun.*, box 149; *Oxf. Univ. Arch.*, SEP 31 2.

³⁴ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, p. 28; *Oxoniensia*, xxxvii. 150.

³⁵ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 44–5.

³⁶ *Pipe R.* 1176 (P.R.S. xxv), 131; 1177 (P.R.S. xxvi), 13, 26, 64; 1178 (P.R.S. xxvii), 119; 1185 (P.R.S. xxxiv), 29; 1186 (P.R.S. xxxvi), 117; 1188 (P.R.S. xxxviii), 150.

³⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 313, pp. 358–9; *Oxoniensia*, xxxvii. 151; *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, p. xxii.

³⁸ *Visit. Religious Hos.*, i (L.R.S. vii), 66–8; ii (L.R.S. xiv), 114.

³⁹ *Blenheim Mun.*, box 150; *Letter Bk. of Sir Sam. Luke* (Beds. Rec. Soc. xlii), p. 545; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 502, f. 84; above, Intro.

in 1660 and 1718 and on descriptions of 1666 and 1718.⁴⁰

The abbey precincts were entered by the Wolvercote–Wytham road, which ran through the outer court. The two-storeyed main gatehouse, facing east, had a large gate for carts and a smaller one beside it for pedestrians; they led into the outer court, on the north side of which was a range of buildings, probably those for the chaplains and lay brothers recorded in the late 13th century.⁴¹ Near the western end of the range was St. Thomas's chapel, which seems to have served as a church for the abbey servants,⁴² and, beyond it, lodging for a priest. The guest house was presumably also in the outer court, perhaps on the west. On the south side of the court was the 'nunnery', probably the separate lodgings for the nuns, some at least of which opened directly into the outer court in 1432.⁴³ South-east of the outer court was the abbey church, with the cloister and associated buildings on the south. Part of the north-west tower of the church, perhaps of 13th-century date, survived into the late 18th century.⁴⁴ The rest of the church had completely disappeared by 1660, probably demolished by George Owen immediately after the Dissolution. The lady chapel was recorded c. 1276, but an altar of the Virgin Mary, perhaps in a new or rebuilt lady chapel, was consecrated in 1323.⁴⁵ Large numbers of burials have been found north, south, and east of the presumed site of the church. Finds of tiles in the modern river bank east of the site of the tower suggest that the buildings extended as far east as the new cut made in 1780 and enlarged in 1885.⁴⁶

In the cloister court were the chapter house, recorded in 1386, and the dorter and frater, both recorded in 1432.⁴⁷ In 1666 there seem to have been three buildings, two of two storeys and one of three, in the west range of the court, but they probably represent Owen's remodelling rather than the convent buildings. In the south-east corner a small, originally late 15th-century, building survived in 1984. Anthony Wood identified it as the chapel of St. Leonard and recorded that the three lights of the east window had been filled with pictures of St. Leonard and of two early 16th-century abbesses, Isabel or Elizabeth Brainton (d. 1517) and Margaret Tewkesbury (res. 1535).⁴⁸ The building has been suggested as the chapel of the abbess's lodging, but since that lodging was used to entertain visitors⁴⁹ it is unlikely to have been in

the cloister court. The chapel follows the plan of a domestic chapel, with access into a gallery from the upper floor of an adjoining building (now totally disappeared), and it may, as Hearne suggested in 1718, have been converted from a domestic building into a private chapel after the Dissolution.⁵⁰ The kitchen presumably lay behind the cloister, perhaps at the south-west corner where a building platform, rather massive for the later outbuilding on the site, survived in 1984. The infirmary may have been separate, perhaps west of the cloisters where building stone and roof tiles were turned up by ploughing in 1971.⁵¹ The whole site, including the gardens and orchards recorded in the later 13th century and possibly the fishponds, which may have lain on swampy ground north-west of the lock-cut bridge,⁵² was surrounded by a precinct wall which extended, on the south at least, from one stream of the Thames to another; the closure of a back gate c. 1535 caused the abbey's 'neighbours', presumably from Oxford, to make a 2-mile detour to reach the abbey.⁵³ In 1535 there was a 4-a. close within the precinct.⁵⁴

David Walter was taxed on only one hearth in 1662, and by 1666 the surviving buildings, the tower, the south and west ranges of the cloisters, the gatehouse, and part of the north range of the outer court, were in ruins. By 1710 only a plain gateway and one side of the tower survived outside the remodelled precinct wall, and within it only one arch of the cloisters, the lower part of the walls of the building or buildings in the west range, and the south-east chapel.⁵⁵ In 1718 many of the surviving walls were being demolished for their stone, and in 1720 most of the abbey grange, across the Thames to the north-east, was demolished and the stone used to extend the house, later the Trout inn, that lay to the south.⁵⁶ A high wind blew down some of the ruins in 1764, and the remains of the tower were last recorded in 1783.⁵⁷ In the mid 18th century the site was an orchard,⁵⁸ and some of the surviving ditches may have been made or altered at that period. In the 19th and 20th centuries the ruins were used as a pound at the annual drives of Port Meadow, and the precinct wall was probably partially rebuilt; the well surrounded by a square wall which stood near the centre of the inclosure until the 1950s may have been made for the use of the pound.⁵⁹

In 1984 most of the west wall had disappeared. Of the surviving walls, only the south and the remaining part of the west appeared to

⁴⁰ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B 408, before f. 1: reproduced in *Wood's Life*, i (O.H.S. xix), facing p. 346; *ibid.* MS. Gough Maps 26, between pp. 64 & 65; *ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. b 123, f. 66; *Wood's Life*, i, 338–9, 344–6; *Hearne's Colln.* ii (O.H.S. vii), 393.

⁴¹ *Reg. Epist. J. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 850.

⁴² Below, Church.

⁴³ *Visit. Religious Hos.*, i, 67.

⁴⁴ *Gent. Mag.* liii (1), 462; *Torrington Diaries*, i, 6.

⁴⁵ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, p. 273; *Lincs. R.O.*, *Episc. Reg.* v, f. 79v.

⁴⁶ *County Mus.*, P.R.N. 1678; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 309, f. 20; *Hearne's Colln.* vi (O.H.S. xliii), 227–8; *Oxoniensia*, viii/ix, 197; xxxvii, 155.

⁴⁷ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* ii, p. 367; *Visit. Religious Hos.*, i, 66–8.

⁴⁸ *Wood's Life*, i, 338.

⁴⁹ *Reg. Epist. J. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 848; *Visit.*

Religious Hos., i, 66.

⁵⁰ *Hearne's Colln.* vi (O.H.S. xliii), 172.

⁵¹ *County Mus.*, P.R.N. 1678.

⁵² *Inf.* from Mr. D. G. Wilson.

⁵³ *Reg. Epist. J. Peckham*, iii, 848; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xi, p. 227; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 18/2; air photo, 1981: copy in Westgate Libr.

⁵⁴ P.R.O., SC 11/550; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 191.

⁵⁵ P.R.O., E 179/164/504; *Hearne's Colln.* ii (O.H.S. vii), 393; T. Hearne, *Account of Some Antiquities in and about Oxf.* (1711), 76.

⁵⁶ *Hearne's Colln.* vi (O.H.S. xliii), 227–8; vii (O.H.S. xlviii), 203.

⁵⁷ *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 14 Jan. 1764; *Torrington Diaries*, i, 6; *Gent. Mag.* liii (1), 462.

⁵⁸ J. Collinson, *Beauties of Brit. Antiq.* 242.

⁵⁹ *County Mus.*, P.R.N. 1678; air photo, 1981: copy in Westgate Libr.

be medieval.⁶⁰ The western part of the north wall, which incorporated the remains of a barn or other outbuilding, was not shown on the drawings of 1666 or 1718 and may therefore be of the 18th or 19th century. In its eastern part, however, the north wall incorporates the buttress of a 14th-century building. The east wall, which is of varying thickness, may date from George Owen's remodelling of the monastic buildings. The walls and part of the window tracery of the south-east chapel also survived in 1984.

MANORS AND OTHER ESTATES. Roger d'Ivri held *WOLVERCOTE* in 1086, and Godfrey held of him.⁶¹ There is no further record of the under-tenancy, and d'Ivri's successors probably held in demesne. The manor descended with the rest of Roger d'Ivri's lands in the county and in the early 12th century was held by Reynold of St. Valery and John of St. John.⁶² About 1180 Reynold's son Bernard of St. Valery granted Wolvercote to Henry II who gave it to Godstow abbey.⁶³ The abbey held the manor until the Dissolution, and in 1541 it was sold to George Owen, Henry VIII's physician.⁶⁴ George Owen died in 1558 and was succeeded by his son Richard and by Richard's son George who in 1616 sold the manor to Sir John Walter of Sarsden, chief baron of the Exchequer.⁶⁵ Walter settled the manor on his second wife Anne and the children of that marriage, with remainder to his son David, who inherited when Anne died childless in 1636.⁶⁶ David was succeeded in 1679 by his nephew Sir William Walter (d. 1693), from whom the manor passed to his son Sir John. In 1710 Sir John Walter sold Wolvercote to John Churchill, duke of Marlborough.⁶⁷ A later duke of Marlborough sold most of his land in the parish in 1884, and although he apparently retained the lordship of the manor, by that date manorial rights had lapsed.⁶⁸

About 1133 John of St. John granted Edith, the first abbess, the land called *GODSTOW* on which she had built her abbey, and soon afterwards he, Reynold of St. Valery, and the citizens of Oxford added other land on the edge of Port Meadow.⁶⁹ At the Dissolution the estate was bought by George Owen and, apart from land near Port Meadow sold by Richard Owen in 1611 and 1613, passed with Wolvercote to the

Walters. In 1702 Sir John Walter sold Godstow, then described as a manor, to Montagu Bertie, earl of Abingdon, who in 1710 sold the manor, but not the site of the abbey, to John Churchill, duke of Marlborough.⁷⁰ The estate was sold with the duke's lands in Wolvercote in 1884.⁷¹

Two hides at *CUTTESLOWE* were confirmed to St. Frideswide's minster in Oxford in 1004, and in 1086 Siward held the estate of the canons.⁷² The land passed to the Augustinian priory of St. Frideswide and, on the suppression of that house in 1525, to Cardinal College.⁷³ After Cardinal Wolsey's attainder Cutteslowe passed, with most of the rest of his college's endowments, to Henry VIII's College until its surrender in 1545.⁷⁴ Cutteslowe was then sold to Richard Andrews who sold it to Edward Glynton and Nicholas Todd, acting for the city of Oxford. In 1555 the city sold it to John Coxhead and John Clarke.⁷⁵ In 1574 Henry Coxhead and Henry Clarke, presumably the heirs of John Coxhead and John Clarke, sold Cutteslowe to John Chamberlain and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of George Owen of Godstow.⁷⁶ Chamberlain sold the estate in 1577 to Anthony Borne of Sarsden who c. 1588 sold it to William Lenthall, grandfather of William Lenthall, Speaker of the Long Parliament.⁷⁷ Between 1611 and 1625 Lenthall's grandson John sold Cutteslowe to Sir John Walter of Sarsden.⁷⁸

The Walters held Cutteslowe, with Wolvercote and Godstow, until the beginning of the 18th century when Sir John Walter sold the estate piecemeal. The main portion was sold in 1703 to William Breach, who divided it into two parts, both of which were acquired by Christ Church, one part in 1729 under the will of Dr. William Stratford and the other in 1737 from John Lyon.⁷⁹ Two closes (c. 22 a.) were sold to Dr. Robert South of Islip for the endowment of his school there; they were sold to the city of Oxford by the dean and chapter of Westminster, trustees of the charity, in 1938.⁸⁰ Most of the remaining land in Cutteslowe was sold to the duke of Marlborough in 1710.⁸¹ The dukes retained it until 1811 when it was sold to or exchanged with Francis Gregory (d. 1841), formerly of Hordley in Wootton.⁸² It passed to Francis's son Thomas, and to Thomas's three daughters who sold it in 1918 to R. J. Soden, trustee for W. A. Soden. W. A. Soden's son, L.

⁶⁰ R. Com. Hist. Mons. Oxf. 156.

⁶¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 416.

⁶² *Ibid.* v. 60; *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 27-9.

⁶³ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, p. 30; ii, p. 661.

⁶⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 191; *Royal Letters Addressed to Oxford*, ed. O. Ogle, 149-52; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, p. 642.

⁶⁵ *Blenheim Mun.*, box 150.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; *P.R.O.*, C 142/500, no. 36.

⁶⁷ *Blenheim Mun.*, box 150; Burke, *Ext. & Dorm. Baronetcies* (1844), 184, 549.

⁶⁸ *Sale Cat.* 1884: copy in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b 92** (71).

⁶⁹ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 27, 29, 380-1; *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii. 71.

⁷⁰ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 178; *Blenheim Mun.*, box 149.

⁷¹ *Sale Cat.* 1884.

⁷² *Cart. St. Frid.* i, p. 3; *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 409.

⁷³ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, pp. 655, 753, 888.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* v, p. 587; *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii. 32.

⁷⁵ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xx (2), p. 220; W. H. Turner, *Oxf. City Rec.* 1509-1583, pp. 227-8, 232.

⁷⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1572-5, p. 328; *Oxon. Visit.* (Harl. Soc. v), 127.

⁷⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1575-8, p. 237; *P.R.O.*, CP 25(2)/197/Mich. 33-4 Eliz., no. 21; *ibid.* C 66/1371; Sawyer papers (in possession of Mr. R. Sawyer, Water Eaton Manor, Kidlington); *Oxon. Visit.* 199-200, 318. The suggestion, in Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 47, 107, that the Speaker's father held Cutteslowe, is incorrect; the Speaker was the son of Sir William's younger son, William: *D.N.B.*; *Alum. Oxon.* 1500-1714, iii. 902.

⁷⁸ *O.R.O.*, Mor. XXIV/2; Bodl. MS. Dep. d 72, f. 179.

⁷⁹ *Blenheim Mun.*, box 150; *P.R.O.*, C 78/1787, no. 5; Ch. Arch., MS. Estates 69, ff. 1-2, 4, 13.

⁸⁰ *Blenheim Mun.*, box 150; inf. from the Oxf. City Solicitor.

⁸¹ *Blenheim Mun.*, box 150.

⁸² *O.R.O.*, land tax assess.; *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 265.

V. E. Soden, sold some land for development in 1931 and the remainder to the city of Oxford in 1936.⁸³

Two small estates in Wolvercote derived from land sold by the younger George Owen. A farm bought by John Bell in 1611 was acquired in 1636 by St. John's College, which retained the land, exchanged for c. 46 a. at inclosure in 1834, until much of it was sold for building in the earlier 20th century.⁸⁴ Between 1693 and 1703 John Bishop or his executors acquired a total of more than 3 yardlands and 5 closes which had been sold in three parcels by George Owen in 1610 and 1611. In 1742 John Bishop's son, another John, sold the land to Worcester College, which still held it in 1984.⁸⁵

The great tithes of Wolvercote passed to Merton College when the college appropriated the mother church of St. Peter-in-the-East in 1294.⁸⁶ The tithes were still owed in kind in 1795, and at inclosure in 1834 the college was allotted c. 73 a. for great tithes;⁸⁷ it retained most of the land in 1984. The tithes of Roger d'Ivri's demesne in Wolvercote were granted to St. George's in the Castle, Oxford, before c. 1130, and passed with the other possessions of that house to Oseney abbey, which took tithes from Wolvercote in 1239,⁸⁸ but there is no later record of Oseney's interest in Wolvercote.

ECONOMIC HISTORY. St. Frideswide's estate at Cutteslowe was administered independently of Wolvercote from the Middle Ages; its economic organization is described below. There is no early evidence for the open fields of Wolvercote, which seem to have been completely reorganized in the later Middle Ages, probably in the later 14th century, when Godstow abbey consolidated much of its demesne land in Wolvercote and St. Giles's parish into a single block of land straddling the parish boundary. An exchange of land with St. Frideswide's priory in 1358 may have been part of the process: in return for land at Ailmerswell, Horestone, and Hawsland ditch in the north end of St. Giles's, Godstow gave to St. Frideswide's its land in St. Clement's parish and at Twisdelowe (40 a. in 1545) in the north-east corner of Wolvercote field. The 9½ a. titheable to Water Eaton in 1765, which bore no relation to the 18th-century furlongs, may have been part of Twisdelowe.⁸⁹ By the 1380s most of Godstow's land in St. Giles's was consolidated in the north end of that parish, one close extending into Wolvercote, and at the Dissolution the demesne in both parishes lay mainly in a large block of land extending from the Cherwell to Port Meadow.⁹⁰

Most of the land between the Woodstock road and the Cherwell (over 250 a.) was sold to George and William Ryves between 1611 and 1614, and was thereafter included in St. Giles's parish.⁹¹

In 1636 the open field arable, on the higher ground in the east, was divided into four fields: Blindwell (107 a.), Churchcroft (119 a.), Fries (101 a.), and Cowhill (75 a.). West of Cowhill field and north of Lower Wolvercote village was Wolvercote Leys (36 a.), presumably former arable and perhaps including the mill furlong recorded c. 1540.⁹² The field boundaries remained the same until inclosure in 1834, but the furlongs in Cowhill and Fries fields were considerably altered between 1731 and 1765, their total number being reduced from 8 to 7 in Fries field and increased from 4 to 5 in Cowhill field. The name of Churchcroft field had been changed to Horslow field by 1765, and in 1811 the four fields were, unusually, called North, South, East, and West.⁹³ The arrangement of the fields or furlongs for crop rotation before the 19th century is not known, but in 1592 a tenant had wheat in King's Bush furlong and barley at Fuller's Well, both in Churchcroft field,⁹⁴ suggesting that at that date the furlongs rather than the fields were the units of rotation. In 1832 Upper and Lower Churchcroft furlongs were cultivated with Cowhill field, Horslow field was sown with two separate crops, and only part of Fries field was arable.⁹⁵

There was extensive meadow along the streams of the Thames in the south and west. In 1086 there were 120 a. of meadow, excluding Port Meadow which was described under Oxford.⁹⁶ Among the original endowments of Godstow abbey were 3 hams of meadow (Boieham, Henringesham and Wereham, the last by King's Weir), Lambey in the south-east, and part of Pixey in the north; Northmead, later Wolvercote Mead, was recorded between 1236 and 1247.⁹⁷ At the Dissolution, Godstow held 40 customary acres in Pixey and 25 in South Mead, both commonable after hay harvest, and 31 a. in small inclosed meadows or hams along the eastern edge of Port Meadow and in Wolvercote Mead.⁹⁸ Wolvercote Mead (96 a.) was lot meadow in 1583 and remained so until 1696 when it was divided permanently among 11 landowners and tenants, the largest allotment (39½ a.) being made to the lord of the manor, Sir John Walter. The meadow remained common from 21 September to 24 February.⁹⁹

The pasture 6 furlongs by 3½ furlongs recorded in 1086 presumably included the later Wolvercote Moor and Hurst, then more clearly divided from Port Meadow than they were later.

⁸³ Inf. from the Oxf. City Solicitor.

⁸⁴ St. John's Coll. Mun., XXIX. 2-16.

⁸⁵ Worcester Coll. Mun., boxes 35, F.

⁸⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 398.

⁸⁷ O.R.O., unref. misc. pps. from Dioc. Registry, estimate of value of Islip char. school lands, 1795; *ibid.* incl. award.

⁸⁸ *Oxf. Charters*, ed. H. E. Salter, no. 58.

⁸⁹ *Cart. St. Frid.* i, p. 472; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xx, p. 220; *Blenheim Mun.*, map of 1765.

⁹⁰ *Early Hist. St. John's Coll.* (O.H.S. N.S. i), 511, 514, 524.

⁹¹ St. John's Coll. Mun., LXXXIX. A, *passim*.

⁹² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 334, ff. 27-53; P.R.O., SC 11/550.

⁹³ *Blenheim Mun.*, box 150; *ibid.* E/P/12; St. John's Coll. Mun., XXIX. 22.

⁹⁴ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 189, f. 239.

⁹⁵ *Oxf. City Arch.*, N.3.9: meeting 23 Jan. 1832.

⁹⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 398 (*re* Port Meadow), 416, and below.

⁹⁷ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* ii, p. 573; B.L. Add. Ch. 10639.

⁹⁸ P.R.O., SC 11/550.

⁹⁹ Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 231; O.R.O., Dash. XVI/i/a/24.

By 1636 the amount of pasture had been increased by the conversion of 36 a. of former arable at Wolvercote Leys. The leys had been increased to 45 a. by 1765, but the extra land had been acquired by improved drainage in the south part of the leys not by further conversion from the arable.¹

In 1086 Wolvercote was said to contain land for 6 ploughteams although only 5 were recorded, 1 on the demesne and 4 on the tenants' land. In 1279 a total of 28½ yardlands, 8 in demesne, 20 in villeinage, and ½ yardland freehold, were recorded, suggesting an increase, particularly in the demesne arable.² The inclosure of the demesne in the later Middle Ages seems to have been for pasture, although Shepen piece and part of Hudlowe, on the Woodstock road, were arable in 1482.³ At the Dissolution there were 121 a. of inclosed pasture in demesne, most of it on the west side of the Woodstock road; tenants held a total of 22½ yardlands: 17 yardlands copyhold, 1¾ yardlands at will, and 3¾ yardlands and an unspecified amount of other land, presumably former demesne, on lease.⁴ By 1636, however, there were 26¾ yardlands, 14½ yardlands copyhold, 1¾ leasehold, and 10½ freehold, and later 18th-century rates were levied on 26¾ yardlands. The increase in the number of yardlands between 1541 and 1636 was presumably due to alienation of parts of the demesne not measured in yardlands in 1541. There is no evidence for their size until 1636 when yardlands ranged from 25 customary acres of arable to 13, averaging 19 a., smaller than in some neighbouring parishes; some quarter yardlands contained as little as 1½ a.⁵

The 16th-century field names Shepen piece, Ox leys, Lamb leys, and Cow leys⁶ suggest the importance of sheep and cattle in the later Middle Ages, at least on the demesne, but in 1408–9 Godstow's bailiff sowed a total of 465 a. of demesne land in Wolvercote and Walton with dredge (275 a.), wheat (145 a.), and pulse (47 a.); no oats were sown that year but 64 qr. were bought. The livestock comprised horses and cattle, including 40 bullocks, but much of the abbey's meadow and pasture had been leased to tenants. The only grain sold was 39 qr. of dredge; presumably the rest was used in the abbey, some certainly for the wages of the abbey's servants who included 7 ploughmen, 4 carters (3 at Godstow and 1 at Walton), 2 reapers, 2 shepherds, a cowherd, and a dairyman.⁷ By c. 1540 the demesne had been considerably reduced, comprising 540 a. in all, and the meadow and pasture were all in hand.⁸ In 1636, after the sale to George and William Ryves of

over 250 a. east of the Woodstock road, the remaining demesne meadow or pasture comprised c. 70 a. in closes on or near the site of the monastery, 53 a. of Lammas land in Pixey mead, and 160 a. on the west side of the Woodstock road.⁹

Sixteenth- and 17th-century inventories¹⁰ suggest a mixture of arable and dairy farming on the tenants' land, most testators having a few cows and some cheese-making equipment. John Howell in 1683 had 22 cows, at £126 his most valuable asset, Richard Hall in 1680 had 41, worth only £87, and Richard Collins's herd, worth £64 in 1662, was presumably also large. At least 11 people had sheep, one as many as 124, but only two of them, one with a flock of 19, the other with 10, had any wool. Mary Hall (d. 1715) had 27 cows and a bull, worth £108, as well as 61 sheep. Three people kept bees. The usual crops were wheat, maslin, barley, and beans or pulse, although rye, oats, vetch, and peas were also grown and two men left hemp. The inventories imply that the four-course rotation of (1) fallow, (2) wheat, (3) beans, (4) barley recorded in 1832¹¹ was already being followed. In 1636 all but six of the houses in the parish had orchards. Some of the land near the river was planted with osiers and other bushes, and there may still have been some trees on Wolvercote Hurst. In 1502 a Wolvercote man supplied a fellow of All Souls College with nearly 600 bundles of firewood, and in 1650 two osier hams were leased to an Oxford basket-maker.¹²

There was some conversion of former demesne pasture to arable in the late 17th century and the 18th. A lease of 1687 gave liberty to plough Hudleys, and 10 a. or 12 a. of Gravel Pits had been ploughed by 1696. In 1765 there were 143 a. along the Woodstock road under plough.¹³

In 1832 the stint for Wolvercote leys was one cow for every estimated acre, in force from the first Monday in September until 11 November when the leys were stocked with sheep without stint. The fields were similarly stocked with sheep without stint, but never with cows. Only those with land in the common fields, the meadows, or the leys enjoyed rights of common; owners of old inclosures only had no such rights.¹⁴

Wolvercote also had rights of common on Port Meadow, derived from vicinage and, perhaps, from the close connexion with Godstow abbey, whose site, like Port Meadow itself, was within the ridden boundary of Oxford and may thus once have been part of the burgesses' common pasture.¹⁵ In 1279 Godstow was said to include Port Meadow, common to all who

¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 416; *Blenheim Mun.*, E/P/12; *Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon.* c. 334, ff. 51–3.

² *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 416; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 857.

³ *St. John's Coll. Mun.*, XI. 9, 6.

⁴ *P.R.O.*, SC 11/550; *ibid.* E 318/824.

⁵ *O.R.O.*, MS. d.d. Par. Wolvercote b 5; *Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon.* 334, ff. 7–25.

⁶ *P.R.O.*, SC 11/550.

⁷ *St. John's Coll. Mun.*, V. B. 15 (ii).

⁸ *P.R.O.*, SC 11/550; *ibid.* E 318/824.

⁹ *Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon.* c. 334, ff. 1–5; *Blenheim Mun.*, E/P/12.

¹⁰ *Oxon. Inventories* (O.R.S. xlv), pp. 223–6; *O.R.O.*,

MSS. Wills Oxon. 179, f. 230; 180, f. 144v.; 184, f. 28v.; 189, f. 239; *ibid.* 17/4/23; 17/4/35; 18/2/11; 30/1/41; 31/3/32; 34/1/33; 34/2/11; 50/2/22; 78/1/51; 133/4/42; 144/1/14; 159/4/15; 297/3/64; 297/4/113; cf. *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c. 23, ff. 16v.–18v., 30–1.

¹¹ *St. John's Coll. Mun.*, XXIX. 27 (vi).

¹² *Reg. Canc. 1498–1506* (O.H.S. N.S. xxvii), 140–1; *Bodl. MS. d.d. Dew* c. 38.

¹³ *Blenheim Mun.*, box 149; *ibid.* E/P/12.

¹⁴ *Oxf. City Arch.*, N. 3. 9: meeting 24 May 1832; *St. John's Coll. Mun.*, XXIX. 27(vi).

¹⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 260.

wished to common there.¹⁶ In 1493, however, the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford seized 10 cattle which William Thornbury of Wolvercote had put on the meadow, successfully showing that Port Meadow was part of Oxford, not of Wolvercote, and the city won a similar dispute with Richard Owen over 3 horses and 2 colts in 1561.¹⁷ A settlement reached in 1563, after a series of disputes between the Owens and the city, established Wolvercote's right to common on Port Meadow and the freemen's right to common on Wolvercote Moor and Hurst; both parties agreed not to inclose any of the meadow and not to keep sheep on it, although sheep might be kept on Wolvercote Moor and Hurst between 1 November and 11 April, and Owen agreed to continue to pay the city 6s. a year from Wolvercote manor.¹⁸ There were discussions over the 'division' of Port Meadow, presumably abortive attempts to end intercommoning and inclose the land, in 1579, 1614, 1630, 1645, and 1651, but there were no serious disputes until 1795 when the city accused Wolvercote of stocking sheep on the meadow.¹⁹

Rights of common on the meadow did not originally belong to all houses or land in Wolvercote. They were specifically included in sales of freehold in 1610, and in 1611 George Owen conveyed common rights in Port Meadow by a separate deed to the purchaser of freehold land.²⁰ In 1636 all the copyhold tenants of the manor, except one man who held only a house, had rights on the meadow, as had 7 out of the 10 leaseholders who held fractions of a yardland, but no cottagers had any rights.²¹ Two leases of cottages, however, made by David Walter in 1650 included rights in Port Meadow, and in 1831 the owners of 17 houses, cottages, or old inclosures had rights nowhere else.²² By 1910 anyone living in Wolvercote, even in a new suburban house, enjoyed rights of common.²³

In 1563 Richard Owen agreed to stint his own and his tenants' cattle by the yardland, a provision which presumably led to discussions on the stint with the city in 1565, 1583 and 1586.²⁴ The Wolvercote commoners' stint, like the freemen's, presumably varied, but there is no record of it except in 1663 when it was 12 horses or beasts for a yardland.²⁵ In the early 19th century the tenant of the St. John's College property in Wolvercote, 4½ yardlands in 1636, claimed the right to lease to 'foreigners' 48 cattle commons on Port Meadow, and in 1843 the commons were said to be additional to those belonging to the college's Wolvercote farm, and to have been leased for 60 years or more,²⁶ but there is no

earlier reference to the right. The 48 commons may simply have been those for the 4½ yardlands of the property, or St. John's may originally have claimed them as part of one of their Walton manors. Despite the city's attempts in 1823 and 1842 to declare the leasing of the 48 commons unlawful, the right survived, being recorded in 1910.²⁷ The management of the common, which was originally in the hands of the lords of the manor, was assumed by the parish council in 1895 and by the Wolvercote commoners' committee in 1929.²⁸ Plans made in 1913 to draw up a Scheme for the regulation of the common under the Commons Regulation Act of 1899 seem to have foundered on the opposition of the freemen.²⁹

Port Meadow, Wolvercote Common (74 a.), and Wolvercote Green and Goose Green (12 a.) were registered as common land under the Act of 1965; as no lord of the manor claimed ownership, the Oxford city council was temporarily registered as the custodian. One hundred and twenty six owners or occupiers of properties, most of them modern suburban houses, in the former parish of Wolvercote registered rights of common for 524 cows, 238 horses, and 511 geese, individual claims ranging from 50 cattle and 4 horses to 2 or 3 geese. Apart from the 48 commons registered by St. John's College, none appears to have been based on any traditional stint.³⁰ The excessive claims had led by 1984 to fears that the common might be dangerously overstocked.

In 1279 the abbess of Godstow held the whole of Wolvercote. There were 8 yardlands in demesne; one free tenant held ½ yardland, and the remaining 32 recorded tenants, 8 yardlanders and 24 half-yardlanders, held in villeinage, working, being tallaged, and redeeming their sons at the abbess's will. The 8 yardlanders each paid 3s. 4½d. rent, the 24 half-yardlanders 20d each.³¹ Works, including mowing the abbess's meadow, reaping, binding, and carrying corn for one day, and an autumn boon work, were still being exacted in 1408–9. The customary tenants took hens and eggs to the abbey on 26 December and were given a dinner by the abbess on 29 December. Some works were still performed in 1453.³² Fourteenth-century subsidy assessments suggest greater variation in wealth than does the survey of 1279. In 1316 a total of 25 people was assessed at £4 19s., individual assessments ranging from 6s. to 1s., and in 1327 the 37 assessments ranged from 6s. to 6d. The population seems to have been fairly stable; 16 names recorded in 1316 and 19 in 1327 were among the

¹⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 857; for Port Meadow see *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 279–82.

¹⁷ *Mun. Civ. Oxon.* (O.H.S. lxxi), 233; *Royal Letters addressed to Oxf.* ed. O. Ogle, 195–7.

¹⁸ *Royal Letters to Oxf.* 201–11.

¹⁹ *Oxf. City Rec.* ed. W. H. Turner, 404; *Oxf. Council Acts 1583–1626* (O.H.S. lxxxvii), 236; 1626–65 (O.H.S. xcvi), 27, 128, 183; 1752–1801 (O.H.S. n.s. xv), 232.

²⁰ Worcester Coll. Mun., box F; St. John's Coll. Mun., XXIX. 9.

²¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 334, ff. 7–20.

²² St. John's Coll. Mun., XXIX. 27 (v).

²³ *Oxf. City Arch.*, Freemen's Proc. in Common Hall, 1883–1923, meeting 8 Oct. 1919.

²⁴ *Royal Letters to Oxf.* 208–9; *Oxf. City Rec.* 308–9, 430;

Oxf. Council Acts 1583–1626, 25.

²⁵ H. Carter, *Wolv. Mill* (1957), 65.

²⁶ *Oxf. Jnl.* 31 May 1823; *Oxf. City Arch.*, green tin box of Port Meadow papers.

²⁷ St. John's Coll. Mun., XXIX. 61.

²⁸ *Oxf. City Arch.*, Y. 3. 6–7; *Wolv. Commoners' Cttee.* min. bks. 1929–1981, in possession of Mr. R. Bateman, 48 Rosamund Rd., Wolvercote.

²⁹ *Oxf. City Arch.*, Y. 3. 7: meetings between 10 Feb. 1913 and 27 March 1915; cf. *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 281.

³⁰ *Oxon. C.C. Reg. of Common Land.*

³¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 857.

³² St. John's Coll. Mun., V. B. 15 (ii); P.R.O., C 139/78, no. 44.

names of villein tenants in 1279.³³ In 1334 Wolvercote was assessed at £5 1s. 5d., a sum exceeded in the southern part of Wootton hundred only by those of Kidlington and Sutton (in Stanton Harcourt).³⁴

The assessments of the 18 men taxed on their goods for subsidy in 1524 ranged from 9s. to 7d., and 8 men were assessed at the labourer's rate of 4d.³⁵ The most prosperous man in the parish was Hugh Weller, probably already, as he was in 1541, tenant of the mill and fishery; in 1543 he was assessed on £20 worth of goods. At his death in 1558 he held land in Hanborough, Chipping Norton, and Coventry (Warws.), in most of which he was succeeded by his nephew Jasper (d. 1593).³⁶ In 1619 Hugh Weller held 1½ yardlands in Wolvercote; his son Ethelbert held the estate in 1636, but sold it in 1654.³⁷ He or another man of the same name still lived in the parish in 1665,³⁸ but the family was not recorded thereafter. Richard Thornbury, assessed on £8 worth of goods in 1543, was the customary tenant of 3¼ yardlands, and presumably the descendant of William Thornbury whose cattle were impounded on Port Meadow in 1493. He died, apparently without heirs, in 1549.³⁹

In 1636 the largest of the five freeholds, all of which derived from sales of land by George Owen between 1610 and 1612, was the St. John's College estate, held by Richard Bull of Oxford university, perhaps a college servant.⁴⁰ Richard Collins, who held 2 yardlands freehold and 2¼ yardlands copyhold, was presumably the successor of the Richard Collins of Wolvercote who died in 1587 leaving goods worth £119 and property in Thame as well as a tenement and 1 yardland, presumably copyhold, in Wolvercote.⁴¹ Collins's freehold derived from 1¼ yardlands which had been sold by George Owen in 1611, which Collins acquired in 1626, and a further ¼ yardland, presumably also sold by Owen, which he acquired in 1623. Richard Collins died in 1662, leaving goods worth over £300; his property descended to Francis Collins who sold it in 1693 to John Bishop who had already acquired Ethelbert Weller's 1¼ yardland.⁴²

Matthew Cheriton of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, held 1¼ yardland freehold, which he had bought in 1625, and 1 yardland copyhold; he was succeeded by his son Reynold who sold the freehold in 1659.⁴³ The Cheritons were recusants and associated with the holder of the fifth freehold in 1636, Mr. (presumably William) Napper of Holywell, who held 1¼ yardland and

whose family had farmed the great tithes since 1533. His son Edmund sold the property in 1643.⁴⁴ Both estates passed to Dorothea Dashwood in 1742.⁴⁵

Sir John Walter created a few small freeholds between 1708 and 1710, the largest being 18 a. of arable and 3½ a. of meadow sold to Dr. Robert South in 1708 for the endowment of his charity at Islip,⁴⁶ but otherwise the pattern of landholding changed little in the 18th century and the early 19th. The duke of Marlborough, the lord of the manor, was by far the largest landowner in the parish, followed by Worcester College, St. John's College, and the Dashwood family, all of whose lands were leased to tenants. The largest single farm was probably the Worcester College estate; its tenants in the late 18th century and the early 19th, members of the Hicks family, also rented land and tithe from the duke of Marlborough. The duke's land was usually divided among 8 tenants, so individual farms were comparatively small.⁴⁷ Some farms, indeed, appear to have been uneconomic; the duke distrained on 4 tenants between 1795 and 1832. The land may well have been wet: in 1795 meadowland and arable near the newly-cut Oxford canal was said to have been damaged by water leakage, some of the meadow being halved in value, and the churchwardens paid for some under-draining in the open fields between 1806 and 1815.⁴⁸ In 1831 St. John's College opposed the inclosure of the parish, arguing that their estate was small and its tenants 'in extremely straitened circumstances' so that inclosure threatened them and the other farmers in the parish with ruin.⁴⁹

There was some inclosure around the villages of Upper and Lower Wolvercote in the 16th century and the earlier 17th, notably in the area immediately north of Lower Wolvercote. Seven closes were recorded on the tenants' land in 1541, Fuller's Well close east of the Woodstock road was recorded in 1612, and Blindwell close in the north-east in 1636.⁵⁰

In 1834 a total of 550 a. in the open fields, Wolvercote leys, and Wolvercote mead were inclosed and distributed among 12 owners. Merton College received 73 a. for great tithes, the curate 35½ a. for small tithes, and the duke of Marlborough 20 a. for manorial rights; a total of 46 a. was sold to cover the expense of inclosure. The largest allotments were made to the duke of Marlborough (176 a.), Worcester College (70 a.), St. John's College (46 a.), and Sir George Dashwood (30 a.). The inclosure

³³ P.R.O., E 179/161/8, 9. The list for 1306 (E 179/161/10) is torn, and only 11 names, including the abbess of Godstow, remain.

³⁴ *Subsidy 1334*, ed. R. E. Glasscock, 242.

³⁵ P.R.O., E 179/161/198. E 179/161/175 is similar but illegible in many places.

³⁶ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 183, f. 17v.; 187, f. 265v.

³⁷ O.U.P. deeds, uncat.; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 334, ff. 23-4.

³⁸ *Hearth Tax Oxon.* 117.

³⁹ *Mun. Civ. Oxon.* (O.H.S. lxxi), 233; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 179, f. 230.

⁴⁰ St. John's Coll. Mun., XXIX. 2-16. Bull does not appear among members of the university in *Alum. Oxon.*

⁴¹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 10/4/26; *Oxon. Inventories*, pp. 223-6.

⁴² O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 78/1/51; Worcester Coll. Mun., box F.

⁴³ O.R.O., Dash. XVI/i/a/1-20; XVI/i/c/1-22.

⁴⁴ *Cal. Cttee. for Compounding*, iv, p. 3057; *Reg. Ann. Coll. Merton*, i, ii (O.H.S. N.S. xxiii, xxiv), *passim*.

⁴⁵ O.R.O., Dash. XVI/1/a/1-20; XVI/i/b/1-14; XVI/i/c/1-22.

⁴⁶ Blenheim Mun., box 150.

⁴⁷ O.R.O., land tax assess. for Wolvercote and Godstow.

⁴⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 151; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Wolvercote b 5, ff. 53, 57v., 63v.; O.R.O., unref. misc. pps. from Dioc. Registry, estimate of value of lands belonging to char. school at Islip.

⁴⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 151.

⁵⁰ P.R.O., E 318/824; O.R.O., Dash. XVI/i/a/1; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 334, f. 23.

created large compact farms for the major land-owners: the duke of Marlborough's land lay in two blocks, a larger one in the north and a smaller one east of Upper Wolvercote, most of Worcester College's land was in the north-east, in the former Blindwell and Horslow fields, while most of the St. John's College land adjoined the college's old inclosures in Upper Wolvercote.⁵¹

Inclosure had little immediate impact on the pattern of landholding. There were still six farms in the parish (probably including the detached parts of Godstow) in 1841; in 1851 the six farms ranged in size from 175 a. and 170 a. (two tenants of the duke of Marlborough who also held land from Merton) to 34 a. for the curate's glebe. James Rowland who farmed 70 a. seems to have held of five different landlords, including Sir George Dashwood, the duke of Marlborough and the trustees of the poor.⁵² By 1871 the largest farm, presumably on the duke of Marlborough's land, was 200 a.; John Rowland had increased the family holding to 127 a., the St. John's tenant held 100 a., presumably including the extra-parochial Wycroft and Lamb leys, and the four remaining farms ranged from 60 a. to 25 a. The farms had changed again by 1881 when the largest was 214 a., another 197 a., and a third, farmed by Henry Osborn of Church Farmhouse, 176 a.; the remaining three were under 100 a.⁵³

Mixed farming predominated for much of the 19th century. In the early 1860s the duke of Marlborough's estate, let in three farms, comprised 133 a. of arable and 173 a. of pasture, as well as 51 a. of meadow in Pixey Mead.⁵⁴ In 1875 John Rowlands's 127-a. farm contained 52 a. of arable planted with wheat, barley, and beans.⁵⁵ Towards the end of the century there was a shift towards dairy farming, presumably for the Oxford market. The number of dairymen in the parish rose from 1 in 1883 to 4 in 1887, 6 in 1899, and 8 in 1907, but fell to 7 in 1911 and 2 or 3 in 1915.⁵⁶ In 1914 most of the parish was permanent grass for cattle; wheat, barley, and oats were the chief crops on the arable, but the fodder crops swedes, turnips, and mangolds were also grown in some quantity.⁵⁷ In the mid 20th century the small amount of land in the parish not occupied by houses, roads, railways, or the canal was permanent grass, but in 1980 Merton College's Peartree farm in the north had 63 a. of arable.⁵⁸

There may have been some cloth industry in Wolvercote in the Middle Ages. The high value of the mill in 1541 suggests that it was already a fulling mill, as it was by 1616; a small amount of wool was taken in 1341 from John Cabbel of Wolvercote who had had one of the highest

assessments for subsidy in the parish in 1316 and 1327, and in 1457 four members of the Oxford guild of weavers and fullers lived in Wolvercote. The field name Fuller's well, recorded in 1592, is probably also significant.⁵⁹ An Irish tailor lived in the parish in 1394.⁶⁰ A Wolvercote chapman had dealings with a London merchant in 1452 and received goods from a Salisbury chapman in 1453.⁶¹ Men surnamed Parmenter (tailor, robe-trimmer, or furrier) in 1306, Tailor and Skinner in 1316 and 1327, and Cooper and Brewster in 1327⁶² may have followed those trades.

Although a weaver died in the parish in 1729,⁶³ Wolvercote's connexion with clothmaking probably ended in the 1670s or 1680s when the mill was converted from a fulling mill to a paper mill, attracting paper-makers to the village.⁶⁴ Otherwise the recorded occupations, shoemaker in 1654, tailor and wheelwright in the 1760s, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, and sawyers in the earlier 19th century,⁶⁵ were fairly typical of a rural parish, despite the proximity of Oxford. The mill supplied paper to the Oxford University Press from the late 17th century, and expanded in the late 18th century. The parish registers record 9 or 10 millwrights, 7 paper-makers, and 3 printers between 1815 and 1840, and several of the labourers in the parish were probably employed in the mill. In 1841 the mill employed 19 people from the parish. Railway building in the early 1850s accounted for the 74 railway labourers in the otherwise largely agricultural parish in 1851 (the mill was not working that year). In 1871 agriculture was still the largest employer; there were 62 agricultural workers compared with 46 people at the paper mill and 10 railway workers; other occupations included 9 masons, 3 butchers, a compositor, a printer, a boat builder, and a clock-maker. In 1881 the paper mill with 78 workers was by far the largest employer; 48 men worked on farms, 21 on the railway, and 10 at the brickworks.⁶⁶ There was a brickmaker in the parish in 1831, but the main brickworks were opened by the Oxford and Berkshire Brick Co. on a site off Five Mile Drive in 1869; by 1871 they were producing 1½ million bricks a year, mainly for the building of workers' housing in Summertown and the new east and west suburbs of Oxford. The works, which were for many years associated with the Oxford builders Kingerlee's, closed c. 1934.⁶⁷

About 1142 the empress Matilda granted to Godstow abbey a fair on St. John the Baptist's day (24 June) and the two following days, a grant confirmed by Henry II c. 1182.⁶⁸ The fair, which gave its name to Fair close between Godstow bridge and Toll Bridge, was recorded

⁵¹ O.R.O., incl. award.

⁵² P.R.O., HO 107/1730; Oxf. City Arch., P. 5. 26.

⁵³ P.R.O., RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512.

⁵⁴ Blenheim Mun., E/P/12.

⁵⁵ Poster in Westgate Libr. OXFO 633 WOLV.

⁵⁶ Kelly's Dir. Oxon. (1883 and later edns.).

⁵⁷ Orr, *Oxon. Agric.*, statistical plates.

⁵⁸ [1st] *Land Utiliz. Surv.*, sheet 105; Merton Coll. Mun., estate papers.

⁵⁹ Oxf. City Arch., D. 5. 1, f. 67; P.R.O., E 318/824; *Cal. Close*, 1341-3, 334; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 189, f. 239.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1391-6, 458.

⁶¹ Ibid. 1446-52, 485; *Cal. Close*, 1447-54, 441.

⁶² P.R.O., E 179/161/8-10.

⁶³ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 151/2/27.

⁶⁴ Below.

⁶⁵ Worcester Coll. Mun., box F; P.R.O., HO 107/890; Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 14 May 1768.

⁶⁶ P.R.O., HO 107/890, 1730; ibid. RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512.

⁶⁷ Oxf. Jnl. 21 May 1870; 18 Nov. 1871; Kelly's Dir. Oxon. (1883 and later edns.); 'Reminiscences of Wolvercote', TS. in Westgate Libr. OXFO 944 WOLV.

⁶⁸ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* ii, pp. 651, 662.

in 1279; it was presumably still being held in 1390 when a man was robbed of 100s. worth of woollen cloth between Godstow and Witney between 24 and 29 June,⁶⁹ but there is no later record of it.

In 1139 John of St. John gave to Godstow abbey a mill at Wolvercote, rented for the large sum of £4 a year. In 1239 the mill was a double one, and in 1316 John at Mill had one of the highest assessments for subsidy in the parish, suggesting that the mill was still particularly valuable.⁷⁰ In 1541 the mill, with King's Weir and its associated fishery, was again the most valuable holding in the parish, rented for £4 6s. 8d.⁷¹ It passed, with the manor, to the Owens, the Walters, the earl of Abingdon, and finally to the dukes of Marlborough who sold it to Thomas Combe, superintendent of the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1855. Combe sold it to the university in 1872.⁷²

In 1608 there were four mills,⁷³ but in 1616 the mill comprised two corn mills and an adjoining fulling mill.⁷⁴ Part of the mill was used to grind swords in the Civil War.⁷⁵ By 1674 it was making some sort of rough paper, and by 1683 paper suitable for books; it was rebuilt about 1686, and in the 1690s seems to have been operated by members of the paper-making Quelch family, including John, who leased a cottage from Sir John Walter in 1698, and Thomas whose initials appear on some late 17th-century paper used by the Oxford press. During the 18th century the dukes of Marlborough leased the corn and paper mills to a succession of millers and paper-makers. John Beckford, a local man, was tenant in 1708. William Faichen, tenant 1752–71, carried out some repairs to the roof and walls of the mill. When the tenant became insolvent in 1782 the mills contained both paper-making and flour-milling equipment. The mills and their machinery were repaired and improved for the new tenant William Jackson, proprietor of *Jackson's Oxford Journal* and a partner in the university's Bible Press. John Swann, one of a family of paper-makers, took over Jackson's lease in 1792 or 1793 and greatly enlarged the mill, ending the corn grinding business, to produce the extra paper required by the Clarendon Press. He probably installed the first steam-driven machinery and by 1811 coal was being brought weekly by barge via the Oxford canal and the Duke's Cut.⁷⁶ John Swann was succeeded by John, Charles, and finally James Swann, who further improved the mill between 1818 and 1826. The firm went bankrupt in 1848, and the mill was not used again until after its sale to Thomas Combe in 1855.

The mill was completely rebuilt in 1856, on a site slightly north of its old one, and equipped with new machinery. It was enlarged before 1872 and again in 1898, the last extension enabling the output to be doubled. Steam- and gas-driven machinery were installed in 1898, electricity in 1920, although some water power was used until 1943. Further work, including the demolition of the 'old mill' of 1856 and the building of new offices, was carried out in 1953, and the mill's capacity was increased in 1957 to c. 240 tons of paper a week. The mill had the world's first on-line computer-controlled paper-making process by c. 1965. In 1978 it was separated from the university press, becoming part of the Britains Group of paper mills. Britains went into receivership in 1979, and in 1980 the Wolvercote mill was bought by Star Paper Ltd. of Blackburn (Lancs.), which increased production. In 1984 the mill specialized in on-machine coated papers for printed labels.⁷⁷

CUTTESLOWE. The St. Frideswide's estate in Cutteslowe may have been cultivated with a detached part of Water Eaton on the south-west, later called Cutteslowe field. Gyberiche in Cutteslowe field, recorded in 1359 and held by St. Frideswide's, may have been in the detached part, for there was a Gybberish furlong on the northern boundary of St. Giles's parish in the late 14th century.⁷⁸ Nothing is known of the organization of the field for cropping.

Although only arable was recorded at Cutteslowe in 1086, before 1530 the whole estate seems to have been inclosed as sheep pasture.⁷⁹ In 1636 two closes of 17 a. each had recently been ploughed for corn, but the remainder of Cutteslowe was meadow or pasture, and the importance of sheep was confirmed by the field names Ewe lease and Ram close and by the presence of a shepherd's house.⁸⁰ Mid 17th-century leases contained the usual provision for extra rent to be paid for each acre of grass ploughed, and by 1771 most of the duke of Marlborough's 101 a. farm was arable.⁸¹ The Christ Church estate remained predominantly pasture; in 1755 the tenant was reduced to bankruptcy by the loss of cattle in a distemper, and in the 19th century the estate contained only 33 a. of arable to 111 a. of grass.⁸² The arable on both estates was cropped on a four-course rotation; in 1834 about half the small amount of arable on the Christ Church estate was under wheat, the remainder under barley, tares, beans, oats, and potatoes.⁸³ The lack of arable on the Christ Church estate caused problems for successive tenants who needed straw for thatching and manuring, and in 1844

⁶⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 857; *Cal. Pat.* 1388–92, 264.

⁷⁰ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* ii, pp. 574–7; P.R.O., E 179/161/8.

⁷¹ P.R.O., E 318/824.

⁷² Carter, *Wolv. Mill*, 33, 38.

⁷³ P.R.O., C 142/304, no. 47.

⁷⁴ Except where otherwise stated, the following paragraphs are based on Carter, *Wolv. Mill*, and Blenheim Mun., boxes 150–1.

⁷⁵ *Royalist Ordnance Pps.* (O.R.S. xliii), 28.

⁷⁶ H. J. Compton, 'The Link', *Jnl. Rly. and Canal Hist. Soc.* x (4), 53.

⁷⁷ *Oxf. Mail*, 11 Feb. 1972; *Clarendonian*, xxxiii (1); inf. from Star Paper Ltd., Feniscowles, Blackburn, Lancs.

⁷⁸ *Cart. St. Frid.* i, p. 77; *Early Hist. St. John's Coll.* (O.H.S. N.S. i), 518–19; above, Kidlington, Intro., Econ.

⁷⁹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 409; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), p. 3065.

⁸⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 334, f. 6.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Dew c 38; Blenheim Mun., box 149.

⁸² Ch. Ch. Arch., MS. Estates 69, f. 5 and v.; *ibid.* map Cutslow 1.

⁸³ *Ibid.* MS. Estates 69, ff. 34–41, 46; Blenheim Mun., box 149.

the tenant planned to increase the arable by draining and ploughing some of the poor grass-land.⁸⁴

Farmers on both estates got into difficulties during the agricultural depression of the earlier 19th century, their problems often being aggravated by the small size of the farms and poor treatment of the land by earlier tenants. In 1789 meadow on the Christ Church estate, 32 a. farmed by a Wolvercote man, was in poor condition due to 'continual mowing and inadequate manuring'.⁸⁵ Drainage was a constant problem, but little seems to have been done until the mid 19th century when the Christ Church tenant under-drained 85 a.⁸⁶ In 1831 the duke's tenant, whose farming methods had been criticized in 1810, was distrained on for unpaid debts, and the Christ Church tenant was unable to pay his rent between 1832 and 1838.⁸⁷

The tax assessments of 1306 and 1316 suggest a fairly even distribution of wealth, at least among those liable to subsidy; the eight assessments in 1306 (excluding the prior of St. Frideswide's) ranged only from 3s. 3d. to 2s. 2½d., the six of 1316 from 7s. to 5s., but in 1327 the eight assessments ranged from 6s. 8d. to 1s. The population appears fairly static, all but one of the six surnames of 1306 being recorded in 1327, when there were only two new names.⁸⁸

Until the mid 17th century the estate was kept in demesne by the priors of St. Frideswide's and their successors, apart from a brief period after 1532 when it was leased to Richard Andrews who bought it in 1545.⁸⁹ By 1651 it had been leased in two parts, one at £129 a year, and the other at £80 a year,⁹⁰ and thereafter it was leased in several parcels, often to Wolvercote men.⁹¹ The Christ Church estate, which was let in two parts for much of the 18th century, was let to a single tenant from c. 1794.⁹² Francis Gregory, who acquired the duke of Marlborough's Cutteslowe estate in 1811, was by 1823 also tenant of the Islip charity land.⁹³ Thereafter Cutteslowe was farmed as two farms; in 1871 the Gregory estate, Cutteslowe farm, was farmed with land outside the township to make up a 350-a. farm, but by 1881 it was only 150 a.⁹⁴ Since the sale of Cutteslowe farm in the 1930s there has been only one farm, Christ Church's St. Frideswide's, usually farmed with land in neighbouring parishes.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. In 1279 Godstow abbey had view of frankpledge in Wolvercote,

and the royal bailiff had entry into the manor only by the king's writ. The abbey also had rights of toll, pleas and perquisites of court, infangthief and outfangthief, pillory, and gallows.⁹⁵ The grant of the manor to George Owen in 1541 included view of frankpledge, and he and his successors held courts until 1651 or later.⁹⁶ St. Frideswide's priory had view of frankpledge at Cutteslowe.⁹⁷

In the later 18th century the churchwardens paid for the repair of bridges, a causeway, and the river banks, and, in the early 19th century, for the ditching and draining of land in the open fields.⁹⁸ The parish spent £57 on poor relief in 1776, an average of £74 between 1783 and 1785, and £299, c. 16s. per head of population, in 1803. The highest expenditure in the period 1813–1820 was only 15s. a head, a lower rate than in the neighbouring rural parishes. Even when expenditure reached its peak of £418 in 1832⁹⁹ (when the paper mill was closed for at least part of the year),¹ the cost per head, c. 16s., was still below average. The generally low cost of poor relief in Wolvercote in the early 19th century was probably due to the availability of non-agricultural work both in the parish² and perhaps also in Oxford. There was no workhouse. In 1803 a total of 11 adults, mainly aged and infirm, were on regular out-relief; they were apparently set to work, for they earned £9 by their labour. In the period 1813–1815 regular out-relief was paid to between 22 and 26 people.³

Wolvercote was included in the Woodstock poor law union in 1834, and the Woodstock rural district from 1894 until 1929 when the parish was abolished. The vestry's functions were taken over by a parish council in 1895, and, unofficially, by the Wolvercote commoners' committee in 1929; the committee was still functioning in 1985.⁴

CHURCH. A chapel of ease at Wolvercote subject to the church of St. Peter-in-the-East, Oxford, was first recorded in 1236, but architectural evidence indicates that it existed by the late 12th century. Its dependent status was confirmed in 1294.⁵ The 12th-century font, which survived in 1984, implies that the chapel early acquired baptismal rights, but it had no burial rights until 1414, when the inhabitants of Wolvercote successfully petitioned the pope for the consecration of a graveyard.⁶ A further appeal to the pope in 1416, against Wolvercote's

⁸⁴ Ch. Ch. Arch., MS. Estates 69, ff. 46, 48.

⁸⁵ Ibid. ff. 16–17.

⁸⁶ Ibid. ff. 22–4, 34, 46, 48.

⁸⁷ Ibid. ff. 27–8, 34, 37, 39v–41; Blenheim Mun., box 151.

⁸⁸ P.R.O., E 179/161/8–10.

⁸⁹ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/2931; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xx, p. 220.

⁹⁰ P.R.O., E 134/1651–2/Hil. 8.

⁹¹ e.g. Blenheim Mun., box 150.

⁹² Ch. Ch. Arch., MS. Estates 69, f. 17; O.R.O., land tax assess.

⁹³ O.R.O., land tax assess.

⁹⁴ P.R.O., HO 107/890, 1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512.

⁹⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 857.

⁹⁶ *Royal Letters to Oxf.* ed. O. Ogle, 150; P.R.O., E 134/1651–2, Hil. 8.

⁹⁷ P.R.O., C 142/76, no. 6.

⁹⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Wolvercote b 5: chwdns' accounts 1759–1869.

⁹⁹ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, pp. 406–7; 1818, pp. 360–1; *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 556, p. 139 (1822), v; H.C. 334, p. 174 (1825), iv; H.C. 83, p. 161 (1830–1), xi; H.C. 444, p. 157 (1835), xlvii.

¹ Notebk. of Thos. Gregory (MS. in possession of vicar of Wolvercote), p. 137.

² Above, Econ.

³ *Poor Abstract* 1804, pp. 406–7; 1818, pp. 360–1.

⁴ *Census*, 1851; O.R.O., M.S. d.d. Par. Wolv. b 5; Wolvercote Commoners' Cttee. min. bks. 1929–, in possession of Mr. R. Bateman, chairman of the cttee.

⁵ *Rot. Grosse.* (L.R.S. xi), 451; *Reg. Sutton*, v (L.R.S. lx), 45–6; below.

⁶ *Cal. Papal Reg.* vi. 441.

liability to contribute a third of the cost of repairs to St. Peter's-in-the-East, failed; the judge at the Council of Constance, to which the dispute had been referred, confirmed that Wolvercote was a chapel of St. Peter's, ordered the payment of the contribution to the repairs, and awarded costs of 42 gold florins against Wolvercote.⁷ Before 1443 an agreement was reached whereby Wolvercote paid 3s. 4d. a year to St. Peter's instead of contributing to repair costs as they arose. Payments were made regularly until 1869, were revived in 1923 and continued until the closure of St. Peter's in 1965.⁸ Wolvercote was still a chapel of St. Peter's in 1535.⁹ There was apparently a further dispute over its status in 1566, when the judgement of 1416 was translated into English,¹⁰ but the outcome is unknown. Two 16th-century Wolvercote people bequeathed money to St. Peter-in-the-East as the 'mother church', and as late as 1636 a woman left 2d. to the parish church of St. Peter-in-the-East.¹¹ By the end of the 17th century, however, Wolvercote was in all respects an independent church, although in 1738 the vicar of St. Peter-in-the-East reported that Wolvercote church was said to be a chapel of ease.¹²

The living was considered a perpetual curacy in the 18th century and the earlier 19th, curates being nominated to the bishop of Oxford from 1790. In 1866 it was declared a vicarage. In 1976 the benefice and parish were united with those of St. Michael's, Summertown, Oxford, and a team ministry composed of a rector and one or more vicars was established. The incumbent of St. Michael's became the first rector, the incumbent of Wolvercote one of the vicars.¹³

In the Middle Ages the vicars of St. Peter-in-the-East appointed chaplains to serve Wolvercote, and the arrangement may have continued as late as 1642, when the vicar of St. Peter's signed the protestation return for Wolvercote.¹⁴ Before 1658, however, Merton College, patron of St. Peter-in-the-East, appointed a chaplain to Wolvercote, and such appointments became the rule after 1696.¹⁵ Merton was represented on the patronage board of the joint living in 1984.¹⁶

The medieval chaplains were paid by the vicar of St. Peter-in-the-East; in 1535 the stipend was £3 a year.¹⁷ By 1591 the small tithes, dues, and

offerings were no longer being paid to the vicar of St. Peter's,¹⁸ and were presumably being paid to the chaplain or curate of Wolvercote. In 1685 the curate received the tithe of hay, livestock, and the mills.¹⁹ Catherine Rawson, by will dated 1705, left £1 a year for an annual sermon on 16 October, the day of her baptism; the money was paid from 1706.²⁰ The curacy was valued at c. £22 a year in 1715 and at £20 in 1738. In 1785 Merton paid the curate an additional £13 6s 8d. a year.²¹ By 1808 the college stipend had fallen to £10 a year, the small tithes had been commuted to a modus of £28, and surplice fees averaged £2, making a total of £40 a year, a value which had doubled to £80 a year by 1831.²² At inclosure in 1834 the curate received 35½ a. for small tithe, the earlier modus having been discontinued before 1817.²³ The living was augmented by the ecclesiastical commissioners in 1862 with £33 6s. 8d. a year, which was matched by an annual stipend of £50 from Merton.²⁴ There was a further augmentation in 1925 after the vicar's health had broken down from the strain of having to augment the inadequate stipend of £253 a year with four or five days' teaching a week.²⁵

A glebe house, falling down from old age, was repaired in 1679, but by 1727 was again uninhabitable; it was rebuilt by a parishioner in return for a 40-year lease.²⁶ Thereafter the house, at the west end of the church, which comprised only parlour, kitchen, and two other rooms, was regularly repaired by Merton.²⁷ It seems to have been used mainly as a source of income, although in the earlier 19th century the curate kept a room there. From 1821 or earlier it was occupied by the schoolmaster, who in the 1830s was also parish clerk.²⁸ A new house, east of the church, was built for the vicar in 1875, enlarged in 1883, and further improved in 1925. It was sold and a new house built in 1963.²⁹

In 1239 the vicar of St. Peter-in-the-East claimed small tithes and other dues from Godstow abbey and its servants, but had to acknowledge that the abbey itself was exempt, as were its servants, except for those with their own households in Wolvercote; he did, however, establish his right to tithe of some meadows and was granted a pension of 3s. a year, which seems to

⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Oxf. St. Peter-in-the-East c 4; C. M. D. Crowder, 'Four English Cases during the Council of Constance', *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum*, xiii, 67–126.

⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Oxf. St. Peter-in-the-East a 1; there is no evidence to support the statement, entered c. 1923 at the front of MS. d.d. Par. Oxf. St. Peter-in-the-East c 4, that the payment was made from 1417: cf. T. Hearne, *Account of Antiquities in and about Oxf.* (1711), 82–3.

⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 175.

¹⁰ Bodl. MS. Wood D 2, p. 46b.

¹¹ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 184, f. 28v.; 189, f. 239; *ibid.* 18/2/11.

¹² *Secker's Visit.* 122.

¹³ Oldfield, 'Clerus Oxf. Dioc.' f. 505; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1976/1.

¹⁴ *Rot. Grosse*. (L.R.S. xi), 451; *Rot. Graves*. (L.R.S. xx), 214–15; *Reg. Sutton*, v (L.R.S. lx), 45–6; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 175; *Protestation Return*, 95–6.

¹⁵ Merton Coll. Mun., registers, *passim*.

¹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1976/2.

¹⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 175.

¹⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 16, ff. 187v., 192v.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 41, f. 24.

²⁰ *Ibid.* Misc. Su. LXXXVIII/i/1.

²¹ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 155, f. 51; *Secker's Visit.* 177; Merton Coll. Mun., 1.4 (reg. 1731–1822), p. 360.

²² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 446, f. 205; *Rep. Com. on Eccl. Revenues*, H.C. 54, p. 789 (1835), xxii.

²³ O.R.O., incl. award; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 449, f. 65.

²⁴ *Return of Augmentations to Poor Vicarages*, H.C. 366, p. 137 (1869), lv.

²⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 385, f. 290; MSS. d.d. Par. Wolvercote b 6; c 6.

²⁶ Merton Coll. Mun., 1.3 (reg. 1567–1731), p. 535; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Wolvercote b 1, p. 2.

²⁷ Merton Coll. Mun., 1.4, pp. 260, 277, 289, 360, 453, 552; O.R.O., incl. award; *ibid.* map in MS. d.d. Par. Wolvercote b 6; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 449, ff. 64–5.

²⁸ Merton Coll. Mun., 1.5, p. 133; Gregory notebk. pp. 32–3; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Wolvercote b 6; *ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 31, f. 100; b 34, f. 94; b 39, f. 381v.; b 41, f. 244; Ch. Ch. Arch., MS. Estates 69, f. 75; P.R.O., RG 10/1449.

²⁹ Merton Coll. Mun., 1.5 (reg. 1822–76), p. 536; 1.5a (1877–1914), p. 98; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1976/1.

have been paid by the mill.³⁰ The abbey's rights over its servants may have led to one of its chapels being treated as a parish church in the early 16th century. In 1526 the abbey's confessor and three chaplains were listed among the parish clergy, and in 1533 and 1535 the abbey presented to a rectory in 'St. Thomas's church', the chapel in their outer court. Both men presented were Oxford scholars: Matthew Smith, principal of Brasenose College, in 1533 and Thomas Powell, former law bursar of All Souls and a pluralist, in 1535; the abbey may have wished to make use of their services.³¹

In the Middle Ages the vicars of St. Peter-in-the-East maintained Wolvercote chapel and its furnishings, but the chapel had its own wardens by 1416.³² Only one medieval chaplain is known, John of Kirkby whose visits to Godstow abbey were forbidden in 1392; he may have been the chaplain of that name accused of housebreaking and robbery in 1374, or the John of Kirkby who attacked Welshmen in Oxford in 1387.³³ There was no chaplain in 1520, but by 1530 one had been appointed, and all was reported to be well.³⁴ In 1558 the church contained a Lady altar and St. Margaret's altar as well as the high altar.³⁵

The 16th-century curates, like the vicars of St. Peter-in-the-East,³⁶ presumably conformed to the Elizabethan settlement, although as late as 1585 a Wolvercote woman's will opened with a moderately Catholic formula.³⁷ William Sellar, vicar of St. Peter-in-the-East from 1623 to 1631, served Wolvercote himself for at least part of his incumbency, leaving St. Peter's to curates.³⁸ Soon afterwards Wolvercote became independent of St. Peter's, and thereafter was served by its own curates or their deputies. Anne Walter, widow of Sir John, by will proved in 1636, gave £200 to Jesus College, Oxford, for 'a learned and able minister' to preach at Wolvercote every Sunday.³⁹ By the early 18th century the practice seems to have been for a fellow of Jesus to take the service and preach every other Sunday or give a Thursday lecture. Both sermon and lecture had ceased by 1738.⁴⁰ The curates appointed by Merton frequently did not serve the church themselves but found substitutes from that or another college. In 1731, perhaps in an attempt to improve matters, the college ruled that any curate who absented himself for three years should be deemed to have resigned; during shorter absences any resident fellow of Merton might serve the cure and receive the stipend.⁴¹ Between then and the early 19th century 19

curates were appointed by Merton and at least 23 others served the church on occasion.⁴² Throughout the period, however, the duty, two services and one sermon on Sundays and Communion three or four times a year, was the same as in neighbouring parishes; the number of communicants, usually 20–25, was slightly above average, and did not decline markedly in the early 19th century. In 1781, however, the curate did report that too many parishioners failed, for reasons which he did not understand, to attend church.⁴³

From 1790 curates were nominated to and licensed by the bishop of Oxford, but none held the living for long until the mid 19th century, and temporary curates, among them, in 1834, J. H. Newman, continued to be used.⁴⁴ Laurence Eberall Judge served the cure from 1837 to 1853, holding it with the chaplaincies of Merton and New College, and his successor Stephen Edwardes held it from 1854 to 1870 and from 1871 to 1874, retaining his fellowship at Merton.⁴⁵ Edwardes increased the number of Communion services from four a year to at least one a month. In the 1850s and 1860s congregations averaged only 150, for which Edwardes, who employed an assistant curate by 1866, blamed the lack of space in the church, the non-residence of the clergy, and the difficulty felt by artisans in placing themselves in the church between the farmers and the labourers.⁴⁶ Edwardes's successor, the first resident incumbent, increased the number of services, introducing a weekly communion and daily evensong, and reported increased congregations.⁴⁷ Attendance continued to increase, partly at least because of the growing population of the parish as North Oxford expanded into it, and by 1909 there were 214 Easter communicants, although the vicar reported that matins was less well attended than it had been.⁴⁸

The vicar's financial difficulties and failing health caused problems in the 'spiritual condition of the parish' in 1924 and 1925.⁴⁹ By the 1930s a new vicar was expressing concern that the bulk of the congregation came from the 'better class' houses on the Banbury and Woodstock roads, and that the church was losing the young people from the village.⁵⁰ Since the Second World War parish life and activities, particularly drama, have flourished. A curate's house was bought in 1961. In 1982 the parish entered into a local ecumenical project with Summer-town United Reformed Church.⁵¹

The church of *ST. PETER*⁵² comprises chan-

³⁰ *Godstow Eng. Reg.* ii, pp. 574–7, 580; *Registrum Annalium Coll. Merton. 1485–1521* (O.H.S. lxxvi), 66.

³¹ *Subsidy 1526*, 278; *Godstow Eng. Reg.* i, pp. 31–2; Emden, *O.U. Reg.* 1501–40, 523–4, 460.

³² *Rot. Grosse* (L.R.S. xi), 451; *Reg. Sutton*, v (L.R.S. lx), 45–6.

³³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii, 73; Emden, *O.U. Reg. to 1500*, 1054.

³⁴ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* i, 140; ii, 61.

³⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 183, f. 17v.

³⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 399.

³⁷ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 21/3/31.

³⁸ *Ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2, f. 19; c 265, p. 62.

³⁹ P.R.O., PROB 11/170 (P.C.C. 36 Pile).

⁴⁰ E. G. Hardy, *Jesus Coll.* 93; *Secker's Visit.* 177–8.

⁴¹ Merton Coll. Mun., 1.4, p. 2.

⁴² *Ibid.* 1.5 T (index to reg. 1731–1822) s.v. estates; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 131, f. 124; MSS. Oxf.

Dioc. b 37, f. 177; b 18, ff. 147–8; c 327, p. 192.

⁴³ *Secker's Visit.* 177; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 37, f. 177; d 557, f. 162; d 560, f. 195; d 563, f. 187; d 565, f. 229; d 569, f. 167; d 571, f. 157; d 573, f. 149; d 575, f. 152; d 577, f. 161.

⁴⁴ M. E. Freeborn, *Ch. of St. Peter, Wolvercote*, 28.

⁴⁵ *Alum. Oxon. 1715–1886*, 413, 778.

⁴⁶ *Wilb. Visit.* 166; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, ff. 473–4; c 335, f. 437v.

⁴⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 344, f. 453.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* b 47, f. 361; c 365, f. 443; c 368, f. 445; c 374, f. 403.

⁴⁹ Above.

⁵⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 388, f. 324; c 391, f. 289; c 394, f. 291.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* c 1976/1; MS. d.d. Par. Wolvercote c 6.

⁵² Dedication recorded as St. Peter and St. Paul in 1414; *Cal. Papal Reg.* vi, 441.

cel with north vestry, nave with north aisle and small mortuary chapel and a south porch, and west tower, all except the tower built in 1860. The medieval church, demolished in 1859, comprised chancel, nave with north chapel and south porch, and the surviving west tower.⁵³ The later 12th-century chancel arch, which survived until 1859, confirms the evidence of the surviving 12th-century font for a 12th-century church, comprising nave and chancel. That church was enlarged in the earlier 14th century when the north chapel was added, the nave was probably extended westwards, and the west tower was built. The church was remodelled in the later 15th century, the chancel being rebuilt by Merton College in 1482. All the windows except the belfry windows were replaced, the nave was reroofed, and a plain south porch built; the west doorway, west window, and tower arch are probably of the later 16th century.⁵⁴ A 15th-century rood screen and an early 16th-century pulpit survived in the church until 1859 although the screen was removed from the chancel arch to the north chapel between 1846 and 1857.⁵⁵

In 1627 the north chapel was conveyed to Sir John Walter of Godstow as a private pew and burial place. Walter or his heirs seem to have carried out extensive repairs to the chapel, for in 1657 the antiquary Anthony Wood assumed that he had built it. After Walter's death in 1630 his widow Anne erected an elaborate marble tomb on the north wall of the chapel, with effigies of Sir John and his two wives with four sons kneeling at their heads and four daughters at their feet. The large chest tomb was surmounted by a canopy supported on five columns, and lit by two small round windows in the north wall. The tomb was badly damaged in the Civil War, the figures of one son and one daughter being lost, and when it was restored the daughters were placed at their parents' heads, the sons at their feet.⁵⁶ The canopy was removed when the church was demolished in 1859, and all that survived in 1984 was the chest tomb, the mutilated effigies still retaining traces of their original paint.

Minor repairs to the church were recorded in the later 18th century, and Merton College repaired the chancel in 1677 and 1784. More extensive repairs were carried out by the churchwardens in 1801–2, the work probably including the making of a window high in the west end of the south wall, presumably to light a gallery.⁵⁷ In 1808 Merton ordered repairs to the chancel window, an order which probably led to the replacement of the 15th-century window by the poor 'modern perpendicular' window re-

corded in 1846.⁵⁸

In 1859 the whole church, except the tower, was demolished and rebuilt in 14th-century style to designs by Charles Buckeridge. The nave was rebuilt on its old foundations, the chancel (rebuilt by Merton College) was enlarged and a medieval altar slab set into the floor at the east end, a new south porch was built at the expense of Thomas Combe of the university press, and the north chapel was replaced by a wide north aisle with a small mortuary chapel, approached by a re-used 13th-century stone arch, at its north-east end to accommodate the reconstructed Walter monument.⁵⁹ The nave and chancel roofs were extensively repaired in 1927 but had to be replaced in 1977 when reconstituted slates were substituted for the original Stonesfield slates. The tower was repaired and the belfry adapted for a larger ring of bells in 1967. An altar set up at the east end of the north aisle in 1947 was removed in 1974 when a new nave altar was erected.⁶⁰

A number of monuments from the old church were re-erected in the new one in 1860. Apart from the mutilated monument to Sir John Walter, they included, on the north wall, a wall plaque surmounted by a bust and a cartouche of arms to David Walter of Godstow (d. 1679) and wall plaques to Bartholomew Peisley of Trinity College (d. 1781) and to members of the Swann family. On the floor at the east end of the north aisle are several slabs from the old church, including memorials to Mabel Collins, wife of Richard, who died in 1686, and to several members of the Howell and Rowlands families, the earliest dated 1696. Lost monuments include marble slabs commemorating Edmund Reynolds (d. 1630), and Avis (d. 1636) the wife of Matthew Cheriton.⁶¹

The church has no early plate, the earliest surviving piece being a pewter plate of c. 1771.⁶²

The old church had a ring of five bells cast by William, Henry, and James Bagley in 1707, 1710, 1742, and 1747; those of 1710 and 1742 were removed in 1860 and replaced in 1881; a new treble was added in 1900 making a ring of six. All the bells were recast in 1956.⁶³

NONCONFORMITY. Richard Owen of Godstow was returned as a recusant in the 1590s,⁶⁴ and his influence may have encouraged the eight other recusants from the parish fined in the early 17th century.⁶⁵ Matthew Cheriton, a freeholder, and his uncle Edmund Reynolds of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, who was buried in Wolvercote in 1630, were also recusants, as were the Nappers of Holywell, freeholders and farmers of the great

⁵³ Description based on Parker, *Guide*, 98–100, and drawings in Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 39, f. 165; a 65, no. 26; a 69, no. 602; b 220, f. 61; d 282, f. 260; d 798, f. 153; MS. Don. c 90, f. 172v.

⁵⁴ Parker, *Guide*, p. 98 and pl.; MS. note in Bodl. copy; Freeborn, *Wolvercote Ch.* 18.

⁵⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 265, p. 62; *Par. Colln.* 355; *Wood's Life*, i (O.H.S. xix), 216; drawing in G.A. Oxon. a 71, p. 60.

⁵⁶ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Wolvercote b 6, *passim*; b 5, ff. 48v., 49v.; Merton Coll. Mun., 1.3, p. 518; 1.4, p. 354.

⁵⁷ Merton Coll. Mun., 1.4, p. 510; Parker, *Guide*, 98.

⁵⁸ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 70, f. 852; d 761, f. 78.

⁵⁹ Ibid. MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1975; c 1976/2; MS. d.d. Par. Wolvercote c 6.

⁶⁰ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B 397, p. 245.

⁶¹ Evans, *Ch. Plate*, 183.

⁶² *Ch. Bells Oxon.* 446–8; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 70, f. 852; c 1975; MS. d.d. Par. Wolvercote, c 6.

⁶³ *Recusant Roll 1592–3* (Cath. Rec. Soc. xviii), 252; 1593–4 (Cath. Rec. Soc. lvii), 121; 1594–5 (Cath. Rec. Soc. lxi), 71.

⁶⁴ 'Oxon. Recusants', O.A.S. *Rep.* (1924), 18, 20, 32–3, 35, 42.

tithes of Wolvercote. Cheriton refused the protestation oath in 1642.⁶⁶ There is no evidence that the Nappers ever lived in the parish, and the Cheritons sold their Wolvercote property in 1659.⁶⁷ There is no further record of Roman Catholicism in the parish until the 20th century, when, in 1911, the church of St. Gregory and St. Augustine was built on the Woodstock road for a congregation drawn mainly from the new housing in North Oxford.⁶⁸

In 1672 James Beckford's house was licensed as a Baptist meeting house, and the 8 dissenters returned in 1676 and the 3 or 4 returned in the 1680s were probably Baptists.⁶⁹ A Presbyterian and a Baptist family were reported in 1805, but they had no meeting place until John Ladson's cottage (later Nunnery Close) was licensed for Baptist services in 1816; the preacher came from Oxford.⁷⁰ The congregation was swelled by the influence of H. B. Bulteel who preached in Wolvercote between 1832 and 1835 and 'certainly roused some of the people' in the village. His followers attended the service at Ladson's house, or went to his chapel in Oxford.⁷¹ Applications for meeting house licences were made in 1839 and 1841, that in 1839 supported by the Oxford Methodist minister, Corbett Cooke,⁷² but no nonconformist chapels were recorded in 1854. Then, and in subsequent years, dissenters attended services in Summertown, presumably at the Congregationalist chapel there;⁷³ their numbers grew from c. 12 in 1854 to c. 50 in 1878, mainly artisans who found that there was no suitable place for them in church among the farmers or the labourers.⁷⁴ In 1884 Baptists from the New Road chapel in Oxford, at the instigation of their minister James Dann, opened a Sunday school in Wolvercote, and in 1886 a Baptist chapel was built there.⁷⁵ In 1985 the chapel was linked with Woodstock and Kidlington Baptist churches.

The Baptist chapel in Godstow Road is a plain rectangular building in Gothic style, of yellow brick with stone facings.

EDUCATION. There appears to have been no school in the parish before the beginning of the

19th century when dame or 'petty' schools were recorded.⁷⁶ A Sunday school, started in 1813 on the 'new' or National system, closed shortly afterwards for lack of financial support, and in 1815 the three day schools taught only 46 children.⁷⁷ In 1817, however, a National school, held in the glebe house and supported by subscriptions, including £2 2s. from Merton College, was attended by 101 children, and in 1823 the master was sent to London for training.⁷⁸ By 1825 numbers had risen to 120, each child paying 1d. a week, and in 1831, with the assistance of Merton College, St. John's College, and the National Society, a new girls' schoolroom was built.⁷⁹ In 1833 a total of 50 boys and 53 girls aged between 5 and 11 paid 1½d. a week; the master and mistress received jointly £50 a year, a comparatively generous salary, and occupied the glebe house rent free. A small library attached to the school was well used by school leavers.⁸⁰ There was an infant department by 1854 when the total roll had fallen slightly to 91 and average attendance was 79. Subscriptions, including £3 a year from Catherine Rawson's charity, and the children's pence, were insufficient to cover expenses, and the incumbent was obliged to pay the difference himself.⁸¹

A new school was built on the glebe land immediately west of the church in 1855.⁸² In 1859 the average attendance was 150, and the staff consisted of the master and mistress, an infant teacher, and two assistants; the school's normal income was still inadequate, and the incumbent was responsible for the annual deficit of c. £10.⁸³ By 1866 the school was receiving a government grant; it had accommodation for 103 and was attended by 51 boys and girls and 64 infants daily and by 100 children on Sundays; the vicar reported in 1868 that parents contrived to find school pence, 2d. a week for each child, even when living on credit at the shop.⁸⁴

A school board was formed in 1874, but the school building remained the vicar's property, as it was on the glebe.⁸⁵ The building was enlarged in 1875 to accommodate 165 children, and between 1891 and 1894 to accommodate 227, the money being raised by public subscription. A new infants' schoolroom was opened

⁶⁶ M. Foster, 'Gloucester Hall', *Oxoniensia*, xlvii, 106-9; *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 412; *Protestation Return*, 96; *Par. Colln.* 354. Anthony Wood's statement (*Wood's Life*, i, 419) that Reynolds left Wolvercote property to Cheriton is incorrect: above, Econ.

⁶⁷ Above, Econ.

⁶⁸ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 414.

⁶⁹ *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 39, 69.

⁷⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 569, f. 167; d 571, f. 157v.; d 577, f. 161; c 644, f. 174; notebk. of Thos. Gregory (MS. in possession of vicar of Wolvercote), p. 29.

⁷¹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39, f. 381v.; Gregory notebk. pp. 17, 28, 43, 71, 80, 111, 147-8.

⁷² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 646, ff. 93, 111; for Cooke, see *Hall's Circuits and Ministers*, ed. T. G. Hartley, 418.

⁷³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 422.

⁷⁴ *Wilb. Visit.* 166; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 474; c 335, f. 438; c 338, f. 455; c 344, f. 453. No return for Wolvercote survives in the 1851 religious census.

⁷⁵ *Oxf. Jnl.* 16 Oct. 1886; *Oxf. Times*, 19 Oct. 1912; H. Paintin, *Centenary Booklet, New Rd. Chapel Sunday Sch. Soc.* (1913), 37-8.

⁷⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 569, f. 167; d 571, f. 157.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* c 433, f. 226.

⁷⁸ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, H.C. 224, p. 733 (1819), ix B; Merton Coll. Mun., 1.4 (register, 1731-1822), pp. 604, 618, 625; *ibid.* 1.5, pp. 5, 15, 23, 50, 57, 63; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 449, f. 65; c 634, f. 94; notebk. of T. Gregory (in possession of vicar of Wolvercote), p. 34.

⁷⁹ *12th Rep. Char. Com.* 352; Gregory notebk. p. 109; St. John's Coll. Mun., Reg. viii, p. 429; Merton Coll. Mun., 1.5 (reg. 1822-76), p. 83; P.R.O., ED 7/169/230.

⁸⁰ *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, H.C. 62, p. 758 (1835), xlii; *Village Educ. in 19th-cent. Oxon.* (O.R.S. li), pp. xvii-xviii; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1853).

⁸¹ *Wilb. Visit.* 166; *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202-1], p. 334, H.C. (1868-9), xiii; P.R.O., ED 7/169/230.

⁸² P.R.O., ED 7/169/230; Merton Coll. Mun., 1.5, p. 348.

⁸³ Ch. Ch. Arch., MS. Estates 69, f. 75.

⁸⁴ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 473v.; *Returns relating to Pars.* H.C. 114, pp. 344-5 (1867-8), liii; *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* p. 334.

⁸⁵ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 344, f. 453; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1895); *Return of Income and Expenditure for every Public Elem. Sch. 1875-6* [C. 1882], pp. 216-17, H.C. (1877), lxvii.

across the road, south of the church, in 1898, bringing the total accommodation up to 295.⁸⁶ Despite some initial legal difficulties, the buildings were leased to the local education authority from 1904 until 1913 when the school, now with accommodation for 240, transferred to new buildings near the infants' schoolroom.⁸⁷ Two new classrooms were opened in 1938, bringing accommodation up to 416.⁸⁸ The school, which had been taken over by Oxford City after the boundary changes of 1929, became a junior mixed and infant school in 1963, seniors attending Cherwell Secondary school. In 1983 there were 172 children on the roll.⁸⁹

In 1857 Thomas Combe built a schoolroom on the north side of Mill Street for evening classes for the mill workers. There is no further clear record of the school, although in the 1860s incumbents occasionally referred to evening classes in the parish. No evening school was reported in 1868.⁹⁰

In 1815 the trustees of Catherine Rawson's charity determined to pay the incumbent £3 a year for the religious education of poor children. The money was added to the funds of the village school until it became a board school in 1874. In 1973 the income of the educational branch of the charity, £3.92, was used for rewards and prizes for poor children.⁹¹ Mary Judge, widow of the vicar L. E. Judge, by will proved in 1862, bequeathed £100 to Merton College, the interest to be used for rewards for children at Wolvercote school. The college decided in 1862

to pay the school £3 10s. a year.⁹² There is no later record of the charity.

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. Catherine Rawson, by will dated 1705, left £200, the income, after payments of £1 for a sermon and 10s. to the clerk, to be given to the poor.⁹³ In 1706 the money, with £20 given by David Walter (d. 1679) and £5 given by Richard Hall (probably d. 1705), was used to buy 9 a. of meadow in Wolvercote, thereafter known as the Poor's Plot.⁹⁴ In 1815 the trustees revised the principles on which the charity was to be distributed, laying down that special consideration should be given to the poorest families who managed without relief, and that all recipients should attend church regularly; adults should receive 3s. 6d. and children 2s.⁹⁵ Part of the land was sold to the railway companies in the 1850s and the proceeds invested in £785 Consols.⁹⁶ In 1979 the charity had an income of £62 for the poor.⁹⁷

Adam Knapp of Middlesex, by will proved in 1823, left £101 Consols, the income of which, £2 15s. 4d., was distributed in kind in 1890.⁹⁸ There is no later record of the charity.

Minnah Frances Rowland Middleton, by will proved in 1931, left £1,000 to the poor of Wolvercote and Cutteslowe. The estate proved inadequate to pay the legacy in full, and only £86 was received. The income of the charity was £6 in 1979.⁹⁹

WOODSTOCK

WOODSTOCK lies 8 miles (12 km.) north-west of Oxford on the river Glyme close to the east side of Blenheim Park.¹ The borough and market town, called formally New Woodstock until the 19th century, was founded in the 12th century in Bladon parish and remained ecclesiastically dependent on Bladon thereafter. Woodstock was a borough until 1974 when, as a successor parish, it retained town status and the privilege of appointing a mayor and other officers.² The name Woodstock (place in the woods)³ may have applied first to a royal hunting lodge established on the edge of Wychwood forest in the Anglo-Saxon period. The site, on the north bank of the Glyme opposite Blenheim Palace,

was occupied until the early 18th century by a royal residence, called the king's houses or Woodstock Manor.⁴ By the 12th century it was surrounded by a great park, Woodstock Park, renamed Blenheim when granted by the Crown in 1705 to John Churchill, duke of Marlborough. The history of the park, an extra-parochial place later Blenheim parish, is treated separately below. Before the creation of the borough the name Woodstock also applied to a small hamlet outside the park on the north bank of the Glyme; the hamlet, later Old Woodstock, lay in Wootton parish but, as an adjunct to the borough into which it was absorbed in 1886, its history is also treated separately below.

⁸⁶ Merton Coll. Mun., 1.5, p. 538; 1.5A, pp. 110, 190, 271; *Rep. of Educ. Cttee. of Council, 1879-80* [C. 2562-I], p. 677, H.C. (1800), xxii; Ch. Ch. Arch., MS. Estates 69, ff. 81-5, 88; *Oxf. Chron.* 14 May 1898.

⁸⁷ Oxon. Educ. Cttee. Reports, 25 Apr., 24 June 1904; P.R.O., ED 7/169/230.

⁸⁸ Oxf. Educ. Cttee. min. bk. 6, pp. 29, 225.

⁸⁹ Inf. from Oxf. Educ. Cttee.

⁹⁰ H. Carter, *Wolvercote Mill*, 36, 57; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 335, f. 438; c 344, f. 453; *Rep. Com. Children and Women in Agric.*, p. 334.

⁹¹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Wolvercote, b 5, f. 103 and v.; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 352; O.R.C.C. Kimber Rep.; Char. Com. files.

⁹² Somerset Ho., will of Mary Judge; Merton Coll. Mun., 1.5, p. 412.

⁹³ O.R.O., Misc. Su. LXXVIII/i/1; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 352.

⁹⁴ Board in ch.; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 352; for Ric. Hall see

O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 35/1/26.

⁹⁵ *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 352; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Wolvercote, b 5, f. 103 and v.

⁹⁶ *Char. Digest*, H.C. 292-II, pp. 64-5 (1871), lv.

⁹⁷ O.R.C.C., Kimber Rep.

⁹⁸ *Suppl. Char. Digest*, H.C. 247, p. 18 (1890), lv; board in ch.

⁹⁹ Char. Com. files; *Ambit* (Wolvercote par. mag.) Feb. 1983: copy in Westgate Libr.; O.R.C.C., Kimber Rep.

¹ Principal maps used for this article were O.S. Maps 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 and later edns.); *ibid.* 1/25,000, SP 41/51 (1982 edn.); O.S. Plan, 1/2,500, SP 4416-4516 (1974 edn.); Blenheim Mun., map of 1719 in wooden chest; *ibid.* E/P/58: survey of 1863 and associated map; O.R.O., D.V. VIII/275; X/23: survey and map c. 1910.

² Boro. Mun., council mins. 1974-5.

³ *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 292-3.

⁴ Below, Blenheim, King's Hos.

WOODSTOCK

In 1279 local jurors asserted that New Woodstock was founded by Henry II to provide lodgings for his retinue when he was at Woodstock Park, which he visited regularly for love of Rosamund Clifford; he therefore provided land outside the park so that men might build *hospitia*, and he granted a market to the new residents.⁵ The story is supported in part by other evidence, but Woodstock was one of Henry's principal residences before and after his association with Rosamund and indeed the town may have post-dated her death *c.* 1176; its foundation was presumably a response to the gravitation of trade to the vicinity of the court, and Henry's motives probably included a desire for rents and tolls as well as the need for lodgings and services. In 1177 Woodstock was not among local demesne towns contributing to works in Woodstock Park⁶ and was perhaps founded only shortly before Henry's death in 1189, for in 1194 its rents apparently yielded less than 5s. a year to the king.⁷ In 1199–1200 the men of Woodstock claimed that Henry had enfeoffed them with land for their vill acquired by exchange from the Templars' fee in Hensington (in Bladon parish).⁸ By 1203 Woodstock was tallaged with other local demesne towns and in 1204 its market and rents were farmed.⁹ By 1230, when it was referred to expressly as a borough, its rental yielded *c.* 36s.¹⁰

The site of New Woodstock, a well drained plateau on the edge of the Glyme valley opposite the royal palace, was said to have been vacant when the town was founded. Roman coins were found near the church in 1755 and an urn near Oxford Street in 1810.¹¹ The underlying rock is Oolitic limestone,¹² and many of the town's older houses retain deep, dry cellars. Water was obtained from wells and pumps until a piped supply from the Glyme was provided in the 1690s; fissures in the bedrock were used for sewage disposal until the mid 20th century.¹³

In the 19th century and probably from the later Middle Ages the borough comprised 61½ a.¹⁴ Its boundary with the park on the west and south was probably established at its foundation,¹⁵ but it was extended on the north in 1453 when the corporation's meadows (*c.* 17 a.) were granted by the Crown.¹⁶ As late as 1750 a triangle of land at the junction of Brook Hill and

Upper Brook Hill remained in Hensington,¹⁷ suggesting that the borough boundary may once have followed the edge of the valley on the line of Upper Brook Hill and Harrison's Lane. The original east boundary was probably altered in the 13th century when the east side of Oxford Street was laid out.¹⁸ In the 1580s there was a dispute over the boundary near Starting Grove, east of the later Union Street,¹⁹ and then and later there was uncertainty over the boundary at the south-east corner of the borough: part of the open space at the east end of Rectory Lane, once Townsend pool and the site of the horse fair, was deemed to be in Hensington, and the borough boundary divided the front and rear parts of no. 12 Oxford Street.²⁰ The parish was perambulated regularly by the early 17th century;²¹ an 'imperfect' perambulation of 1806 was corrected in 1822 when new crosses were marked, evidently on the line of the boundary mapped in 1876.²² Perambulation was revived briefly in 1910 and 1957.²³ In 1886 the municipal borough was extended to 158 a., incorporating the built-up part of Old Woodstock (51 a.) and part of Hensington (45 a.); in 1894 the added areas became the civil parishes of Old Woodstock and Hensington Within and the remaining 61½ a. Woodstock civil parish.²⁴ The last was reduced in 1897 to *c.* 60 a. when Blenheim parish boundary near Old Woodstock mill was moved eastwards to the park wall; thereafter the municipal borough comprised *c.* 156 a. (63 ha.).²⁵ After 1974 the successor parish retained the same boundaries until 1985, when Hensington Without (493 a.) was added and the boundary at the north end of Old Woodstock adjusted to include Hill Rise, formerly in Wootton parish.²⁶

Until mid 20th-century expansion Woodstock remained a small community. The medieval population was probably near its peak in 1279 when there were *c.* 140 houses and *c.* 112 named inhabitants.²⁷ Numbers had fallen by 1377 when only 164 adults paid poll tax.²⁸ There were *c.* 60 named contributors to the subsidies of 1523–4,²⁹ and in 1547–8 the number of communicants was said to be 360.³⁰ In 1619 and 1626 there were 92 and 131 adult males at the muster,³¹ and suitors to early 17th-century courts leet, theoretically all male inhabitants aged 12 and above but chiefly the independent householders, usually

⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 839–42.

⁶ *Pipe R.* 1177 (P.R.S. xxvi), 16.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1194 (P.R.S. N.S. v), 15; cf. *ibid.* 1195 (N.S. vi), 38; *Chanc. R.* 1196 (N.S. vii), 203.

⁸ *Rot. Cur. Reg.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 157; *Cur. Reg. R.* i. 319; *Pleas before King, 1198–1202* (Selden Soc. lxxvii), pp. 63–4, 297.

⁹ *Pipe R.* 1203 (P.R.S. N.S. xvi), 193; 1204 (N.S. xviii), 16, 111, 113.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 1230 (N.S. iv), 258–9.

¹¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 345; *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 9 Aug. 1755.

¹² *Geol. Surv. Map 1"*, solid and drift, sheet 236 (1938 edn.).

¹³ Below, Local Govt., Public Health and Services.

¹⁴ *O.S. Area Bk.* (1877).

¹⁵ Below, Development.

¹⁶ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1427–1516, 125–7. For the meadows, below, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886 (Finance and Property).

¹⁷ *Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon.* 103.

¹⁸ Below, Development.

¹⁹ *P.R.O.*, E 134/25 Eliz. I/Hil. 4.

²⁰ Cf. *Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon.* 103; *O.S. Map 1/2,500*, *Oxon. XXVI.* 8 (1876 edn.).

²¹ e.g. *Boro. Mun.* 79, ff. 110, 115; 93, pp. 82–4, 110–12, 169–75; 94, s.a. 1858.

²² *Ibid.* 89, pp. 156–7, 295–6.

²³ *Bodl. G.A. Oxon.* c 317/19: newspaper cutting; *ibid.* *MS. Dep.* d 318, p. 121.

²⁴ *O.R.O.*, RO 216, 263; *Census*, 1891, 1901; *O.S. Map 1/2,500*, *Oxon. XXVI.* 8 (1899 edn.).

²⁵ *Census*, 1901–81.

²⁶ Inf. from Woodstock town clerk.

²⁷ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 839–42.

²⁸ *P.R.O.*, E 179/161/42.

²⁹ *Ibid.* E 179/161/175, 194.

³⁰ *Chant. Cert.* (O.R.S. i), 23, 47, where higher figures of 660–760 probably relate to the whole of Bladon par.

³¹ *Boro. Mun.* 96, ff. 12, 33.

numbered between 100 and 120, including a few from Old Woodstock and sometimes the widows of freemen.³² Lists of suitors in the later 17th century indicate a larger population: there were c. 140 suitors in 1662 and 1687, 148 in 1699, and as many as 171 in 1703.³³ In 1662 hearth tax was paid by 116 householders and in 1676 there were 367 communicants and 2 nonconformists.³⁴ In the 1660s there were averages of c. 19 baptisms and c. 14 burials a year and in the 1690s c. 18 baptisms and c. 16 burials; years of particularly heavy mortality were 1655 and 1708, when burials exceeded 30.³⁵ Taken together the evidence suggests that total population in the later 17th century was between 550 and 700.

In the early 18th century the building of Blenheim Palace introduced a large labour force and the town's subsequent prosperity enabled it to sustain the population. By the second decade of the century average baptisms exceeded 28 and burials 21. After a period of stability the population grew rapidly in the 1760s when average baptisms were c. 33 a year and burials c. 29. In the 1770s baptisms rose to 48 a year, probably in part reflecting national population trends.³⁶ In 1801 there were 1,322 inhabitants in 311 families, probably double the population in the late 17th century. From a peak of 1,455 in 1821 the population fell to 1,380 in 1831, and an apparent slight rise in 1841 was caused only by the temporary residence of a large labour force restoring Blenheim Palace; by 1851 the population was 1,262 and by 1881 only 1,133. After 1886 population in the former borough, represented by Woodstock civil parish, continued to fall and was below 1,000 between 1921 and 1951. Numbers in the enlarged borough fell from 1,628 in 1891 to 1,484 in 1931. The population increased rapidly after the Second World War, reaching 1,715 by 1951 and 2,037 by 1981. Hensington Without, not included in Woodstock until 1985 although for long effectively a suburb, doubled in population in the 1960s and in 1981 had 1,106 inhabitants.³⁷

Woodstock straddles the Oxford–Stratford road, which was probably an established route before the town's foundation: north of Woodstock the road formed part of the early boundary of Wychwood forest and its crossing point of the Glyme at Old Woodstock was the site of a Domesday mill,³⁸ frequently the sign of an early fording place. A causeway there was repaired by the bailiff of Woodstock manor in 1257³⁹ and by the 17th century, when it was the borough's responsibility, it comprised a long series of stone

arches.⁴⁰ In 1774 the corporation agreed with the turnpike trustees to rebuild part of the causeway but when the trustees repaired it in 1827 the corporation refused to contribute.⁴¹ The bridge at the Old Woodstock end of the causeway was accepted as a county bridge and in 1839, after a dispute with the corporation, the county took over the whole length of the derelict causeway; the bridge appears to have been rebuilt in the 1830s and the rest of the causeway in the 1840s.⁴²

An early road to Banbury ran north-east from the town on the line of the later Brook Hill⁴³ and is preserved as the green lane following the Glyme valley known in part as Dornford Lane. Henry VIII seems to have entered the town by that route.⁴⁴ After the creation of local turnpike roads in the 18th century, however, the preferred route to Banbury seems to have been by Hensington Road and its branch north-east to Sturdy's Castle, which were in the care of turnpike trustees by 1804.⁴⁵

Woodstock had a postal service by 1685⁴⁶ but by then the town lay off the principal lines of communication: the Oxford–Stratford road was relatively unimportant, the London–Worcester road passed 2 miles to the north, and the Oxford–Coventry road 2 miles to the east.⁴⁷ After Blenheim Palace was built, however, Woodstock's attractions to the traveller were recognized: the earliest Oxfordshire turnpike trust, taking over the London–Oxford road at Stokenchurch in 1718, also adopted the Oxford–Woodstock road north of the Oxford mileway.⁴⁸ In 1730 the Stratford road between Woodstock and Great Rollright was turnpiked and the town became a popular stopping place for travellers on the 'great Irish road'.⁴⁹

The development of coaching in Woodstock was attributed to the landlord of the King's Head inn who c. 1760 started a two-wheeled chaise service, soon followed by a post chaise run by the landlord of the Bear inn.⁵⁰ A stage wagon to London was in operation by 1773,⁵¹ and in the late 18th century the Bellingers, long established carriers to London, were operating a twice-weekly service, and the Priors a weekly wagon to Birmingham. At that time no stage coaches operated from the town but several passed through from other places.⁵² In 1808 a thrice-weekly post coach between Woodstock and London, called the Blenheim, was started, at first using the Old Angel inn but later run as a daily return service from the Bear.⁵³ In 1830, at the height of the coaching era, there were eight

³² Ibid. ff. 9–38: lists c. 1611–29; ibid. 78/2, endpapers: list 1668; ibid. 78/3, endpapers: lists 1616, 1619. For the age limit, ibid. 96, ff. 85–6. Mr. H. F. Shipp kindly provided an analysis of 17th-cent. pop. sources.

³³ Boro. Mun. 76/1, Aug. 1662; ibid. 96, ff. 42–3, 62–3.

³⁴ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 293; *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 424.

³⁵ Westgate Libr., par. reg. transcripts.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ *Census*, 1801–1981.

³⁸ *Eynsham Cart.* ii, p. 94; below, Old Woodstock, Econ., Mills.

³⁹ *Close R.* 1256–9, 144.

⁴⁰ e.g. Boro. Mun. 79, f. 137; 76/2, Apr. 1680; 93, pp. 215 sqq.

⁴¹ Ibid. 88, p. 349; 89, pp. 325–6.

⁴² O.R.O., QSB 79.

⁴³ P.R.O., E 134/24 Eliz. I/Hil. 4; Magd. Coll. Mun., Woodstock deeds no. 2; Bodl. MS. Oxon. Rolls 103: map of Hensington 1750.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., E 134/25 Eliz. I/Hil. 4.

⁴⁵ 44 Geo. III, c. 79.

⁴⁶ P.O. Arch., Post 2/3, pp. 83, 137.

⁴⁷ J. Ogilby, *Britannia* (1970 facs. edn.).

⁴⁸ 5 Geo. I, c. 1 (Priv. Act). For mins. of the Stokenchurch trustees, O.R.O., CH.S/II/i/1.

⁴⁹ 3 Geo. II, c. 21; W. Mavor, *New Description of Blenheim* (1810), 141.

⁵⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 163.

⁵¹ Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 10 Apr. 1773.

⁵² *Univ. Brit. Dir.* [1795], iv. 823–5.

⁵³ *Oxf. Herald*, 9 Jan. 1808; *Oxf. Jnl.* 15 Feb. 1817; Pigot, *Lond. & Prov. Dir.* (1823–4); *Oxf. Chron.* 15 Feb. 1879: article on Woodstock coaching inns.

coaches to London and three to Birmingham on most days, and daily coaches to Holyhead, Worcester, Shrewsbury, and Leicester; carriers provided a daily service to London and Birmingham and regular services to local markets.⁵⁴ Coaching declined sharply in the 1840s: by 1844 the Birmingham and Worcester coaches through Woodstock were carrying London travellers to the railway at Steventon (Berks.), and by 1852 coaches were reduced to daily services to Birmingham, Worcester, and Oxford with regular omnibus connexions to the railway at Kidlington.⁵⁵ Poorer communications forced a change to afternoon postal deliveries in 1844.⁵⁶ The Oxford–Stratford road was disturnpiked in 1878.⁵⁷

Attempts to obtain a railway link to Woodstock failed⁵⁸ until the 8th duke of Marlborough in 1885 planned a branch line owned by the Woodstock Railway Co., of which he was chairman. The single-track line was opened in 1890, running from the Great Western Railway at Woodstock Road (renamed Kidlington) station to Blenheim and Woodstock station, built on the duke's land on the east side of Oxford Street. The branch was sold to the G.W.R. in 1897. By 1910 there were ten trains a day to Oxford but the service was pruned after the Second World War and the line closed in 1954.⁵⁹ The station survives, largely unaltered, as Young's garage.

New Woodstock was at first a moderately successful planted town, stimulated by royal patronage and the proximity of Woodstock park, which was visited regularly by successive kings.⁶⁰ The original street plan was extended in the 13th century, additional fairs were granted, and the borough acquired large powers of self government long before receiving a formal charter of liberties in 1453. Many leading medieval townsmen held office in the royal manor and park, and court gatherings filled Woodstock with clerks and servants. The provision of a Chancellor's house outside the park in Hensington in 1232 and the jurors' emphasis in 1279 on the provision of lodgings confirms that space in the king's houses was limited; in 1256 even the town could not accommodate surplus guests attending the visit of the king of Scots.⁶¹ The royal connexion perhaps accounts for the foundation of several small hospitals in the vicinity: a house for leprous women was mentioned in 1182 and 1232, the leper hospital of the Holy Cross in Old Woodstock was recorded from the 1220s, and a hospital of St. Mary the Virgin and St. Mary Magdalene at Woodstock was mentioned in 1339.⁶²

Although the town was evidently well established by the early 14th century it remained one of the smallest Oxfordshire towns, and seems to have declined in prosperity and population in the later Middle Ages.⁶³ There is no direct evidence of plague in Woodstock but the Black Death ravaged villages in the town's hinterland and may have caused a long-term setback. Late-medieval kings continued to use the royal park but infrequently, and in the mid 15th century the town contained fewer houses than in 1279.⁶⁴ Vacant sites and large frontages to the market area were in marked contrast to the minute subdivision of plots in more prosperous towns. In 16th-century subsidies Woodstock ranked low among Oxfordshire towns⁶⁵ and although the late-medieval community was prosperous enough to endow chantries and influential enough to acquire chartered privileges few individuals were notably wealthy.

Fear of plague near Woodstock disrupted royal visits in 1518, 1520, and 1526;⁶⁶ Henry VIII made several later visits but Elizabeth I, imprisoned there in 1554–5, returned only four times as queen.⁶⁷ Risk of plague during royal visits caused royal officers to warn off travellers to Woodstock fair in 1575 and to discourage visitors on other occasions;⁶⁸ in general, however, Woodstock was regarded as healthy, for two Oxford colleges kept houses there as plague retreats and in 1625 the court moved there to escape plague in London.⁶⁹ Declining royal interest in the park was blamed for the town's 'great ruin and decay' in 1565, but Woodstock's new charter of that year, granting an additional market and fairs and valuable former chantry property,⁷⁰ was one of several signs of revival. The right to elect two M.P.s, not invoked since the early 14th century, was reasserted in the mid 16th and greatly influenced the town's later history.⁷¹ An Act of 1576 making Woodstock a staple town briefly stimulated the local wool trade, and in 1585 the town acquired a grammar school.⁷² The extent of building activity in the late 16th century and early 17th indicates renewed prosperity. James I and Charles I stayed regularly at Woodstock and the town was crowded with courtiers and visitors.⁷³ Early 17th-century fairs drew travellers from a wide area.⁷⁴ The relative failure of nearby market towns such as Eynsham, Charlbury, and Deddington extended Woodstock's hinterland: in 1584 a Great Tew inhabitant was made to do penance at Woodstock rather than Deddington market, and by the 17th century Woodstock's market area seems also to have stretched west to

⁵⁴ Pigot, *Lond. & Prov. Dir.* (1830).

⁵⁵ Pigot, *Nat. & Comm. Dir.* (1844); *New Guide to Blenheim* [Woodstock c. 1850, publ. Wm. Eccles], 81; Gardner, *Dir. Oxon.* (1852).

⁵⁶ *Oxf. Chron.* 5 Aug. 1854.

⁵⁷ 40 & 41 Vic. c. 64; 41 & 42 Vic. c. 62.

⁵⁸ *Oxf. Jnl.* 27 June, 11 July 1868; *Oxf. Chron.* 4 July 1868.

⁵⁹ R. Lingard, *Woodstock Branch* (Oxf. 1973); Blenheim Mun., folder of rly. plans 1885–6 in wooden chest.

⁶⁰ Below, Blenheim, King's Hos.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Pipe R.* 1182 (P.R.S. xxxi), 60; *Close R.* 1231–4, 457; *Cal. Pat.* 1338–40, 250; below, Old Woodstock, Intro.

⁶³ *Historic Towns in Oxon.* ed. K. Rodwell, 201; below, Econ.

⁶⁴ Below, Development.

⁶⁵ Below, Econ.

⁶⁶ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, ii (2), pp. 1331, 1478; iii (1), p. 348; iv (2), p. 1079.

⁶⁷ Below, Blenheim, King's Hos.

⁶⁸ *Acts of P.C.* 1575–7, 14, 24; Balliol Coll. Mun., F. 9. 7.

⁶⁹ Below, Bldgs. no. 32; Balliol Coll. Mun. F. 9. 7; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1625–49, 38.

⁷⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1563–6, p. 440.

⁷¹ Below, Parl. Rep.

⁷² Below, Econ.; Educ.

⁷³ Below, Blenheim, King's Hos.

⁷⁴ Below, Local Govt., Admin. of Justice.

Eynsham and east to Islip.⁷⁵ Competition from Oxford and other markets, however, prevented further expansion, and in 1635 Woodstock's assessment for ship money was only £20, compared with Chipping Norton's £30 and Banbury's £40.⁷⁶ As the market centre of a troubled rural area Woodstock was concerned in the abortive agrarian uprising of 1596, when the activities of George Whitton, former mayor and prominent local landowner, were among the grievances.⁷⁷

For much of the Civil War the manor house in Woodstock Park was a royalist stronghold, strategically important to the royalist capital at Oxford.⁷⁸ The town quickly experienced the consequences of partisanship: when royalist troops quartered there in 1642 were succeeded in September by parliamentarians⁷⁹ the town clerk, Edmund Hiorne, was forced to apologize at the Bar of the House of Commons for handing the town's armour to the royalists and publishing a proclamation against the earl of Essex; the Speaker, who castigated Hiorne, was Woodstock's recorder and M.P., William Lenthall.

On 28 October 1642, after the battle of Edgehill, Charles I stayed at Woodstock on the way to Oxford, and by November the manor house was fortified and royalist troops were billeted in the town.⁸⁰ Royalists then occupied Woodstock until June 1644: 2,000 soldiers were reported there in July 1643 when the king and queen were in residence, apparently because of plague in Oxford, but by August there was only a troop of the queen's horse; the garrison was reinforced late in 1643, but most of the troops were withdrawn before March 1644, leaving 300 foot soldiers.⁸¹ On 2 June 1644 the king was hunting at Woodstock when he heard that Sir William Waller had crossed the Thames at Newbridge; fearing encirclement⁸² he made his notorious flight from Oxford the following night. Soon afterwards parliamentary forces under Essex passed through Woodstock towards Chipping Norton; on 17 July, a royalist garrison installed in the manor house on the previous day surrendered to Waller without a shot after the captain had been arrested during a parley.⁸³

The parliamentarians had left before September 1644.⁸⁴ In October the earl of North-

ampton with a large royalist army stayed there on the way to relieve Banbury, and seven foot regiments were quartered in Woodstock in November.⁸⁵ Reinforcements to the garrison in 1645 included the transfer of 300 soldiers from Faringdon when Cromwell was expected in the area.⁸⁶ The king stayed at Woodstock on 7 May 1645 on his way north, and may have taken the garrison with him since on 11 May Cromwell passed through the town with 5,000 men.⁸⁷ In September the parliamentary colonel John Butler wrote to Waller from Woodstock, but a few days later royalist troops were sent there and the royalist presence remained firmly established for the rest of the year.⁸⁸ Parliamentary raids on Woodstock were repulsed with small losses in February 1646,⁸⁹ but in March Col. Thomas Rainsborough and an army of 2,000 men arrived with the intention of blockading Oxford, which was cut off from Woodstock by early April. Resources were concentrated against the Woodstock garrison, which repulsed an attack on the manor house on 15 April but surrendered on 26 April after terms had been negotiated from Oxford. The fall of Woodstock precipitated the king's final departure from Oxford on the next day.⁹⁰

The chamberlains' accounts record payments for billeting soldiers and posting sentries, and the failure to compile full accounts from 1643 to 1645 reflects the disruption of civic life.⁹¹ In 1646 University College, Oxford, blamed the 'unruly times' for rent loss and decay at its Woodstock house.⁹² Payments were made for demolishing the fortifications in 1646 but soldiers were still billeted in Woodstock in 1647; in 1648 prisoners in transit from Colchester damaged the church when they were locked up there.⁹³ Local royalists rejoiced in 1649 when parliamentary surveyors were frightened from Woodstock manor house by supposed hauntings, later alleged to be the contrivance of an Oxford royalist.⁹⁴ None of the corporation are known to have been purged as royalists, but Benjamin Merrick, gentleman, resident at the house later Woodstock House, was fined for joining the king at Oxford.⁹⁵

During the Interregnum the economic effects of the decline of the royal park were again

⁷⁵ *Archdeacon's Ct.* (O.R.S. xxiii), 14-15; below, Econ., Mkts. and Fairs.

⁷⁶ B.L. Add. MS. 37999, ff. 64-65v.; Boro. Mun. 96, ff. 45-6; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1635, 475.

⁷⁷ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1595-7, 317, 320; J. Walter, 'Rising of the People', *Past & Present*, cvii, 90-143.

⁷⁸ Except where indicated, the following paras. on the Civil War are based on Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 191-203; Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 85-9. For fortifications, below, Blenheim, King's Hos.

⁷⁹ *Jnl. of Sir S. Luke*, i (O.R.S. xxix), 15, 45; *Wood's Life and Times*, i (O.H.S. xix), 66-7.

⁸⁰ *C.J.* ii. 792; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1641-3, 402-3; Boro. Mun. 81, ff. 168v.-169v.

⁸¹ *Jnl. of Sir S. Luke*, ii (O.R.S. xxxi), 109, 117-21, 129; iii (O.R.S. xxxiii), 199, 253, 263; *Royalist Ordinance Pps.* ii (O.R.S. xlix), 292, 302; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644, 30.

⁸² Clarendon, *Hist. Rebellion*, ed. W. D. Macray, iii, 353.

⁸³ *Hist. MSS. Com.* 6, 7th Rep., Verney, p. 447b; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644, 361, 363. Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 87 misdates the surrender to June.

⁸⁴ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644, 459, 507, 528.

⁸⁵ *Letter Bks. of Sir S. Luke* (Beds. Hist. Rec. Soc. xlii), 52-3, 360; W. Dugdale's *Life, Diary and Corresp.* ed. W.

Hamper, pp. 73-4. Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 198, misdates Northampton's arrival to 1645.

⁸⁶ *Writings and Speeches of O. Cromwell*, ed. W. C. Abbott, i, 343; *Royalist Ordinance Pps.* ii (O.R.S. xlix), 357.

⁸⁷ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644-5, 482. No evidence has been found to connect him with Cromwell Ho.: below, Bldgs. no. 48.

⁸⁸ *Nicholas Pps.* i (Camd. Soc. 2nd ser. xl), 65; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1645-7, 145, 238-9; *Dugdale's Diary*, ed. Hamper, 83.

⁸⁹ B. Whitelocke, *Memorials* (1732), 194; Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 196, misdates Fleetwood's raid to 1645.

⁹⁰ *Dugdale's Diary*, ed. Hamper, 84-6; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1645-7, 391, 398-400, 402, 418; *Hist. MSS. Com.* 66, *Ancaster*, pp. 412-13; *C.J.* iv. 523-4; *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 80.

⁹¹ Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 168 sqq.

⁹² Univ. Coll. Arch., fine bk. 1639-51, p. 5.

⁹³ Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 178v., 181v.; below, Church.

⁹⁴ [T. Widdowes], *Just Devil of Woodstock* (1660); Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxon.* (1705), 210; Anon. *Genuine Hist. of Just Devil* (1802), 1-15; Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 204-5; *N. & Q.* 8th ser. iii. 168, 256; 9th ser. xi. 370-1.

⁹⁵ *Cal. Cttee. for Compounding*, ii. 1571; Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 167-8, 213-14; below, Bldgs. no. 34.

noted.⁹⁶ Damage to the manor house was never fully repaired after the Restoration, royal visits ceased, and when William III visited Woodstock he lodged in the town.⁹⁷ New College, Oxford, reckoned that its rent from Woodstock property had halved since the days of regular royal visits⁹⁸ and in the 1680s there were complaints, perhaps exaggerated, that the town was poor, dependent entirely on markets and fairs, and lacking 'any manufacture to maintain it and the poor'.⁹⁹ On the basis of hearth tax returns Woodstock, while evidently prospering more than local market towns such as Eynsham and Charlbury, had fallen well behind the expanding Banbury and Witney.¹ Woodstock began to attract resident gentry, partly because of the introduction of horse racing but perhaps also because of its 'most pleasant and healthy' situation.² The corporation, purged at the Restoration, acquired a charter in 1664 which remained its governing instrument until 1886, but from the later 17th century it was increasingly subservient to political patrons interested chiefly in the borough's right to elect two M.P.s; it became less representative of the inhabitants and lacked the funds or the will to meet the growing demands of local government.

The town was transformed by the building of Blenheim Palace, begun in 1705. Thereafter many townsmen depended directly or indirectly on the palace and estate. Tourism became central to the town's economy, stimulating the coaching trade, benefiting innkeepers and shopkeepers, and aiding the development of two industries, gloving and steel jewellery manufacture, for which the town became widely known. Markets and fairs flourished, the resident gentry were augmented and grander houses built, and by the later 18th century there were several fashionable boarding schools. Woodstock's fame through tourism was reflected in the large number of places in the New World which adopted its name. In 1721 Woodstock was described as a 'neat country corporation' with good inns and well paved streets.³ By the end of the century it was praised for improvements 'both in buildings and the respectability of their occupiers'; communications were excellent and Woodstock was recommended to retired persons 'with moderate fortunes'.⁴ Even so Woodstock remained one of the least populous Oxfordshire market towns in the earlier 19th century.⁵

The Marlboroughs dominated the borough as high stewards, political and ecclesiastical patrons, and major employers and purchasers. The Crown's gift to them of Woodstock manor included no town property, but later they acquired

substantial holdings, including the principal coaching inns, the Marlborough Arms and the Bear, and the town's waterworks which they retained until 1934. They were major benefactors, paving the streets in 1714, building the town hall in 1766, restoring the church in the 1780s, building almshouses in the 1790s, and providing land for the National schools of 1854. Their influence was sometimes resented and an anti-Blenheim group was usually active in local affairs.

Rural distress in the town's hinterland provoked food riots at Woodstock in 1766 and tension over bread supply in 1795.⁶ In 1798 the corporation considered forming an armed association to preserve the peace⁷ and in 1800 the mayor appointed special constables to prevent disruption of the market.⁸ The formation of the Loyal Woodstock Volunteers in 1803, ostensibly in aid of national defence, perhaps also reflected anxiety over local disturbances.⁹ In 1830 there was industrial unrest among the town's glovers and in 1831 a group deported for machine breaking included Woodstock men.¹⁰

The borough lost its own M.P.s in 1832 but remained dominant in a larger, single-member constituency until 1885. It became the centre of a poor law union in 1834. During the 19th century the inadequacy of the old corporation was increasingly criticized, and in 1886 a reformed corporation was given wide powers over an enlarged borough. The town's economic stagnation was reflected in steadily falling numbers throughout the century, contrary to national trends and in contrast to successful local towns such as Banbury, Chipping Norton, and Bicester;¹¹ emigration was evidently substantial, particularly in the late 19th century.¹² Several factors contributed to Woodstock's relative decline: the steel jewellery craftsmen failed to compete with mass production in the Midlands; tradesmen and others dependent on Blenheim suffered when the household was severely reduced in the 5th duke's time (1817-40); the gloving industry, hardly mechanized until the later 19th century, shared the problems, largely caused by foreign competition, affecting the industry nationally; above all the decline of coaching and the failure to acquire a railway link left Woodstock unable to compete with larger market towns.

Tourism, however, continued to supplement the town's function as the market of a diminishing hinterland. The streets were regularly decked to welcome distinguished visitors to Blenheim,¹³ of whom some took an interest in the town: in 1870 the prince of Wales visited the

⁹⁶ [Widdowes], *Just Devil*, 12.

⁹⁷ Below, Blenheim, King's Hos.

⁹⁸ New Coll. Arch. no. 1949; below, Bldgs. no. 15.

⁹⁹ P.R.O., C 104/109, undated note re 1685 charter.

¹ *Historic Towns*, ed. Rodwell, 201.

² Hist. MSS. Com. 4, 5th Rep., *Pine Coffin*, p. 375. For races, below.

³ J. Macky, *Journey through Eng.* ii (1722), 117.

⁴ W. Mavor, *New Description of Blenheim* (1803 and later edns.). ⁵ *Census*, 1801; *Historic Towns*, ed. Rodwell, 201.

⁶ *Oxf. Jnl.* 11 Oct. 1766; Boro. Mun. 93, p. 161; L. W. Thwaites, 'Marketing of Agric. Produce in 18th-cent.

Oxon.' (Birm. Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1981), 332-3.

⁷ Boro. Mun. 89, p. 88.

⁸ *Oxf. Jnl.* 27 Sept. 1800; Thwaites, 'Marketing', 525.

⁹ Boro. Mun. 89, pp. 133-4; *ibid.* printed constitution; Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 2, accts. to c. 1814.

¹⁰ Below, Econ.; M. Sturge Gretton, *Corner of the Cotswolds*, 105.

¹¹ C. J. Bond, 'Small Towns of Oxon. in 19th cent.' *Oxf. Region*, ed. T. Rowley, 57 and *passim*.

¹² Mary Hodges kindly supplied inf. on 19th-cent. pop.

¹³ e.g. *Oxf. Jnl.* 10 Dec. 1870; Blenheim Palace Libr., scrapbook 1896.

National school and in 1873 Benjamin Disraeli inspected schools and a glove factory.¹⁴ In the mid 19th century, when fairs had largely ceased and the weekly market had dwindled, Woodstock was described as a sleepy little town, 'singularly neat and clean', glorying in the past rather than the present.¹⁵ Controversy, however, disrupted the town's political and religious life for much of the 19th century. In the 1870s the town's leading Liberals and Methodists were prominent in the local agricultural trade union movement,¹⁶ and in the 1890s a traveller noted the town's 'discontented spirit' and hostility to landlords.¹⁷

Although the opening of the railway caused some revival in gloving and tourism its impact was limited. By the 1930s Woodstock was a quiet backwater, its market finally abandoned, its tourist trade minimal, its streets cluttered with overhead electricity cables; gloving continued but many inhabitants were employed in the Oxford motor industry.¹⁸ Suburban expansion, particularly in Hensington, began on a small scale in the 1930s and after the Second World War the town was transformed; tourism thrived after the reopening of Blenheim in 1950, and Woodstock began to attract many commuters and retired professional people. The range and nature of Woodstock's shops reflected the relative affluence of the local community and the town's dependence on tourism.

The 17th-century corporation entertained visiting dignitaries, gave twice-yearly leet dinners, and provided wine and 'taste cakes' at New Year and other festivals and bell-ringing and bonfires on 5 November and days of national celebration. Royal visits provided spectacle and entertainment: the corporation paid for ringers and for gifts to the king's trumpeters and other members of the retinue; the queen's players were in Woodstock in 1609 and the king's players in 1635.¹⁹ Sermons and weekly lectures were important civic occasions, and the corporation entertained many visiting preachers.²⁰ From the later 17th century the range of official festivities narrowed, but leet dinners continued and the corporation provided refreshments and music on days of national thanksgiving.²¹ Much corporate entertainment was restricted to lead-

ing townsmen: in the early 17th century wine was usually dispensed only among 'the neighbours' (i.e. fellow councillors) and on thanks-giving days in the 18th century, while councillors drank wine in the town hall, the 'populace' shared a hogshead of ale at Penniless Bench.²²

Popular pastimes recorded in the 16th and 17th centuries included archery, cockfighting, and bowls; archery, because of its military significance, was supported by the corporation.²³ Cards and dice were played in the town's many alehouses.²⁴ Woodstock's distinctive May Day customs were noted in the 17th century: hawthorns taken from the park were set up before houses and there was dancing and feasting.²⁵ In 1610 the corporation paid for music when an elm for the maypole was 'brought home' from Combe and in 1634 the ranger of the park was wined when the maypole was acquired, presumably from the park.²⁶ In 1678 the churchwardens bought the maypole and in 1742 the corporation repaired the site where it had stood.²⁷

The maypole was central to the town's Whitsun customs. By the early 19th century there was a septennial Whitsun ale²⁸ during which the pole and an evergreen bower were set up on the green at the junction of Oxford Street and Rectory Lane; a lord and lady were chosen, with the traditional accoutrements of an owl, a flail, and a wooden horse, and revels and morris dancing continued throughout Whit week.²⁹ Similar Whitsun ales or sports were held annually in the early 17th century, providing income for church repair;³⁰ lords and ladies were chosen, and in 1614 the corporation bought an apron for 'our Whitsuntide lady'.³¹ Timber for the festivities was not always obtained from the park,³² but by the 19th century the dukes of Marlborough provided both maypole and bower.³³ The town's claim in the early 19th century to an ancient right to Whitsuntide timber from Wychwood forest probably related to traditional grants from the park, whose associated outwoods were at one time coppiced every seven years.³⁴ The 17th-century celebrations included a procession on Ascension day, evidently a perambulation of the town boundary.³⁵ Income from Whitsun ales was not recorded after the late 17th century³⁶ but in the mid 18th

¹⁴ N. Roast, *Hist. Woodstock Nat. Schs.* (c. 1983, priv. print): copy in Westgate Libr.; *Oxf. Chron.* 20 Dec. 1873.

¹⁵ *New Guide to Blenheim Palace* (Woodstock, c. 1850 and later edns. publ. Wm. Eccles); *Murray's Handbk. for Travellers in Oxon.* (1860 and later edns.).

¹⁶ *Agric. Trade Unionism in Oxon.* (O.R.S. xlviii), 39-40, 45, 50-1, 60, 99, 103; *Oxf. Chron.* 13, 20, 27 July, 17 Aug. 1872.

¹⁷ G. Millin, *Life in Our Villages*, 77.

¹⁸ F. Bevan, 'Social Conditions in Woodstock 40 Yrs. Ago' (TS. 1972 in Westgate Libr.).

¹⁹ Boro. Mun. 79, *passim*.

²⁰ Below, Church.

²¹ Boro. Mun. 76/1-2; 86-8, *passim*.

²² e.g. *ibid.* 79, ff. 14v., 25; 86, Oct. 1710, Dec. 1714.

²³ e.g. *ibid.* 83/1, p. 79; *Crosfield's Diary*, ed. F. S. Boas, 51; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 157: diary of Hen. Meux, curate. For cockpit, below, Bldgs. no. 35.

²⁴ e.g. Boro. Mun. 78/2, Aug. 1608, July 1611; 77/2, Nov. 1625; below, Local Govt., Admin. of Justice.

²⁵ Bodl. MS. Ashmole 1722: John Aubrey's annotations to Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxon.* (1677).

²⁶ Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 8v., 126v.

²⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, p. 75; Boro. Mun. 93, pp. 33-5.

²⁸ G. A. Cooke, *Topog. Description of Oxon.* (1817), 150; [T. Little], *Confessions of an Oxonian* (1826), i. 169.

²⁹ Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 80; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 192, ff. 134-6; *Brit. Calendar Customs*, i (Folklore Soc. xcvii), 154-5; *Oxf. Jnl.* 6 June 1837; *Oxf. Chron.* 25 May 1844, 7 June 1851; *Banbury Guardian*, 5, 12 June 1851; *Birm. Weekly Post*, 31 May 1884 (Local Notes and Queries no. 1475). Refs. kindly supplied by Mr. M. Heaney, Bodleian Libr.

³⁰ e.g. O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, pp. 6, 8, 11-12, 17; Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 1v., 17v., 35.

³¹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, p. 17; Boro. Mun. 79, f. 30v.

³² e.g. Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 1v., 25v.

³³ e.g. *Oxf. Chron.* 25 May 1844.

³⁴ Cooke, *Topog. Description*, 150; below, Blenheim, Pk. to 1705.

³⁵ e.g. Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 110, 115.

³⁶ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, p. 77 sqq.

the corporation regularly paid for cakes, ale, and a drummer for the procession.³⁷ The last recorded Whitsun ale, in 1851, attracted criticism for the 'buffoonery, profaneness, and obscenity' of this 'remnant of a dark age'.³⁸

Although county justices occasionally met at Woodstock in the Middle Ages and later,³⁹ the town's role as a meeting place for the local gentry and aristocracy emerged more strongly when horse racing was introduced c. 1676.⁴⁰ The race meetings, held, usually in September, in most years until the 1730s, were important to Woodstock's political patrons: their instigator, John, Lord Lovelace, brought Titus Oates to the races in 1679 and removed the meeting briefly to Oxford when snubbed by Woodstock voters in 1680;⁴¹ in the 1690s plates for races were presented by the Whig Thomas, Lord Wharton, and the Tory James Bertie, earl of Abingdon, contenders for the Woodstock interest;⁴² and Montagu Bertie, earl of Abingdon, set up a rival meeting in Oxford when the Marlboroughs took over patronage of the Woodstock constituency and the races in 1705.⁴³ The earliest course was at Campsfield (in Kidlington parish) but by 1682 racing was over a 4-mile course in Woodstock Park; the meetings included a stag hunt, coursing, foot races, and smock races for women.⁴⁴ In 1722 the races were held at Campsfield after Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, refused access to the park, but meetings were again at Blenheim in 1732-4 when the duchess was striving to restore her influence.⁴⁵ Thereafter the Marlboroughs patronized the races at Oxford, where their political interest was less secure.⁴⁶ The 4th duke, who inherited in 1758, briefly opened a 2-mile course at Blenheim.⁴⁷ Although Woodstock was said to have annual race meetings as late as 1795, only a few races at Campsfield were advertised from the mid 18th century.⁴⁸ Blenheim and Campsfield were used for challenge races in 1828, and in the 1830s the Oxfordshire Yeomanry held annual public horse races as part of their summer exercises in Blenheim Park.⁴⁹

Other 18th-century pastimes, besides the continuing bowls and cockfighting, included

cricket, played by the 'gentlemen of Woodstock' in the 1790s;⁵⁰ separate Woodstock and Blenheim Park cricket clubs were formed in the 19th century.⁵¹ Boxing matches were held at Campsfield in 1816.⁵² Plays and puppet shows were banned from the town hall in 1771 but concerts, balls, and lectures were held there regularly from the late 18th century.⁵³ The Woodstock stage, characterized in 1765 by 'poverty, rags, and blunders',⁵⁴ may have been at the town hall, but by the 1770s there was a theatre at the Six Bells (later no. 16 Oxford Street).⁵⁵ Visiting companies included the Theatre Royal in 1780, and plays were advertised regularly until 1788.⁵⁶ In 1788-9 plays were performed publicly at a theatre in Blenheim Palace by the duke's family.⁵⁷ An unidentified New Theatre in Woodstock was mentioned in 1820.⁵⁸ Assemblies were held at the Marlborough Arms in the early 19th century, presumably in the ballroom surviving at no. 32 Oxford Street, which was built and incorporated into the inn in the later 18th century;⁵⁹ by tradition Sarah Siddons (d. 1831) acted there.⁶⁰ In the 1870s the Royal Assembly Rooms were built at the King's Arms hotel, and used for plays, concerts, and other events until the 1970s.⁶¹ In 1922 the Empire cinema was opened at no. 41 Oxford Street, which had been a Wesleyan chapel until 1907 and thereafter the Freemasons' hall. The Empire closed c. 1930 and the building was later used as a garage.⁶²

There was a library in the corporation's care in 1746,⁶³ and book societies were mentioned in 1787 and the 1820s.⁶⁴ The Woodstock Literary Institute, at first called the Mechanics' Institute, was established c. 1852 with 60 subscribers and a small library.⁶⁵ Probably from the outset it was in Market Street in a building, later the north-west corner of the Feathers hotel, then owned by the Revd. John Carlyle, schoolmaster.⁶⁶ Proposals to move the Institute to the town hall in 1868 failed,⁶⁷ but in 1894 the corporation bought the Institute's stock as the basis of a public library.⁶⁸

In the 18th century the town was noted for horticulture. Florists' feasts were held by 1759,⁶⁹ and in the later 18th century were held

³⁷ e.g. Boro. Mun. 93, pp. 83, 110-12, 169-75.

³⁸ *Banbury Guardian*, 12 June 1851.

³⁹ Below, Local Govt., Admin. of Justice.

⁴⁰ J. P. Hore, *Hist. Newmarket*, iii, 131 sqq.; *Lond. Gaz.* 1681-1721, *passim*: adverts. for races. Refs. to Woodstock races were kindly supplied by Mrs. E. T. Brown-Grant.

⁴¹ *Wood's Life and Times*, ii (O.H.S. xxi), 465; *Letters of H. Prideaux* (Camd. Soc. 2nd ser. xv), 97-8.

⁴² e.g. *Lond. Gaz.* 6-9 June 1692; 17-20 Aug. 1696; below, Parl. Rep.

⁴³ Cf. *Hearne's Colln.* i (O.H.S. i), 287; Hist. MSS. Com. 23, 12th Rep. III, *Cowper*, iii, p. 65.

⁴⁴ The horse and foot race courses are marked on a map of pk. c. 1710, Bodl. Gough Maps 26, f. 50v., reproduced in D. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 32.

⁴⁵ *N. & Q.* 2nd ser. x, 444-5; J. Cheny, *Hist. List of Horse Matches* (1729-49); below, Parl. Rep.

⁴⁶ E. H. Cordeaux and D. H. Merry, 'Port Meadow Races', *Oxonienisia*, xiii, 61-2.

⁴⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 218.

⁴⁸ *Univ. Brit. Dir.* [1795], iv, 823-5; *Oxf. Jnl.* 6 Nov. 1756, 12 Apr. 1760, 8 Oct. 1763, 9 Oct. 1773.

⁴⁹ *Oxf. Jnl.* 19 Apr., 10 May 1828, 9 June 1832, 20 July 1833, 21 June 1834.

⁵⁰ *Oxf. Mercury*, 13 July, 3 Aug. 1796.

⁵¹ e.g. *Oxf. Jnl.* 9 June 1832, 19 Sept. 1857, 11, 25 Sept.

1858; *Oxf. Chron.* 14 July 1877.

⁵² *Oxf. Jnl.* 2 Mar., 13 Apr. 1816.

⁵³ Boro. Mun. 88, p. 318; *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 27 Mar.

1780, 16 Dec. 1782; B.L. Add. MS. 61680, f. 120.

⁵⁴ *Letters of Josiah Wedgwood*, ed. K. E. Farrer, i, 66.

⁵⁵ Below, Bldgs. no. 3.

⁵⁶ *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 3 July 1780; *ibid.* 1783-8, *passim*.

⁵⁷ Below, Blenheim, Blenheim Palace; B.L. Add. MS. 61672, ff. 170-3.

⁵⁸ B.L. Add. MS. 61680, f. 123.

⁵⁹ *Oxf. Herald* 26 Dec. 1807; 6 Feb., 19 Nov. 1808; below, Bldgs. no. 4.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., Misc. Budd V/4a.

⁶¹ Below, Bldgs. no. 18; *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1894 and later edns.).

⁶² Boro. Mun. 110, pp. 67, 162; O.R.O., CCC 441 B; *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1922 and later edns.); County Mus., P.R.N. 4719-20.

⁶³ S. Simpson, *Agreeable Historian* (1746), 777.

⁶⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 171; O.R.O., Misc. Budd XIV/2; A. H. T. Robb-Smith, 'Dr. Mavor and his times' (TS. in Westgate Lib.), 21.

⁶⁵ Lascelles, *Dir. Oxon.* (1853); *Oxf. Chron.* 22 Oct. 1859.

⁶⁶ Below, Bldgs. no. 57.

⁶⁷ Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 265, 268.

⁶⁸ Below, Local Govt., Public Health and Services.

⁶⁹ *Oxf. Jnl.* 28 July 1759.

annually at one of the town's inns, notably the King's Arms from 1791 until 1809.⁷⁰ The Woodstock Florists' and Horticultural Society, founded in 1825, held annual shows recorded until 1835,⁷¹ and in the early 19th century there were separate shows for carnations and melons, gooseberries, and other varieties.⁷² The Blenheim apple, first grown at Old Woodstock,⁷³ acquired national renown, and apples, gooseberries, and other fruits from Woodstock gardens regularly won national prizes. Among local horticulturalists John Fardon (d. 1865), clock-maker at no. 6 Market Place, was particularly prominent.⁷⁴ The Woodstock Agricultural and Horticultural Association, formed in 1858 and surviving until the 1930s, held annual shows.⁷⁵

Woodstock Provident Society, founded in 1781 at the Old Angel inn, claimed to be the earliest box club in the county.⁷⁶ The town's friendly societies retained a high membership in the early 19th century⁷⁷ and several became associated with particular political groups: in the 1840s the Woodstock Friendly Society was supported chiefly by Liberals and nonconformists.⁷⁸ In 1868 the feasts of the Woodstock Friendly Society, the United Brethren, and the United Benefit Society were held on the same day in the Marlborough Arms, the New Angel, and the Star respectively; music was provided by the Oxford Yeomanry band and the Woodstock Drum and Fife band.⁷⁹ In the later 19th century branches of national friendly societies became dominant, but the Woodstock United Permanent Benefit Society, founded in 1871, survived into the 1920s.⁸⁰ Many political, sports, and special interest clubs were founded in the 19th century and later. One of the longer lasting was Woodstock Social Club, started c. 1920 chiefly for returning service men; it was at no. 7 High Street until moving in 1976 to no. 44 Oxford Street.⁸¹ The Woodstock Society, which provides lectures and has compiled historical and architectural surveys of the town, was formed in 1966.⁸² From the 1930s fund-raising pageants were sometimes held, and in 1953 a pageant formed part of the town's 500th anniversary celebrations.⁸³ Carnivals in 1966-9 were devoted to financing the town's swimming pool, and annual carnivals were held from 1982, at first in aid of the town hall restoration fund and later for various projects.⁸⁴

The repeated allegation that Woodstock was

the home of Geoffrey Chaucer is unfounded.⁸⁵ Distinguished natives included the philosopher and teacher John Case (d. 1600)⁸⁶ and the artist and engraver Charles Turner (1774-1857), whose father Charles was the duke's house steward in the 1760s, later a schoolmaster in Old Woodstock, and finally a draper and glover in High Street.⁸⁷ John Bennet, the 18th-century 'shoemaker poet' of Woodstock,⁸⁸ was evidently John Bennet (1737-1803), whose father Sanders Bennet (d. 1783) was parish clerk and organist for nearly 50 years.⁸⁹

DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWN. New Woodstock developed at a gate into the royal park. The town's curving west boundary perhaps represents the line of the 12th-century park wall but the straight south boundary implies the deliberate marking out of a site, probably confined on the north and east by the road, later Oxford Street, to the Old Woodstock river crossing.⁹⁰ The south boundary divided Woodstock from a wood called Hensgrove, acquired by the king from the Templars and taken into the park, perhaps when the town was founded.⁹¹ The park gate at New Woodstock may not have pre-dated the town: passage from the gate to the royal palace remained difficult, requiring long causeways.⁹² Park Street, running east from the park gate, may have been laid out only when New Woodstock was planned, and on its south side is the church, where a 12th-century doorway provides the earliest evidence of building in the town.

The town in the later Middle Ages probably covered less than 40 a.; its 19th-century extent (61½ a.) included meadows on the north not granted to the borough until the 15th century.⁹³ The original town was smaller, for there was growth in the 13th century and early 14th. In 1204 the town was farmed for only £4, which included market tolls and quitrents or 'land-gable', small annual rents applied to the original building plots.⁹⁴ Quitrents rose from 36s. 5d. in 1230 to 43s. in the 1260s, c. 45s. in 1279, and over 52s. in 1310;⁹⁵ they were not recorded again until the later 15th century. The increase suggests an addition between 1230 and 1310 of 30 burgages to a town which earlier contained c. 70, assuming an average quitrent of 6d.

In 1279,⁹⁶ a century after the town's founda-

⁷⁰ Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, *passim*. Refs. kindly supplied by Mrs. E. T. Brown-Grant.

⁷¹ Oxf. Jnl. 13 Aug. 1825, 8 Aug. 1835.

⁷² e.g. *ibid.* 28 July 1810, 13 July 1822.

⁷³ Below, Old Woodstock.

⁷⁴ E. T. Brown-Grant, 'John Fardon', *Oxon. Family Historian*, iii (4), 127-9; iii (5), 148-50.

⁷⁵ Oxf. Jnl. 25 Sept. 1858, 24 Sept. 1859, 15, 22 Sept. 1877; *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1930 and later edns.); Boro. Mun., file 24.

⁷⁶ Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 10 Nov. 1788.

⁷⁷ Below, Local Govt., Par. Govt. and Poor Relief.

⁷⁸ C. Freeman, 'Mr. Harrison refused to sign: political tensions of Woodstock 1838-52' (Oxf. Univ. External Studies Dissertation, 1987). ⁷⁹ Oxf. Chron. 27 June 1868.

⁸⁰ Oxf. Chron. 14 July 1877; *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1894 and later edns.).

⁸¹ *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1935 and later edns.); Oxf. Mail 3 Dec. 1976, 23 Mar. 1988.

⁸² *Woodstock, 1967* (Woodstock Soc. 1970); copy in Westgate Libr.; County Mus., archit. survey 1967.

⁸³ Oxf. Mail, 25 May 1953.

⁸⁴ Inf. from Dr. W. R. Edwards. ⁸⁵ Below, Bldgs. no. 32.

⁸⁶ D.N.B.; below, Educ.; Char.

⁸⁷ D.N.B.; A. Whitman, *Chas. Turner* (1907); B.L. Add. MS. 61678, ff. 78, 108; 61680, ff. 55 sqq.; below, Bldgs. no. 48; below, Educ.

⁸⁸ John Bennet, *Poems on Several Occasions* (Lond. 1774); *idem, Redemption* (Woodstock, ? 1706).

⁸⁹ For the relationship, *idem, Poems*, 9. For Sanders, Westgate Libr., burial reg. transcript, s.a. 1783.

⁹⁰ For the road, above, Intro.

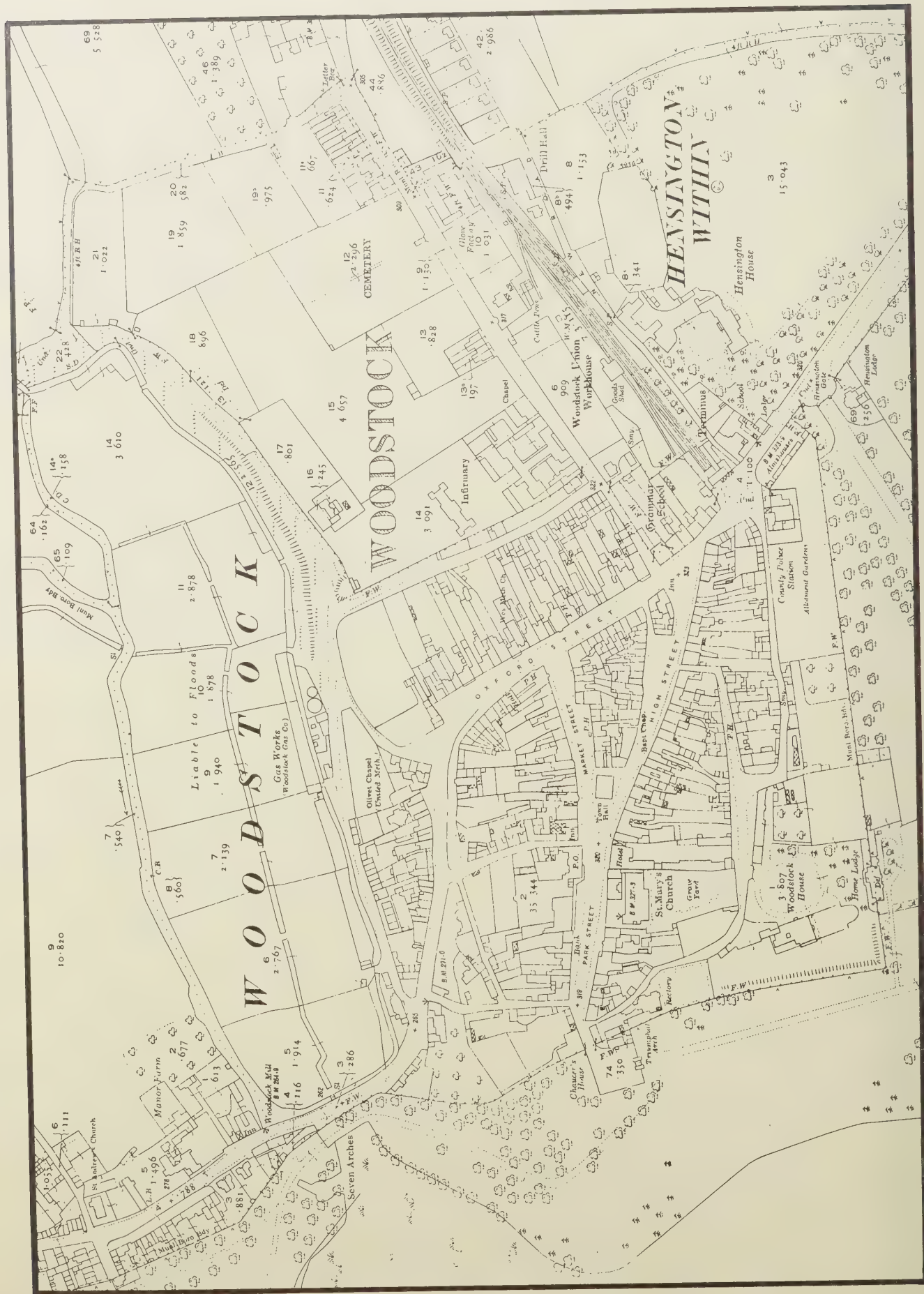
⁹¹ Above, Bladon, Intro.; below, Blenheim, Pk. to 1705.

⁹² Below, Blenheim, King's Hos. ⁹³ O.S. *Area Bk.* (1876).

⁹⁴ *Pipe R.* 1204 (P.R.S. N.S. xviii), 16, 111, 113; 1205 (P.R.S. N.S. xix), 149-51; *Rot. de Ob. et Fin.* (Rec. Com.), 216, 234, 407.

⁹⁵ *Pipe R.* 1230 (P.R.S. iv), 258; P.R.O., SC 6/962.4-7; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 842; P.R.O., SC 6/962.17-20.

⁹⁶ The following paras. are based on *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 839-42.



WOODSTOCK c. 1920. Scale 1:4,000 (approx. 16 in. to 1 mile).

tion, quitrents were paid for c. 140 houses in the borough, of which 76 were described as tenements or parts thereof, 30 as messuages, and 33 as cottages; there were also 19 'places', probably potential building plots, some described as vacant, some evidently subdivisions of tenements, 16 stalls, 2 selds, 2 forges or smithies, 3 ovens or kilns (*furnum*), 4 pigsties, and many crofts, curtilages, and gardens. The tenements were the larger plots or burgages, and their typical rent was in the range 4d. to 8d., although many had been divided and others carried higher rents. Rents of messuages were invariably 3d. or less, and of cottages usually 1d. or ½d. The survey of 1279 named 97 rent-payers, besides 15 tenants or occupiers who did not pay rents directly to the king; presumably many undertenants were omitted.

The survey was arranged topographically and, although street names were lacking, some sequences of rents may be assigned to particular streets.⁹⁷ Much of the later street plan was already established, with houses on Park Street, High Street, Market Street, and Oxford Street as far north as the point where it turns west. There was building, too, on the later Park Lane, Brown's Lane, Rectory Lane, and probably Chaucer's Lane, while the large island of buildings dividing Market Street from High Street had been established: references to houses there 'in the middle of the street' suggest that they were regarded as encroachments on what had been a triangular market place. On the south side of the town was the green, later usually called Back Green, where there had been substantial encroachment of cottages and crofts. At least one cottage was on the south side of the churchyard. On the north side of the church there were two houses and an oven or kiln. Then and until the 18th century the church was approached from Park Street by a narrow passage called the church stile leading to the north door,⁹⁸ and by a lane running past the west end into the churchyard and possibly continuing to the Back Green. In Market Place stood a stone cross, which survived in altered form until 1766, when demolished to make way for the present town hall.⁹⁹ John at Green's tenement 'against the stone cross' may be identified as the corner house, no. 2 Market Place, and traced by its quitrent of 1s. 6d. from 1279 until the 1930s,¹ when Woodstock's quitrents were finally compounded for.² Another tenement on the central island also carried the high quitrent of 1s. 6d. and probably both were large early encroachments. The town's medieval guild hall, not mentioned until the 15th century but perhaps already in use as a court house, also occupied the central island on the site of nos. 2-4 Market

Street;³ as elsewhere, the establishment of a free-standing court house may have begun the process of encroachment on the market place.⁴ The 16 *scabella* (stalls or shambles), rented at 1d. each, were presumably permanent structures in contrast to other market stalls; probably all were for the sale of meat. Then as later the shambles were probably on the north side of Market Place. Houses flanked the park gate, probably a two storey, crenellated archway, which until the 18th century closed Park Street west of Rectory Lane on the line of the later borough boundary.⁵

The incidence of quitrents in 1279 and the implications of later plot shapes⁶ indicate the town's early development. The broad Park Street, extending from the park gate and widening to form a market place, was presumably built first. Park Lane may once have formed the eastern limit as well as the 'back lane' of the earliest phase of development. The block further east on the south side of High Street was established before 1279; its western extension along the south side of Park Lane was built up later, since in 1279 a tenement on High Street not far west of Park Lane was bounded on the south by the green.⁷ The north side of Park Street comprised long burgages stretching to Harrison's Lane,⁸ a typical back lane, and throughout the Middle Ages the plots on the north side of Market Street extended to Oxford Street.⁹

In 1279 the burgages fronting Park Street, High Street, and Market Street carried very diverse rents, reflecting division, amalgamation, and encroachment during a century of development. By contrast Oxford Street rents preserved a regularity which implies more recent imposition. Plot shapes indicate that the street was built up later than Market Street and High Street: on the west side north of Market Street short plots abut the long plots of Market Street and have a curved frontage, presumably dictated by the line of an existing road bending towards the river crossing.

The straight frontage of Oxford Street's east side, however, ignored the line of the road and so created a wide market area. The long regular plots on the east side may be identified in the survey of 1279 as a sequence of tenements carrying mostly unaltered 6d. rents. The corner tenement of Joan the parker¹⁰ began a block of 14 original tenements of which the last was described as a croft *ad capud villae*; only three had been divided. The fourth tenement from the corner carried a 7d. rent which may be traced to the site of no. 50 Oxford Street,¹¹ confirming that Joan's corner tenement lay at the north end near no. 60. The croft at the south end of the block was opposite houses which in 1302 occu-

⁹⁷ e.g. *ibid.* 841 follows the south side of High Street from the corner of Park Lane.

⁹⁸ *Scularii cimiterii* (*ibid.* 841, property of Agnes Siber) should be *scalarii*. For later refs. to passage and stile see Boro. Mun., 83/1, pp. 28-9; *ibid.* 96, f. 87; *ibid.* Garret Ho. deeds.

⁹⁹ Below, Local Govt., Municipal Bldgs.

¹ Below, Bldgs. no. 53.

² Boro. Mun., file 23D.

³ Below, Local Govt., Municipal Bldgs.

⁴ Cf. above, Eynsham, Intro.

⁵ Below, Blenheim, Pk. to 1705.

⁶ The earliest reliable map for plot boundaries is O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 edn.).

⁷ Tenement of John of Bletchingley: *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 841.

⁸ e.g. Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 15 (Thos. Fletcher's plot).

⁹ e.g. *ibid.* pp. 32 (site of nos. 18-20 Market Place), 57 (probably site of no. 6 Market Place).

¹⁰ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 840.

¹¹ Below, Bldgs. no. 6.

pied the corner of High Street and the Oxford road,¹² confirming that the croft lay near the present Hensington Road. Immediately north of the croft in 1279 was a divided tenement owing quitrents of $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ and $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; the same rents were paid by nos. 14 and 16 Oxford Street in the 17th century.¹³ Probably the croft lay just south of Hensington Road, where the convolutions of the later borough boundary suggest confusion or compromise after the built area was extended.¹⁴

Several tenements on the east side of Oxford Street retained 6d. rents in later times¹⁵ and the whole block shows traces of the original burgages. The frontage is roughly a furlong; the 14 plots were presumably c. 3 perches wide and several later plots or pairs of plots were close to that width, notably the Marlborough Arms (52 ft. in the 18th century)¹⁶ and some of its neighbours. The back lane on the east, later Union Street, was called Common Acre,¹⁷ of which the east side formed the borough boundary. Before later encroachments it was unusually wide, almost a chain, and therefore comprised roughly an acre.¹⁸ Taken together, the regularity of the rents, the form of the block and of Common Acre, and the continued uncertainty over the town's eastern boundary with Hensington¹⁹ suggest that Oxford Street's east side was laid out not long before 1279 on one of Hensington's open-field furlongs, leaving the easternmost acre vacant as a back lane. The breadth of the street implies an intention to provide a new market area, perhaps following Henry III's grant of a fair in 1250.²⁰ Later in the Middle Ages a cross stood at its broad north end.²¹

A probable area of expansion after 1279 was the steep section of Oxford Street towards Old Woodstock, particularly the north side.²² Continuing growth in the earlier 14th century, suggested by the town's acquisition of more fairs and a measure of urban independence, seems then to have halted, for by 1377 the population was much lower than in 1279.²³ In 1468–9 total quitrents of c. 46s. were payable for 89 houses, 21 cottages, 4 shops, 11 stalls, and various barns, crofts, closes, and encroachments, including properties in Old Woodstock excluded from the survey of 1279; rents for more houses, notably those of St. John's hospital, Oxford, were not listed individually but it seems certain that there were far fewer houses than in 1279.²⁴ In peripheral areas such as Back Green houses had been turned to barns, crofts, and gardens, and in

the centre of the town a large plot at the corner of Brown's Lane and Market Place, later the site of Fletcher's House, was vacant.²⁵ Another indication of decay was the fate of St. John's hospital's Woodstock property, which passed c. 1453 to Magdalen College, Oxford; by then it was difficult to collect rents from holdings which had long been amalgamated or ruinous, and the college eventually secured only 6 a. in Old Woodstock and a cottage and close in Oxford Street.²⁶

Although the town was granted murage in 1322²⁷ there is no sign of fortification except for the park walls. There were bars at the town's entrances. Ale Bar gate on the Oxford road, recorded in 1504, was presumably the gate at the Town's End or Oxford gate referred to in the 17th century.²⁸ In the early 16th century there were bars on the east side of the town,²⁹ one probably on the present Hensington Road, another near the north end of Common Acre, barring the lane called Hensington Way or the way to Banbury.³⁰ In 1583 it was recalled that the townsmen had received Henry VIII at Castle Hill,³¹ apparently at the north end of Common Acre. In 1436 a toft and croft at the north end of Oxford Street extended eastwards to 'Castle Wall',³² and a street, possibly the later Upper Brook Hill, leading to the same feature was mentioned c. 1461;³³ there was apparently a small earthwork near the north end of Union Street in the 19th century.³⁴ The nature of the 'castle' is unknown: an adulterine castle said to have been built at Woodstock by the Empress Maud may have been merely a fortification of the king's houses in the park.³⁵

By the 15th century the central streets were named.³⁶ Oxford Street and High Street were so called, the latter applying also to the later Park Street. Sections of High Street were defined by market names: Sheep Market or Sheepmarket Street seems to have applied to most of High Street east of Market Place, since it contained the sites of the later nos. 13–17 and 28 High Street and plots which stretched south to the green;³⁷ Corn Market or Cornmarket Street, sometimes called Cornmarket Hill in the 16th century,³⁸ was the later Market Place; the street west of Corn Market was Park Gate Street by the 17th century and Park Street by the 18th.³⁹ The 15th-century Wool Market or Woolmarket Street was the later Market Street. On the north side of Market Place were the shambles, a row of

¹² Boro. Mun. 78/3, endpps., where Simon Jeffs is evidently the Simon Fesse of *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 840.

¹³ Below, Bldgs. no. 3.

¹⁴ Above, Intro.

¹⁵ e.g. Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 12, 65.

¹⁶ Balliol Coll. Mun., F.10.5.

¹⁷ e.g. Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 51, 60, 62, 64–5.

¹⁸ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 edn.). For 18th-century and later encroachments, Boro. Mun. 93, pp. 154–6, 190–7; *ibid.* 33/2/17.

¹⁹ e.g. P.R.O., E 134/25 Eliz. I/Hil. 4; *ibid.* STAC 5/W77/7.

²⁰ *Close R.* 1247–51, 320.

²¹ New Coll. Arch., Reg. Evid. ii, p. 30: deed of 1499 relating to site of nos. 51–7 Oxford Street.

²² e.g. Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 13: tenement of Ric. Sibford, located by *ibid.* pp. 29, 39, 42.

²³ Above, Intro.

²⁴ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 9–15.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 15.

²⁶ Magd. Coll. Mun., EP 14/12, 21; EP 110/33; *ibid.* Oxon. circuit accts. *passim*.

²⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1321–4, 42.

²⁸ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 43; *ibid.* 79, ff. 171v.–172.

²⁹ P.R.O., E 134/25 Eliz. I/Hil. 4.

³⁰ *Ibid.*; Magd. Coll. Mun., Woodstock deeds no. 2; above, Intro.

³¹ P.R.O., E 134/25 Eliz. I/Hil. 4.

³² Magd. Coll. Mun., Woodstock deeds no. 2, of which missing words are supplied by *ibid.* EP 110/35.

³³ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 4.

³⁴ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 edn.).

³⁵ Below, Blenheim, King's Hos.

³⁶ Boro. Mun. 83/1, *passim*.

³⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 41, 45, 49.

³⁸ e.g. Boro. Mun. 3/4/6.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 79/1, f. 23; *ibid.* Garret Ho. deeds.

stalls ending on the west at Brown's Lane.⁴⁰ Other permanent market stalls lined High Street in 1468–9, and there were 'nether rows' of stalls in Market Place.⁴¹ The island of buildings between Market Street and High Street was called Middle Row until the 17th century.⁴² Probably much of Oxford Street was occupied by beast and horse markets mentioned later: a swine market mentioned in 1468–9 has not been located.⁴³ Horse Fair was at the southern entrance to the town in the 16th century, probably occupying the triangular green at the junction of Oxford Street and Rectory Lane: in 1583, when it was the subject of a boundary dispute, it was described as 'a place called Horse Fair between the town of Woodstock and the place of execution of felons'.⁴⁴ In the 19th century the triangular green was bisected by an undefined stretch of the municipal boundary.⁴⁵

Brown's Lane was called Wappenham's Lane in the 15th century and, like Wappenham's Place mentioned in the 14th, may have been named from John of Wappenham, Woodstock's M.P. in 1305.⁴⁶ In the 16th century the lane was Crow Lane and by the 17th usually Blackhall Lane, from Black Hall, later the Star inn, at its corner. Its later name came from Alderman Thomas Brown (d. 1825), who lived at no. 2 from c. 1760.⁴⁷ Parker's Lane, mentioned in 1342,⁴⁸ was probably Park Lane, which from the 15th century until the 18th was called Pettyjohn's Lane from a medieval Woodstock family.⁴⁹ Houses on it were sometimes described as on Back Green, and the name Back Lane was sometimes used both for it and for Rectory Lane until the surviving names were adopted before 1881.⁵⁰ The east part of Rectory Lane, unnamed in the 15th century, was usually described as the lane leading from the green towards Oxford but in 1504 was the street leading to Ale Bar gate.⁵¹ It was Pest House Lane when the later no. 23 Rectory Lane was in use as a pest house between 1720 and 1765.⁵² The medieval name Frog Lane was changed in the 19th century, first to Primrose Hill and later Harrison's Lane, from J. V. Harrison (d. 1854) of the White House.⁵³ Chaucer's Lane was probably 'the highway next to late Chaucer's place' in 1470.⁵⁴ The name Hog-

gerell Hill, usually Hoggrove Hill by the later 17th century,⁵⁵ applied generally to the slopes north of Harrison's Lane. Stodmare Lane mentioned in 1468–9, giving access to Stodmare or Stodengrove hill,⁵⁶ has not been identified. Stodengrove was probably the 16th-century Starting Grove in Hensington, immediately east of the later Union Street,⁵⁷ and Stodmare Lane perhaps the present Hensington Road or an alley, later blocked, on the east side of Oxford Street.

The part of Oxford Street descending steeply to the river was called Hollow Way by the early 16th century.⁵⁸ It was spanned at its junction with Brown's Lane by a 'great wooden bridge', maintained by the corporation.⁵⁹ The bridge may have been the 'new bridge leading to the king's mill' in 1479, near the Sibfords' house on the north side of Hollow Way.⁶⁰ It perhaps formed part of a direct descent from Brown's Lane to the corporation meadows through the site of no. 98 Oxford Street, which retains the appearance of later infilling. The bridge, which also spanned a watercourse running down Hollow Way,⁶¹ was rebuilt in stone in 1748⁶² and presumably demolished c. 1780 when the road was levelled by the turnpike commissioners.⁶³ That section of Oxford Street was 'late a hollow way' in 1781 and was later sometimes called Pitching Hill or the Pitchings,⁶⁴ perhaps because of the stone embankment on the south side.

Changes in street names in the 16th century indicate a rearrangement of the market. In 1567 the east end of High Street, formerly the sheep market, was called Hogmarket Street,⁶⁵ but by the early 17th century the hog market was in Market Street between the wool market on the west and the beast market,⁶⁶ which occupied the east end of Market Street and extended north on Oxford Street.⁶⁷ The cattle and pig markets were still in Market Street in the 19th century.⁶⁸ The sheep market was moved from High Street to Oxford Street during the 16th century, occupying chiefly the section between Market Street and High Street.⁶⁹ Oxford Street north of Market Street, called Beast Market in 1675, was Cow Fair in later times.⁷⁰ By the 18th century and perhaps by the early 17th the horse market

⁴⁰ Ibid. 83/1, p. 26.

⁴¹ Ibid. pp. 9, 14.

⁴² Ibid. 3/3/2.

⁴³ Ibid. 83/1, pp. 10, 12.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., E 134/25 Eliz. I/Hil. 4.

⁴⁵ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 edn.).

⁴⁶ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 15, 30; *Cal. Pat.* 1350–4, 421; 1377–81, 247; 1381–5, 61; 1396–9, 346; Williams, *Parl. Hist. Oxon.* 193.

⁴⁷ Boro. Mun. 31/4; *ibid.* 79/1, f. 20v.; P.R.O., HO 107/893; below, Bldgs. nos. 26–7.

⁴⁸ Balliol Coll. Mun., F.8.6.

⁴⁹ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 11, 13; *ibid.* 48/1/11; *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 25 Oct. 1774.

⁵⁰ e.g. P.R.O., HO 107/893; *ibid.* RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512.

⁵¹ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 22, 43.

⁵² Below, Local Govt., Public Health and Services.

⁵³ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 15, 37; *ibid.* 100, ff. 24–5; P.R.O., HO 107/893; below, Bldgs. no. 12.

⁵⁴ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 23.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 10; *ibid.* 79/1, f. 21v.; *ibid.* 7/3.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 83/1, pp. 9, 14.

⁵⁷ P.R.O., E 134/25 Eliz. I/Hil. 4.

⁵⁸ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 66–7.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 79, ff. 93 and *passim*; 85, pp. 54–5; O.R.O., Ark. XIII/1/1. The bridge is shown on a map of 1719: Blenheim Mun., wooden chest.

⁶⁰ Cf. Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 29, 39, 42.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 79, f. 93.

⁶² *Ibid.* 88, p. 12. For an earlier ref. to rebuilding in stone, *ibid.* 76/2, May 1696. Later refs. to a wooden bridge probably repeat wording of earlier leases: e.g. *ibid.* 85, pt. 2, pp. 185–9.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 88, p. 426.

⁶⁴ O.R.O., Rob. II/ii/3–4; P.R.O., HO 107/893.

⁶⁵ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 80.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 79/1, f. 19v., where Wm. Bradshaw's shop and cellar in the hog or beast market was on the site of the Feathers hotel: below, Bldgs. no. 57.

⁶⁷ Blenheim Mun., box 137: deed of 1675 relating to nos. 44–46 Oxford Street.

⁶⁸ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor, Supp.* 98.

⁶⁹ Boro. Mun. 79/1, f. 20, where Francis Collingwood's tenements in Oxford Street or Sheepmarket were the site of nos. 25–9 Oxford Street: below, Bldgs. no. 59.

⁷⁰ Blenheim Mun., box 137; Boro. Mun. 100, f. 17.

had expanded into the east end of High Street,⁷¹ and in the 19th century High Street was called Horse Fair.⁷²

The grouping of craftsmen within the market area was reflected in the names Copperware Street and Coopers' or Coppery Market, from the coopers' craft, applied to the north side of High Street;⁷³ opposite was the Glovers' and Shoemakers' Street.⁷⁴ The names, repeated in deeds into the 18th century, probably relate to much earlier arrangements. Fishmongers, like butchers, were closely regulated by the corporation, their stalls restricted under a bylaw of 1580 to the north side of Market Street.⁷⁵ Fellmongers were placed at that time in Market Place near the end of Brown's Lane,⁷⁶ to which the entry was probably much wider before a large encroachment was made on the west side c. 1600.⁷⁷ In the early 17th century the country bakers set out their wares around the High Cross in Market Place, which by then was a roofed structure;⁷⁸ vegetables, fruit, and oatmeal were also sold in Market Place in 1652 and there was a 'new bench' there for corn and cheese sellers in 1713.⁷⁹ The 'ancient market place for butchers' on the north side had been augmented by butchers' stalls on the south side by the later 17th century.⁸⁰

The medieval streets probably drained into central gutters, which in 1622 were rebuilt in stone and varied in width from 1 yd. near the church to 4½ yd. in Market Place; the street surface was regularly spread with gravel.⁸¹ In the central streets numerous trees which the corporation maintained and replanted⁸² included in the early 17th century a great elm at the east end of High Street, and another, called Robin Hood's elm, at the east end of Market Street.⁸³ The corporation planted ashes and elms at Town's End, the Oxford entrance, and then and in the 18th century maintained benches around some of the great elms.⁸⁴ The stocks, pillory, cucking stool, and roofed cage were in the central streets,⁸⁵ and the corporation rebuilt a well in Oxford Street in 1631.⁸⁶ The town's archery butts were set up in Butt Close on the Back Green in 1569 and earlier in an adjacent close.⁸⁷ The common pound in the 17th century was at the top of Hollow Way on the north side.⁸⁸

Buildings of a public nature, besides the guild hall and High Cross,⁸⁹ included a late 15th-century almshouse, later the town clerk's house,

in front of the church, the town's late 16th-century wool barn behind the later Woodstock Arms,⁹⁰ Penniless Bench in Market Place, mentioned in the early 17th century, and the grammar school of 1585, housed from c. 1600 in a room attached to the church.⁹¹ All were later demolished. The principal medieval inns were probably the George, the Bull, and the Crown. The George, later the Marlborough Arms, on Oxford Street was an inn by 1468. The Bull and the Crown, both prominent by the 15th century and fading in the late 17th century or early 18th, faced each other across Market Place, the Bull on the site of the National Westminster bank (no. 16) and probably several plots to the east, the Crown on the site of nos. 9–11 Market Place.⁹² All three inns probably had courtyards, their long, wide plots giving room for stabling. Each also acquired valuable meadow on the edge of the town: Crown close on Back Green was attached to the inn for centuries,⁹³ and there were adjacent George and Bull meadows on the river Glyme.⁹⁴

Most of the town's medieval houses were probably timber-framed. Re-used details survive, notably lancet windows at the rear of no. 18 Market Place, but the only substantial medieval domestic building is the timber-framed and jettied no. 6 Market Place;⁹⁵ other early timber structures may survive behind later fronts. There is slight evidence of a resurgence of building after the decline of the later Middle Ages: in 1498 a shoemaker was allowed a large encroachment to extend his house into Market Place, implying some competition for space in the central area;⁹⁶ in the 16th century many houses were fronted by small shops, notably a narrow tenement north of the church with three shops on its frontage, and an inn in Market Place incorporating several shops.⁹⁷ Even so the corporation's policy in the 1560s of granting away most of its newly acquired chantry properties on condition that they were rebuilt⁹⁸ suggests widespread decay, and much of the town was rebuilt in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The extent and nature of the rebuilding reflected modest prosperity but the number of houses and inns paying rents or quitrents to the corporation rose from c. 82 in 1598 to only c. 107 in 1684,⁹⁹ although the full extent of subdivision or multiple occupation is not revealed by the rentals Woodstock remained a small town. In 1662 only 116 householders were assessed for

⁷¹ B.L. Add. MS. 19603, f. 43.

⁷² P.R.O., RG 10/1449.

⁷³ Boro. Mun. 79/1, ff. 21v., 23; deeds of no. 11 High Street *penes* Mr. K. R. C. Pridham, Old Woodstock; below, Bldgs. no. 51.

⁷⁴ Boro. Mun. 79/1, ff. 21v. sqq.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 82, f. 8, where Wal. Eborne's shop was the site of Blandford Court in Market Street: Univ. Coll. Arch., Woodstock box, lease of 1581.

⁷⁶ Boro. Mun. 82, f. 7.

⁷⁷ Below, Bldgs. no. 28.

⁷⁸ Boro. Mun. 79/1, ff. 3, 61; below, Local Govt., Municipal Bldgs.

⁷⁹ Boro. Mun. 31/12; 86, June 1713.

⁸⁰ Cf. *ibid.* 76/2, Oct. 1681; 83/1, p. 9.

⁸¹ Ibid. 79/1, f. 64 and *passim*.

⁸² e.g. *ibid.* 81, s.a. 1603.

⁸³ e.g. 79/1, f. 20.

⁸⁴ Ibid. ff. 13v., 89, 109, 137v.; 87, Jan. 1736, Mar. 1739.

⁸⁵ Below, Loc. Govt., Admin. of Justice.

⁸⁶ Boro. Mun. 79, f. 108v.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 83/1, p. 79; 31/5.

⁸⁸ e.g. O.R.O., Ark. XIII/ii/1.

⁸⁹ Below, Local Govt., Municipal Bldgs.

⁹⁰ Below, Bldgs. nos. 39, 56.

⁹¹ Below, Local Govt., Municipal Bldgs.; Educ.

⁹² Below, Bldgs. nos. 24, 42.

⁹³ e.g. Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 9, 31–2, 36, 52; *ibid.* 79/1, f. 20v.; Blenheim Mun., box 133.

⁹⁴ Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103.

⁹⁵ Many sites are described more fully below, Bldgs.

⁹⁶ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 35.

⁹⁷ Ibid. pp. 68–9; *ibid.* 53/1/2.

⁹⁸ Below, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886 (Finance and Property).

⁹⁹ Boro. Mun. 96, ff. 4–7, 87; *ibid.* 7/1–3.

tax, on 398 hearths distributed among 119 houses, 6 ovens, and 3 forges.¹ Half the houses were small, containing 1 or 2 hearths, but nearly a quarter (27) were assessed on 5 or more, including a 12-hearth house, probably the later Fletcher's House.² Many larger houses were inns, including the Bear, the Crown, later nos. 9–11 Market Place, and the Three Cups, later no. 18 Market Place. The later Barclay's Bank site was probably occupied by a 9-hearth house, and No. 20 High Street, a largely unaltered 17th-century building, was assessed on 8 hearths.

Some peripheral areas which had decayed in the Middle Ages were rebuilt, notably the north side of Hollow Way, and the south side of Park Lane; there was no suburban expansion and in the early 18th century vacant areas close to the centre included the west side of Chaucer's Lane and the eastern section of Rectory Lane.³ Evidence of competition for space in the market area, such as tall, narrow frontages or the creation of alleys along the length of plots, is lacking in Woodstock. Some houses on large medieval sites, such as Chaucer's House at the park gate, retained their size and status into modern times. A former chantry property rebuilt on its broad medieval plot in 1569 seems to have occupied the whole frontage of nos. 7 and 9 Market Street until divided in the 18th century. Amalgamation of plots, encouraged by the decline of the later Middle Ages, allowed the creation of large mansions: one, of which the core survives as Cromwell House (no. 28 High Street), fronted High Street for some 250 ft. with grounds extending south to Rectory Lane; the site remained largely intact until the mid 18th century. Another 'great house', occupying three or more medieval burghage plots, was on the north side of Park Street, where Alderman Thomas Brown c. 1614 built the core of Fletcher's House. The broad, stone fronts of Nos. 2–8 Park Street, no. 20 High Street, and no. 7 Market Place, all built by leading townsmen, were typical of the period.

The predominant building materials were coursed rubble or squared limestone and stone slates, although the corporation was still thatching its almshouses in the early 17th century.⁴ Most houses are two-storeyed, often with large attic gables, notably no. 20 High Street which retains carved bargeboards. Many incorporate a type of elaborately carved wood lintel which, from its quality and its occurrence, re-used, in several later houses, was thought to be spoil from the demolished royal palace; some lintels, however, appear to be *in situ*, notably at no. 50 Oxford Street, no. 2 Park Street, and no. 20 High Street, all built before the palace was slighted. Some 17th-century bay windows survive: at no. 9 Market Street the two-storeyed bay retains Ipswich pattern framing in the upper window. Part of a grander later 17th-century

stone front survives at no. 28 High Street, with stone mullioned and transomed windows and a heavy dentil-moulded cornice.

The appearance of the central streets was altered by permitted encroachments, notably for the building c. 1600 of nos. 2–8 Park Street, projecting far beyond the established street line and probably narrowing the entrance to Brown's Lane, and for the building c. 1600 of a mercer's shop, projecting into Market Street on the site of the Feathers hotel. The island of buildings at the junction of High Street and Oxford Street, later the Crown inn, although perhaps medieval in origin, attained its full size during the 17th century. There were many small encroachments for pales, penthouses, bulks, porches, staircases, and signs. Rents for pales were usually for fenced areas in front of houses: the Plough inn on the site of nos. 30–32 Oxford Street was rebuilt c. 1600 with a projecting central porch flanked on each side by 'impaled ground'.⁵ The typical penthouse was a roofed, lean-to structure with open sides: one built in 1650 at no. 18 Market Place may be that depicted in a mid 18th-century drawing.⁶ Presumably penthouses were built to protect market wares, while bulks were perhaps unroofed stalls or shop boards. Staircase encroachments may have been projecting blocks, but in most instances were probably cellar steps. Rents for signs were for free-standing posts in the street, such as that at the Bear hotel, the successor of a sign put up in the later 17th century;⁷ there were similar signs outside two inns immediately east of the Bear in the 17th century, the King's Arms and the Crown.⁸

During the 17th century much of the clutter of barns, crofts, hayricks, and dunghills on Back Green was absorbed into the sites of three major houses. Woodstock House seems to have evolved from a house built in the 1630s in a large close against the park wall. To the north was another large, probably late 17th-century, house, which was demolished in the early 19th century and its site taken into the grounds of Woodstock House. In 1686 the rectory house, later the Bishop's House, was built on the north-west corner of the green in a close formerly attached to a house fronting Park Street next to the park gate. The present form of the Back Green, represented by the wide section of Rectory Lane and dominated by the perimeter walls of Woodstock House, was not fully achieved until the 19th century, but the owners of Woodstock House steadily extended their grounds from the 17th century, chiefly by acquiring corporation leases. Houses built on and near Butt close on the northern edge of the green, from which the butts were removed in the mid 17th century,⁹ were acquired and replaced by the stable block of Woodstock House. Part of Butt close in the mid 17th century was Cockpit yard; in 1715 a large enclosed cockpit was built

¹ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 293.

² Cf. below, Bldgs. nos. 29–30.

³ Blenheim Mun. map of 1719 in wooden chest.

⁴ Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 9, 15 and v.

⁵ Blenheim Mun., box 128, deed of 1628.

⁶ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 95; above, plate facing p. 461.

⁷ Boro. Mun. 7/3, rent of Edw. Fennymore; above, plate facing p. 348.

⁸ Boro. Mun. 76/1, Aug. 1678. For the former King's Arms and Crown, below, Bldgs. nos. 41–2.

⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 128, espec. deed of 1658.

at the west end of the eastern section of Rectory Lane.

In 1713 Sir John Vanbrugh expressed a wish to improve the town to accord with 'what strangers may reasonably expect to find in a borough town, joining to so great a palace as Blenheim'.¹⁰ Political rather than aesthetic motives inspired the offer to pave the town at the duke of Marlborough's expense.¹¹ Vanbrugh's plan to rebuild the guild hall at the same time came to nothing,¹² but his street scheme, retaining a central channel with a 'gradual rise to the buildings on each side', was carried out under the supervision of Henry Joynes in 1713 and 1714 at a cost of nearly £500 in each year.¹³ The quality of the town's streets was frequently commended,¹⁴ their 'knobbly pitching', unpopular by 1838,¹⁵ and central gutters survived until the mid 19th century.

The town's public buildings were transformed during the 18th century, mostly at the expense of the Marlboroughs. The old guild hall, demolished in 1757, was replaced by a shambles or market house, built in 1766, and the high cross and Penniless Bench were demolished in 1766 to make way for the new town hall.¹⁶ The appearance of Park Street, much altered by the removal of the park gate from its west end in 1723,¹⁷ was further transformed in the 1780s by the demolition of houses to open up the north side of the church and the rebuilding of the church tower in Classical style. Other buildings of a public nature included a pest house of 1720 in Rectory Lane, a workhouse of 1778 on the north side of Oxford Street, and two ranges of almshouses built for the Marlboroughs in the 1790s, of which one survives as Caroline Court.¹⁸

The town's prosperity in the 18th century is reflected in its surviving houses, of which large numbers were rebuilt or refronted between the early 18th century and c. 1830; the town's relative decline in the Victorian period accounts for the continued dominance of Georgian and Regency styles in its buildings. The number of houses increased mainly through subdivision, but there was some expansion through cottage building, notably in Rectory Lane and Union Street in the later 18th century, and in Brook Hill from the early 19th; Union Street began as the 'new road in the Common Acre' in 1770 and more cottages were built there c. 1810.¹⁹ While rentals show an increase in identifiable houses from c. 106 in 1733 to only c. 125 in 1829, the census enumerators found 214 separate dwellings in the town in 1801 and 258 by 1821, after which expansion ceased.²⁰

The presence of distinguished architects and builders in Woodstock in the early 18th century

was reflected in several notable houses.²¹ The most clearly Vanbrughian in style are Hope House (no. 14 Oxford Street), built in 1708, and the early 18th-century additions to the Bishop's House (formerly the rectory house); less markedly Baroque are nos. 6–8 High Street, built c. 1710 as a single house. All three houses were allegedly built with stone taken illicitly from the Blenheim building works.²² Another building perhaps attributable to Blenheim craftsmen was the George (later the Marlborough Arms), which emerged as one of the town's two chief coaching inns; it was enlarged and rebuilt in the 1720s or 1730s by the innkeeper Gabriel Brown (d. 1739), a close relative of the Oxford mason William Townesend, who was then working at Blenheim. The other great coaching inn, the Bear, acquired its imposing mid 18th-century east range and carriage entrance when it was merged with the former King's Arms, one of the town's leading inns in the late 17th century.

In the 18th century Park Street became fashionable: there Edward Ryves, town clerk, built the house later Barclay's Bank in the 1740s and Henry North, town clerk, the house later no. 9 c. 1800. Chaucer's House was largely rebuilt in the 18th century and Fletcher's House was enlarged and refronted by Thomas Walker, town clerk and the duke's auditor, in 1795. Much of the south side of the street was rebuilt in the early 19th century, notably no. 7, which replaced a gabled 17th-century house in the 1820s. Elsewhere in the town notable buildings included Woodstock House²³ and Hensington House, built in 1768 in large grounds on the eastern edge of the town for the use of the duke's auditors.²⁴ The corner house and shops later no. 2 Market Place and no. 1 High Street were built by the steel jewellery manufacturer George Eldridge (d. 1764). Eldridge's range was clearly designed for commerce, as was no. 14 Market Street of c. 1800, built by the Bellinger family of carriers and corn factors with large associated outbuildings and an integral carriage entrance. Except for malhouses there were few industrial buildings, since steel manufacture and gloving, Woodstock's chief 18th-century industries, were on a scale small enough to be carried on in workshops and small warehouses behind manufacturers' houses. In the mid 19th century the former cockpit and the malhouse range behind Hope House were used for gloving, but purpose-built factories were not introduced until machine stitching became general in the later 19th century.²⁵

Most 18th-century houses were of local stone, many of two storeys with attics and steeply pitched, stone-slatted roofs. By c. 1800 ashlar or plastered fronts were more common than

¹⁰ *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. G. Webb, iv. 53.

¹¹ Below, Parl. Rep.

¹² Below, Local Govt., Municipal Bldgs.

¹³ B.L. Add. MS. 19603, ff. 24v.–25, 37–9, 43; for an associated sketch, *ibid.* 19602, ff. 48–9.

¹⁴ e.g. *Eng. Illustrated* (1764), ii. 169–70; G. A. Cooke, *Topog. Description of Oxon.* [1805], 117.

¹⁵ *Oxf. Chron.* 17 Feb. 1838.

¹⁶ Below, Local Govt., Municipal Bldgs.

¹⁷ Below, Blenheim, Pk. from 1705.

¹⁸ Below, Church; Local Govt., Public Health and

Services; Char.

¹⁹ Boro. Mun. 88, pp. 210, 214; 89, pp. 184, 191–2; 93, pp. 191–7.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 7–8, 11–12: rentals 1733–1829; *Census*, 1801–41.

²¹ The 'Blenheim influence' is discussed, with some mistaken identifications, in Green, *Blenheim Palace*; 270; *Country Life*, 16 Aug., 27 Sept., 1973.

²² B.L. Add. MS. 19618, ff. 163–4, 209–10.

²³ Below, Bldgs. no. 34.

²⁴ Below, Bladon, Intro.

²⁵ Below, Econ.

coursed limestone or rubble, and houses were usually of three storeys with, as grey slates were introduced, roofs of shallower pitch. There is little sign that London pattern books influenced local builders: most fronts were plain with small dentil cornices, shallow plat bands, and little or no architrave to the windows which were often decorated with a single keystone projecting over the head. Brick was introduced in the later 18th century, not only for cottages and outbuildings but for a few larger houses, notably nos. 2-4 Harrison's Lane of c. 1780 and nos. 18-20 Park Street and no. 14 Market Street of c. 1800. Bay windows, usually paid for as encroachments, became widespread from the 1760s.²⁶ Many small houses, some resulting from subdivision of larger properties, were given shallow segmental bays to the ground floor, presumably marking the change from the open shop-boards and penthouses of the 17th century to glazed shop windows. Two- and three-storeyed bays were added to fashionable houses from the later 18th century, notably Hope House and Cromwell House; Hill House (no. 65 Oxford Street), designed with three-storeyed canted bays, is of the 1790s.²⁷ Many Woodstock houses have flat door-hoods supported by stone or wrought iron brackets probably of the early 19th century, but there are earlier hoods, notably at no. 10 Oxford Street and no. 28 High Street, the latter removed from the Marlborough Arms.

There were usually c. 15 inns and public houses in the town in the late 18th century and 19th.²⁸ Besides the Bear and the Marlborough Arms the coaching inns included the Angel, later the Old Angel, on the site of the former Bull (no. 16 Market Place), and the White Lion, later the Star, in Market Place. Other long-lived inns included the surviving Woodstock Arms, King's Arms, Crown, and King's Head, all established under those signs from the 18th century; no. 8 Oxford Street was the New Angel from the mid 18th century until the 1870s and nos. 3-5 Market Street (Blandford Court) were the site of an inn called the Star by the early 18th century, later the Blandford Arms until the First World War. From the late 18th century until the early 20th no. 38 Oxford Street was the Adam and Eve and no. 122 Oxford Street the White Hart. Movement of inn signs was common in Woodstock, and from the 16th century there were at least three successive King's Arms, Crowns, and Angels, and two White Harts, King's Heads, Stars, and Adam and Eves. Some houses changed signs several times, notably no. 11 High Street and no. 12 Oxford Street.

Nineteenth-century public buildings included the large union workhouse in Hensington Road,²⁹ several nonconformist chapels, schools,

a police station, and a railway station. The streets were repaved in the 1850s, and it was probably then that they acquired lateral gutters and pavements; they were lighted by gas from a gasworks built on Brook Hill in 1853.³⁰ In the later 19th century a few houses in the centre were rebuilt, some of them in brick, notably nos. 2-4 Market Street, replacing the shambles or market house in 1870, a pair of villas, nos. 27-29 High Street, the tall terraced row of shops and houses, nos. 23-29 Oxford Street, in the 1870s, and nos. 51-7 Oxford Street in the 1880s. Woodstock had relatively few of the cottage rows common in more populous 19th-century towns, but a group in the churchyard was demolished c. 1870,³¹ and in the 1880s cottages on Brook Hill and Hoggrove Hill were condemned and demolished.³² Another cottage row was removed when the surviving Methodist chapel was built on the east side of Oxford Street in 1907,³³ and several cottages on Park Lane and Rectory Lane were demolished during slum clearances of the 1930s.³⁴

From the late 19th century, presumably because of the newly established railway link, the duke of Marlborough considered schemes for suburban development in Hensington, including c. 1913 a proposal to demolish Hensington House and build houses around a central area of croquet lawns and tennis courts.³⁵ Hensington House was demolished in the 1920s but the site was not developed until the 1950s. The chief additions to the town in the late 19th century and early 20th³⁶ were a few houses at the south end of Union Street and along Hensington Road, some of the latter built by the duke and sold to members of the Oxford Co-operative Society under a joint scheme.³⁷ Pullman's glove factory was built c. 1890 on the south side of Hensington Road³⁸ and New Road in Hensington was laid out and partly built up before 1922. A drill hall on its north side was bought by the corporation for a community centre in 1970;³⁹ Crutch's glove factory on its south side was built c. 1924 and closed in the 1950s.

By the 1930s scarcity of building land obliged the council to acquire sites outside the borough.⁴⁰ Between the two World Wars building was mostly in Hensington, and included council houses on Bear Close in 1932, and houses at the east end of Hensington, on Banbury Road and Shipton Road; Hill Rise at the north end of Old Woodstock was laid out, and a few houses were built on the Oxford road. A Roman Catholic church was built on Hensington Road in 1934.⁴¹ A school was built on the site of Marlborough School in 1940 and a primary school on Shipton Road in 1968.⁴² After the Second World War Hensington continued to be built up; in the

²⁶ Boro. Mun. 7-8.

²⁷ Ibid. 11/20, sqq.: payment of 3d. by John Wheeler and successors for a bow window encroachment.

²⁸ e.g. *Univ. Brit. Dir.* [1795], iv. 823-5; Pigot, *Lond. & Prov. Dir.* (1823-4).

²⁹ Below, Bldgs. no. 2.

³⁰ Below, Prot. Nonconf.; Educ.; Local Govt., Public Health and Services.

³¹ Below, Church.

³² Boro. Mun. 102, pp. 52, 65, 87; 107, p. 337.

³³ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1899, 1922 edns.).

³⁴ Boro. Mun. 112, pp. 92-3, 259-60, 265-6.

³⁵ Blenheim Mun., plans in wooden chest.

³⁶ Rest of section based on *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1889 and later edns.); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1922 edn.); O.R.O., electoral regs.

³⁷ *Oxf. Times*, 17 Feb. 1989.

³⁸ Below, Econ.

³⁹ *Woodstock, 1967* (Woodstock Soc. 1970): copy in Westgate Libr.

⁴⁰ Boro. Mun. 110, p. 351; 111, p. 21; 115, pp. 4-5, 179.

⁴¹ Below, Rom. Cath.

⁴² Below, Educ.



WOODSTOCK: KEY TO BUILDINGS SECTION. Scale 1:3,348 (approx. 19 in. to 1 mile).

1950s houses were added in the Green Lane area, on the Klondike on Shipton Road, and the Cadogan estate on the site of Hensington House;⁴³ in the 1960s the large Hensington Gate estate was begun. Other areas of expansion included Cockpit Close on the southern edge of the town in the 1950s and Barn Piece Farm estate in Old Woodstock in the 1960s. By 1967 there were 150 council houses and 50 apartments in the built-up area.⁴⁴ The former union workhouse was demolished in 1969 and the site used later for a home for the aged, Spencer Court, and a fire station, police station, library, and car park. Houses were built on the gas works site in 1972,⁴⁵ in the Brook Hill area (partly on the corporation meadows) in the 1970s and 1980s, and along Hensington Road in the 1980s.

The central area changed little in the 20th century except for the renewal of shop fronts. Early in the century Lorimer's shop (no. 22 High Street) was built on a site long vacant, and in the 1960s Blandford Court in Market Street replaced the former Blandford Arms; a tall block of apartments built in Oxford Street in the

1960s commands the northern approach to the town. The trees lining Oxford Street, planted at the duke of Marlborough's expense in 1885,⁴⁶ fell victim to road-widening as the street became a major traffic route. From the 1920s until the 1950s the central streets were dominated by overhead electricity cables carried on large pylons.⁴⁷ In 1975 Woodstock was designated as a conservation area.

BUILDINGS. Quitrents imposed on the town's original burgages survived until the 1930s. They were listed in a survey of 1279 and as 'the king's rents' in 1468–9.⁴⁸ Later the corporation acquired the quitrents⁴⁹ and listed them annually with its other rents. Rentals survive for 1598, 1602, 1609–18, 1652, 1654, 1684, and for most years from 1733.⁵⁰ Until 1764 their arrangement was partly topographical, as was that of the late 18th-century land tax assessments and the census returns of 1841–81.⁵¹ The descent of many sites may therefore be traced, and identification is aided by a valuation of c. 1910 listing owners and

⁴³ For no. 5 Cadogan Park, *Country Life*, 20 Feb. 1958.

⁴⁴ *Woodstock*, 1967.

⁴⁵ F. Bevan, 'Social Conditions in Woodstock 40 Yrs. Ago' (TS. 1972 in Westgate Libr.).

⁴⁶ Boro. Mun. 101, p. 86; Westgate Libr., photo. colln. 4700: view of c. 1890 showing young trees.

⁴⁷ Bevan, 'Social Conditions'; O.R.O., Misc. Budd V/2.

⁴⁸ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 839–42; Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 9–15.

⁴⁹ Below, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886.

⁵⁰ Boro. Mun. 96, f. 87 (1598); *ibid.* ff. 4–7 (1602); 79, ff. 19–23v., 33–34v. (1609–18); 7–8 and 11–12 (1652–1828); 143–6 (1838–1951).

⁵¹ O.R.O., land tax assess.; P.R.O., HO 107/893, 1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512.

tenants of all Woodstock houses.⁵² The following account of sites of particular note is based on those sources.

1. Nos. 8–12 *Oxford Street*, bought in 1587 with Richard Cornwell's bequest for the grammar school, were transferred to the corporation in 1599 and usually granted on long leases to provide the bulk of the school's income.⁵³ No. 8 belonged to Thomas Croft in 1477 and was later part of his endowment of St. Margaret's chantry, dispersed after 1551.⁵⁴ The house was occupied by the schoolmaster in 1609 and later let to tradesmen.⁵⁵ It was the New Angel inn by the 1760s⁵⁶ and was still so in 1856 when the lease was taken by the brewers Wootten & Co. The building was extended in 1857 and turned into a private house in 1871–2.⁵⁷

Nos. 10–12 formed a single holding in 1587, described as the White Hart inn and a little adjoining house; an attached close on the east was in Hensington field and the borough boundary ran through no. 12 until modern times.⁵⁸ In the 1460s part of the site was held with 2 a. in Hensington by Alderman John Carryk, whose neighbour on the north, John Haynes, was probably ancestor of Thomas Castell *alias* Haynes, who owned the whole in the mid 16th century.⁵⁹ The White Hart inn was charged with 6s. 8d. rent to St. Mary's chantry which was paid to the corporation after 1565.⁶⁰ In 1592 the school trustees let no. 12, called the White Hart but no longer an inn, to Anthony Noble, curate and possibly schoolmaster, and in 1602 Noble was compensated for the loss of part of his parlour, which had been taken into the corporation's 'new building where the schoolhouse was', presumably the site of no. 10 *Oxford Street*.⁶¹ Simon Jeames, schoolmaster, occupied no. 12 in the 1620s but later 17th-century lessees were tradesmen.⁶² By the early 18th century the house was an inn, the Pied Bull,⁶³ and remained so until acquired c. 1802 by Joseph Brooks, who opened a bank there in 1805. On his death in 1807 the lease was bought by the Oxford bankers Cox, Morrell, & Co.,⁶⁴ who held it until c. 1850; from 1829 they sublet the rear of the house as a girls' boarding school and probably closed the bank in the early 1840s.⁶⁵ The house was the grammar school and master's house

from c. 1851 until c. 1901.⁶⁶ In the 1950s it was turned into a public house, the Old Pyed Bull, renamed the Punch Bowl in the 1970s.⁶⁷

No. 10 was let separately after its rebuilding in the early 17th century; a tenant before 1646 was James Keene, bellfounder.⁶⁸ In 1746 the house was described as lately rebuilt, and Joseph Brooks, lessee from c. 1769, added a bow window.⁶⁹ The Money family bought the lease in 1808⁷⁰ and manufactured gloves there until moving to no. 14 *Oxford Street* in the mid 19th century. The house was briefly a police station from 1859 and gloving continued there later.⁷¹

All three houses contain work of the earlier 18th century, with later additions; no. 10 is distinguished by a fine shell hood, panelled doors, and an ornate staircase.⁷²

2. *Site of Woodstock union workhouse*. The workhouse was built in 1836–7 on land formerly part of Hensington manor bought from Benjamin Holloway.⁷³ The architect was George Wilkinson of Witney and the contractors Messrs. Wyatt of Oxford.⁷⁴ The stone building was on a square plan around two courtyards and cost £4,800.⁷⁵ West and east wings were added to the entrance block in 1859 and a detached laundry block on the north-east in 1860. The original building contained a room for a chapel, but a separate stone chapel in 13th-century style, designed by G. E. Street, was built on the east in 1863; land and stone were supplied by the duke of Marlborough and the building cost only £495. The chapel served as a mortuary chapel for the cemetery opened in that year.⁷⁶ A large brick infirmary block was built on the north in 1891–3.⁷⁷ From 1930 the former workhouse was a home for the elderly, Hensington House. Most of the buildings were demolished in 1969 and the chapel in 1973.⁷⁸

3. Nos. 14–16 *Oxford Street*. The site was a 6d. burgage, divided before 1279 into two tenements paying 4½d. and 1½d.⁷⁹ In the later 17th century Miles Parker was paying 4½d. for the site of no. 14 *Oxford Street*. Parker (d. 1719), maltster and mayor, was closely concerned in the Blenheim building works as receiver general of taxes in Oxfordshire.⁸⁰ In 1708 the corporation allowed him an encroachment for his new house, so that it might 'range along even with

⁵² O.R.O., D.V. VIII/275 (map); X/23 (schedule); I/16 (forms).

⁵³ Below, Educ. For conveyances before 1587 see Boro. Mun. 3/3/4; 31/6–7; 72/2/6.

⁵⁴ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 27. For the chantry, below, Church.

⁵⁵ Boro. Mun. 3/3/5; 23/1/2; 85, pt. 2, pp. 41–4.

⁵⁶ Blenheim Mun., box 129, draft lease (1777), reciting earlier lease.

⁵⁷ Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 138, 303.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 98/1; O.S. Maps 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 and later edns.).

⁵⁹ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 10, 17, 27; 72/2/6; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 179, ff. 9v–10.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 81, Nov. 1590; 96, ff. 47, 87; P.R.O., SC 6/Edw. VI/383; rent of Ric. Evans, stepfather of Thomas Haynes. For the chantry, below, Church.

⁶¹ Boro. Mun. 22/3/3.

⁶² Ibid. 3/3/5; 21/1/2; 31/13.

⁶³ Ibid. 76/2, Dec. 1699; 85, pp. 22–5; *ibid.* pt. 2, pp. 13–16.

⁶⁴ Berks. R.O., D/ESv (M)/B 9; for Brooks, below, Econ.

⁶⁵ Cf. Boro. Mun. 100, ff. 5, 14.

⁶⁶ Below, Educ.

⁶⁷ *Kelly's Oxf. Dir.* (1954 and later edns.).

⁶⁸ Boro. Mun. 3/3/5; 85, pp. 37–9; *ibid.* pt. 2, pp. 16–19.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 21/1/3; 11/17.

⁷⁰ Berks. R.O., D/ESv (M)/B 9.

⁷¹ P.R.O., RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512. For police stn., below, Local Govt., Public Health and Services.

⁷² For early 19th-century plans of the houses see Boro. Mun. 100, ff. 5, 12–15.

⁷³ O.R.O., TG VII/i/1; Bodl. Oxon. Rolls 103: Hensington map (1750).

⁷⁴ O.R.O., TG VII/i/1; County Mus., P.R.N. 1043, which includes photos. and plans; *Oxf. Jnl.* 30 Jan. 1836; S. Everett, 'Workhouse in Oxon.' *Top. Oxon.* no. 14, which wrongly attributes the design to Messrs. Wyatt.

⁷⁵ *Returns of Workhous.*, H.C. 425–I, pp. 52–3 (1840), xxxix.

⁷⁶ *Top. Oxon.* no. 14; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1732/1; *Oxf. Chron.* 7 Nov. 1863; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 857.

⁷⁷ *Oxf. Jnl.* 18 July 1891, 1 July 1893.

⁷⁸ County Mus., P.R.N. 1043; *Oxf. Times*, 28 May 1971.

⁷⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 840: tenements of Adam the slatter and Edmund of the park.

⁸⁰ For Parker, e.g. *Cal. Treasury Bks.* xxi (2), 185, 422; xxv (2), 180–1; B.L. Add. MSS. 14604, 19609.

his malthouse towards Hensington'.⁸¹ The new house, completed in 1709,⁸² was alleged to have been built with Blenheim stone.⁸³ The house and malthouse remained in the Parker family until 1773, passed to Thomas Baker, maltster, and from 1788 belonged to the Churchill family, cabinet makers and auctioneers.⁸⁴ On the death of Benjamin Churchill in 1840 nos. 14 and 16 were sold to H. T. T. Palmer, surgeon and mayor (d. 1864), who seems to have lived at no. 16.⁸⁵ No. 14 was a private school under the name of Hope House in the 1840s and early 1850s,⁸⁶ and was taken over by the Money family, glovers, in the late 1850s when they left no. 10 Oxford Street.⁸⁷ The Moneys, owners in 1987, used the former malthouse as a glove factory until the 1930s.⁸⁸

The front range of Hope House, of three storeys with attics, is in Vanbrughian style, employing arched and segmental windows and blind recesses with heavy keystones; the architect is unknown. The two-storeyed rear wing on Hensington Road is of c. 1720, and the cellar is lit by a 17th-century stone-mullioned window. The front was altered c. 1800 by the insertion of an entrance framed in wrought iron and surmounted by a bow window, balanced by a two-storeyed bow window to the south. The interior contains early 18th-century panelling and chimney-pieces. The former malthouse range along Hensington road was converted into cottages after the Second World War.

The 1½d. quit rent of the later no. 16 Oxford Street was paid by victuallers in the early 18th century, and by 1728 the house was the Six Bells;⁸⁹ the Bennet family owned it until the later 18th century.⁹⁰ John Wagstaff, publican 1768–77, had a 'great room' used for lectures,⁹¹ presumably the club room which Thomas Alderslade, publican 1778–82, used as a theatre.⁹² It may have been the theatre fitted up in 1776 and recorded as Woodstock theatre until 1788.⁹³ John Churchill, owner of the Six Bells from c. 1784, turned it into a private house,⁹⁴ occupied for much of the 19th century by medical practitioners.⁹⁵ The house, 17th-century in part, was much altered in the 19th century and refronted in the 1950s.

4. Nos. 26–34 Oxford Street (*The Marlborough Arms hotel and houses on the north*).⁹⁶ At its height as a coaching inn in the later 18th century the Marlborough Arms included the two houses on the north (Fox House and Fox House Antiques). In 1279 the site of the present hotel was a 6d. burgage held by Adam Bennet, and in 1468, as 'le Palys inn with the sign of St. George', was acquired by Thomas Croft.⁹⁷ The George inn was among the endowments of Croft's chantry in Woodstock church which were sold by the Crown in 1549.⁹⁸ John Meades (d. 1587) acquired the George in 1576 and partly rebuilt it;⁹⁹ in 1637–8 his grandson John sold the reversion of a 100-year lease to Balliol College, Oxford, which became sole owner in 1707.

In 1620 the inn contained at least four first-floor chambers, and three presumably grander chambers called the Bear, Falcon, and Dove.¹ Balliol's lessees, John Smith, gentleman (1658–93), Benjamin Johnson, mercer (1693–1715), and Edward Ryves, town clerk, seem to have sublet the inn, and it may have been the unidentified 8-hearth inn of John Caldicott (d. 1667) and John and Jane Gibbs (d. 1686, 1692).² From 1723, when Gabriel Brown became innkeeper, the George prospered; in 1738 Edward Harley, earl of Oxford, found it 'a very good house'.³ Brown (d. 1739) was succeeded by his wife Anne and nephew William (both d. 1753) and William's relict Sarah (d. 1791).⁴

The hotel was extended in stages during the 18th century. In the 1750s Sarah Brown bought the freehold of the former Plough to the north, which included the later nos. 30–4 Oxford Street;⁵ the Browns were occupying part of the site by 1740 and No. 30 was probably already incorporated into the inn. No. 32 was added later but there is no evidence that no. 34 formed part of the inn.

From 1767 until 1779 Sarah sublet the inn to William Barke, formerly butler to the duke of Marlborough, and it was renamed the Marlborough Arms.⁶ Sarah's daughter and heir Sarah married Alderman Joseph Brooks, on whose death in 1807 she sold to the duke of Marlborough the Balliol lease, the freehold parts of the inn, and no. 34 Oxford Street. The tenant

⁸¹ Boro. Mun. 86, Aug. 1708.

⁸² Deeds *penes* Mrs. D. M. Money, Hope House.

⁸³ B.L. Add. MS. 19618, ff. 164, 209–10.

⁸⁴ Deeds at Hope House.

⁸⁵ O.R.O., J/IXe/63; P.R.O., HO 107 893, 1730.

⁸⁶ *Slatter's Dir. Oxon.* (1850); cf. *Hunt's Dir. Oxf.* (1846), s.v. Miss Bayley; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1854), s.v. Cath. Money, who was probably at Hope House: P.R.O., HO 107/1730.

⁸⁷ Cf. Boro. Mun. 143/22–3.

⁸⁸ Below, Econ.

⁸⁹ Cf. Boro. Mun. 7/5; 91, vctls' recogs. May 1709, June 1719, s.v. Bridgewater; deeds at Hope House (1728).

⁹⁰ Boro. Mun. 7–8; *ibid.* 88, vctls' recogs.; *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 7 Aug. 1762.

⁹¹ Boro. Mun. 8/10, sqq.; *ibid.* 88, vctls' recogs.; *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 1 Apr. 1771.

⁹² Boro. Mun. 11/5, sqq.; *ibid.* 88, vctls' recogs.; *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 19, 31 Oct. 1778; 18 Dec. 1782; 3 Apr., 1784.

⁹³ *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 26 June 1776; *ibid.* 1783, 1786, 1788, *passim*.

⁹⁴ It was 'late the Six Bells' in 1788: deeds at Hope House.

⁹⁵ P.R.O., HO 107/893, 1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1449; RG

11 1512.

⁹⁶ Cf. Balliol Coll. Mun., F.7.3–16; F.10.5–11, 15, 52; *ibid.* lease logbk., pp. 142–3; Blenheim Mun., box 136: deeds 17th–19th cent.

⁹⁷ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 840; Boro. Mun. 83 1, pp. 12, 24.

⁹⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1548–9, 191–2; P.R.O., E 315 67, f. 59v.; below, Church.

⁹⁹ P.R.O., REQ 2 26 20; REQ 2 122 3; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 43 1 54.

¹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 44 1 7.

² P.R.O., E 179 255 4, f. 293; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 28 1 27; 78 2 7; 166 2 30, where the inventories clearly relate to the same inn. The tenants of most other large inns are known.

³ Hist. MSS. Com. 29, *Portland*, vi, p. 181.

⁴ Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 11; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 9/2 42; 117.4 20; Westgate Libr., par. reg. transcripts.

⁵ Boro. Mun. 50/1/1–4; 52/2/1–5; Blenheim Mun., box 136; cf. survey of duke's property in 1863: *ibid.* E/P 38 and associated map.

⁶ *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 6 June 1767, 3 June 1769, 20 Nov. 1779.

1804–27, Edward Wells, and his partner Edward Gardner, were noted for the best home-brewed beer between London and Birmingham.⁷ By then no. 32 seems to have been separately occupied and by the mid 19th century was a grocer's shop; the ballroom on its first floor may have formed part of the inn in the earlier 19th century. For a few years c. 1840 the innkeeper was William Margetts, also landlord of the Bear, but the coaching trade declined so sharply that by 1844 the Marlborough Arms was closed as an inn until the late 1850s.⁸ Thereafter no. 30, which remained part of the inn until 1840 or later,⁹ was let separately until sold c. 1886 with nos. 32–4. William Haynes, innkeeper from the late 1850s and also lessee of



THE MARLBOROUGH ARMS c. 1770

Balliol's Manor Farm in Old Woodstock, carried on a successful brewing business until 1907. The duke gave up the Balliol lease c. 1891, and the college sold the derelict building during the First World War. The hotel was restored in the 1930s and trade revived sharply during the Second World War.¹⁰

The hotel surrounds a long courtyard, approached through a carriage entrance.¹¹ Most of the courtyard ranges are of the 18th century, some refenestrated in the 1930s when the ground floor was altered and the dining room built.¹² The main street frontage formed a balanced early 18th-century design, incorporating no. 30 Oxford Street. The central four-bay block, which retains early 18th-century key-stoned windows and original sashes, was surmounted until the early 20th century by a triangular pediment with ball finials; the flanking two-bayed wings (nos. 26 and 30) retain early 18th-century windows and both had attic dormers, which survive in no. 26. The south wing incorporates an ornate classical carriage entrance and no. 30 retains the former main staircase of the inn, a fine early 18th-century open-well design, lit by an oval lantern. The

hotel bar, formerly the 'great dining room', contains a baroque stone fireplace of the early 18th century, and another stone fireplace of similar date survives in the ground floor of no. 30; both there and in the main block there is early and mid 18th-century panelling. Gabriel Brown, innkeeper 1723–39, was related by marriage to the Oxford masons, the Townesends;¹³ in 1723 William Townsend (d. 1739) and his partner Bartholomew Peisley, then working at Blenheim, were trustees for his lease of the inn,¹⁴ and may have been concerned in the design or building of the main ranges.

The rebuilding of no. 32 in the later 18th century marked the northward extension of the inn. A large room on the first floor retains what may have been a dancing floor, over 3 ft. deep and once packed with chaff; there are ornate medallioned cornices, late 18th-century fireplaces, and a large Venetian bay window. The ground floor, which retains 18th-century features, is lit by a fine bow-fronted late 19th-century shop window, partially concealing the lunette of an earlier entrance. No. 34 Oxford Street was largely rebuilt in the early 19th century.

5. Nos. 44–6 Oxford Street. When sold to Richard Norman in 1675 the site was the Globe,¹⁵ and was probably the inn or alehouse occupied by Thomas Godfrey in the early 17th century.¹⁶ For most of the 18th century the Norman family of fellmongers and gloves lived on part of the site. It was sold in 1792 to John Gulliver, whose relict Catherine in 1821 sold it, including two houses, to the duke of Marlborough's trustees; the wish of the 4th duke (d. 1817) to give it to the grammar school was not fulfilled, although the master was housed there briefly from 1817.¹⁷ The Blenheim estate sold no. 46 in 1913 and no. 44 to the Woodstock Social Club in 1973.¹⁸ The two houses, described as new in 1779, appear to have been refronted later.¹⁹

6. No. 50 Oxford Street. In 1279 Reynold at the green owed 7d. quitrent for the fourth burgage in a sequence of 14 originally 6d. plots that occupied one side of a Woodstock street.²⁰ In the early 17th century Bartholomew Edging owed 7d. for a house on the east side of Oxford Street²¹ which descended through the Dennet, Bennett, and Smith families to the Morgans, chimneysweeps, who lived at no. 50 in the early 20th century.²² If no. 50 was the fourth burgage the sequence of 6d. rents in 1279 related to the east side of Oxford Street from near no. 60 to no. 14 (Hope House).²³

No. 50 is of the early 17th century, refronted

⁷ Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 7; O.R.O., FC. IV/1; *Oxf. Chron.* 15 Feb. 1879: hist. notes.

⁸ Pigot, *Nat. Com. Dir.* (1842); *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847 and later edns.); Boro. Mun. 89, p. 501: absent from vctls' recogs. 1844; *Census*, 1851, marginal note. For reopening c. 1857, see note re Haynes's tenancy in Balliol Coll. Mun., F.10.52.

⁹ Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 7, lease and plan (1804) with note (1840) re area of freehold part.

¹⁰ D. M. Johnson, *Bars and Barricades*, 115–16, 179, 194, 253.

¹¹ A plan, probably made c. 1770, is attached to leases of 1795 and later: Balliol Coll. Mun., F.10.15; Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, boxes 7, 9.

¹² Johnson, *Bars and Barricades*, 22–3, 25, 115–16.

¹³ Cf. O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 9/2/42; 117/4/20.

¹⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 136, lease of 1723.

¹⁵ Ibid. box 137, deeds 1675–1821; O.R.O., Rob. II/iii/2; *ibid.* MSS. Wills Oxon. 48/2/13, 143/4/14.

¹⁶ Boro. Mun. 79, f. 21; *ibid.* 77/2, s.a. 1618: vctls' recogs.

¹⁷ Below, *Educ.*

¹⁸ Blenheim Mun., modern deeds.

¹⁹ For the demolition of an older rear wing see Westgate

Libr., photo. colln. 76/340–1.

²⁰ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 840.

²¹ Boro. Mun. 79, f. 21; O.R.O., Misc. Has. I/1–9.

²² O.R.O., D.V. VIII/275, X/23: survey and map c. 1910.

²³ Above, *Development of the Town.*

in the mid 18th; it has an original central passage, heavy hollow-chamfered beams in the front ground floor room, a 17th-century winder staircase, and two fine 17th-century studded doors. The rear elevation and early 17th-century rear wing incorporate elaborately carved wooden lintels.

7. *Nos. 58–66 Oxford Street*. In 1279 part of the site was probably the corner plot of Joan the parker.²⁴ In 1608–9, when sold to John Norman (d. 1653), butcher, the property comprised a house called the malthouse and a close of 1½ a., presumably the close on the north still held with the property in the 20th century.²⁵ In the 18th century the Norman family let it to Thomas Morris and later his son Spencer, bakers, and there was a bakehouse there in 1790.²⁶ From the mid 19th century until the 1950s the site was a glove factory.²⁷ Nos. 62–4, part of the range called Webley Terrace after a 19th-century glove master, are of the 17th century or earlier and retain fine carved wood lintels. The site, which carried no separate quitrent and may have belonged to the original corner tenement or close, was perhaps built on in the early Middle Ages to close off the market area of Oxford Street.

8. *Nos. 70–4 Oxford Street*. By 1598 the corporation was letting a house on Hollow Way but seems to have sold the freehold before the late 17th century, retaining a quitrent of 5s. By then the house was the Mermaid, flanked on the west by the town's almshouses and on the east by the common pound.²⁸ For much of the 18th century the property was held by the Miles family, collarmakers, and had probably ceased to be an alehouse; it was added to on the north and by the early 19th century comprised at least three houses and a shop, including a workshop used for the manufacture of ochre.²⁹ No. 72 contains 17th-century features, but most of the row was rebuilt or refronted in the early 19th century.

9. *Nos. 76–82 Oxford Street*. The site of the corporation's almshouses (nos. 76–8), the parish workhouse, an infant school, and the Olivet chapel and school.³⁰

10. *No. 122 Oxford Street (White Hart House)*. In the early 17th century Alderman Thomas Browne was lessee of a malthouse, apparently recently built on corporation land next to the river.³¹ The corporation let it as the Malthouse until the early 19th century,³² but it was an alehouse, the White Hart, by the mid 18th century when the undertenant, William Lord,

was a victualler.³³ It remained a public house until the early 20th century, perhaps until c. 1905 when Halls of Oxford gave up the lease. Thomas Whitlock, butcher and beer retailer, tenant from the 1880s,³⁴ probably opened the butcher's shop there which was taken over c. 1918 by the Wicksons who retained it in 1987. The corporation sold the freehold in 1968.³⁵ The building, altered and extended in the early 19th century, retains 17th-century features, including chamfered stone-mullioned windows.

11. *Nos. 87–93 Oxford Street*. The site of the Marlborough almshouses of 1794, demolished in 1874.³⁶

12. *No. 2 Harrison's Lane (White House)*. There may have been a house on the site from the Middle Ages³⁷ but the surviving house was probably built or rebuilt c. 1781 when William Hanks (d. 1801), innkeeper, obtained a corporation lease of land for a large garden;³⁸ from 1782 his tenants were gentry. Cornelius Fryer, owner c. 1809,³⁹ was succeeded in 1815 by the attorney and alderman J. V. Harrison,⁴⁰ who lived there until his death in 1854 and gave his name to the lane. Later owners included, from 1899, Alderman W. C. Brotherton (d. 1928).⁴¹

The main fronts are brick, rendered on the south presumably by the mid 19th century when the name White House was in use.⁴² The narrow building had a symmetrical north front and side annexes lit by circular windows. It was enlarged and remodelled in the earlier 19th century, probably by J. V. Harrison. Canted bays were added on the north and an extension on the west was given similar bays; then or later a service corridor was built on the south, carried on brackets above the lane. The interior contains much late 18th-century work.

13. *Site of Magdalen House*. A church property called Magdalen House c. 1461 was Giles Coles's house near Hollow Way c. 1600, paying 5s. rent to the borough. Like most other chantry property it had evidently been granted away, perhaps on condition of rebuilding.⁴³ Later the site comprised two houses, one long held by the Druces, the other, retaining the name Magdalen House, held in the early 18th century by Richard Minn and later by the Wilkes family.⁴⁴ With a garden let by the corporation from the late 16th century the houses formed an island site north of nos. 77–81 Oxford Street. The site was altered c. 1780 when the turnpike commissioners levelled and widened Hollow Way.⁴⁵ In 1784–5 William Hanks, innkeeper, acquired the

²⁴ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 840.

²⁵ Cf. Boro. Mun. 53/1/2; Blenheim Mun., box 137; O.R.O., Rob. II/iii/2: abstract of title; *ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 48/2/13; P.R.O., PROB 11/226, f. 9.

²⁶ Blenheim Mun., box 137, deed of 1790.

²⁷ Below, Econ.

²⁸ O.R.O., Ark. XIII/ii/1–2; *ibid.* Pellatt XXXVIII/ii/1–26.

²⁹ *Ibid.* Pellatt XXXVIII/iv/1.

³⁰ Below, Char.; Local Govt., Par. Govt. and Poor Relief; Educ.; Prot. Nonconf.

³¹ Cf. Boro. Mun. 74, f. 20; 96, f. 87.

³² *Ibid.* 85, pp. 26–9, 70–1, 74–7; *ibid.* pt. II, pp. 26–9, 135–9, 220–4, 267–9.

³³ *Ibid.* 88, pp. 229 sqq.; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 42/4/38; *Univ. Brit. Dir.* [1795], iv. 823–5.

³⁴ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Hall's Brewery c 42; *Kelly's Dir.*

Oxon. (1889 and later edns.).

³⁵ Boro. Mun. 137, p. 101.

³⁶ Below, Char.

³⁷ Cf. Boro. Mun. 83, p. 10; deed of 1711 *penes* Dr. A. H. T. Robb-Smith, Chaucer's Ho.; Blenheim Mun., map of 1719 in wooden chest.

³⁸ Boro. Mun. 11/9.

³⁹ For early 19th-cent. plans of Hoggrove Hill area see *ibid.* 100, ff. 24–5.

⁴⁰ C. Freeman, 'Mr. Harrison refused to sign' (Oxf. Univ. External Studies Dissertation, 1987).

⁴¹ O.R.O., Misc. Brotherton I/1.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Boro. Mun. 83, p. 4; below, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886 (Finance and Property).

⁴⁴ Cf. Boro. Mun. 85, pp. 54–5; *ibid.* 85, pt. 2, pp. 54–7, 185–9; O.R.O., Rob. II/ii/1–20.

⁴⁵ Boro. Mun. 11/10, note re Geo. Wilkes's rent.

whole and rebuilt the western, former Druce, house, letting it to gentry tenants. The site was sold in 1802 to Thomas Waite and in 1835 to the turnpike trustees, who demolished both houses to widen the road.⁴⁶

14. *The Queen's Own*. Between 1614 and 1616 Robert Winter built a house next to his existing house, on a narrow plot let to him by the corporation.⁴⁷ Under Winter, a saddler and licensed victualler,⁴⁸ the house probably acquired the sign of the Three Goats' Heads, symbol of leather workers, by which it was known in the late 17th century and 18th.⁴⁹ The corporation seems to have sold it c. 1818.⁵⁰ It may have ceased to be an inn during the 18th century, but by 1853 was the Queen's Own.⁵¹ Hook Norton Brewery Co. owned it from c. 1902.

15. *Nos. 51-7 Oxford Street*. The site of a house bequeathed in 1499 by Thomas Bailly to New College, Oxford. In the 17th century the house had a frontage of over 50 ft., but was divided in the 19th century and used partly as an alehouse, probably until mid century when the adjacent Queen's Own was opened. In 1883 the college sold it to Edmund Webley, glover, who built the surviving terraced row.⁵²

16. *Nos. 43-5 Oxford Street*. The former fire station.⁵³

17. *No. 41 Oxford Street*. The site of the former Wesleyan chapel.⁵⁴

18. *The King's Arms hotel*. The site, chantry property acquired by the corporation in 1565,⁵⁵ was later let on long leases as the Corner House,⁵⁶ and by 1698 comprised two houses, one occupied by the Hoare family, licensed victuallers.⁵⁷ On the death of William Hoare in 1778 his house was called the Compasses but by 1795 was the King's Arms.⁵⁸ The site remained divided in the earlier 19th century, the inn occupying the Market Street range.⁵⁹ The corporation allowed Alderman Joseph Haynes favourable terms when he enlarged the inn in the 1870s,⁶⁰ and in 1943 sold it to the Northampton Brewery Co., lessees from c. 1898. The Market Street range is of the earlier 19th century; Haynes's addition of c. 1874 on Oxford Street included on the north the Royal Assembly Rooms, for long one of the town's principal meeting places.⁶¹

19. *No. 15 Market Street (Old Bank House)*. From the mid 18th century the house belonged to Alderman Thomas Grantham (d. 1776), grocer and steel manufacturer, then to his son-in-

law William Carter, alderman and grocer,⁶² and to the partner of a later William Carter, Alderman William Morris (d. 1860). From 1841 Gillett, Tawney, & Co. operated a bank on the premises, becoming sole occupants from 1860 until they moved to Park Street in the early 1870s.⁶³ The house was enlarged and remodelled in the mid 18th century. By the early 19th century rear access to the workhouses and workshops in the large yard behind the house was provided by a corporation lease of the later no. 43 Oxford Street.⁶⁴

20. *No. 9 Market Street (Bartholomew House) and No. 7*. The site, chantry property acquired by the corporation in 1565, was granted in 1569 to Alderman John Riley, Chandler, at an annual rent of 10s., on condition that he rebuild three bays of housing.⁶⁵ It belonged to prominent mercers, John Bradshaw (d. 1614) and Thomas Sparrow (d. 1678). In the 18th century it was owned by Richard Bartholomew, apothecary (d. 1798), and by his descendants the Heynes family throughout the 19th century.⁶⁶ The original site included the later no. 7.⁶⁷ It was later divided into at least two houses, possibly before the 1660s when Thomas Sparrow had a four-hearth house and rented out a two-hearth house.⁶⁸ No. 7 was separated permanently c. 1768 and the site's quitrent divided.⁶⁹

Bartholomew House incorporates two ranges, built in squared and coursed limestone and rubble at right-angles to the street. That on the west may be John Riley's rebuilding of c. 1570 but with an added 17th-century two-storeyed gabled square bay with an Ipswich window on the first floor; that on the east, refronted in the late 18th century, has a short cross roof at the street end and is of the late 17th century, with a panelled room and wood mullioned windows at the rear. A newel stair, altered in the late 17th century, survives partly recessed into the east wall. The house plan, particularly the thick west wall of the central passageway, suggests that the older, west range was perhaps once linked to buildings on the west. No. 7 was rebuilt c. 1800 with a three-storeyed canted bay, of which the ground floor was widened as a shop window in the 19th century.

21. *Nos. 3-5 Market Street (Blandford Court)*. The site was a chantry property acquired in 1553 by Simon Perrott, who in 1584 gave it to University College, Oxford, to endow a sermon;⁷⁰ it then comprised a house and shoe-

⁴⁶ Ibid. 100, f. 23, showing the site c. 1830 with the later road superimposed.

⁴⁷ Cf. Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 23, 34v.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 77/2, s.a. 1618.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 76/1, July 1670, Apr. 1672; 85, pp. 44-5.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 12/9-10, where its rent is changed from a reserved to a quitrent.

⁵¹ e.g. ibid. 89, p. 298, 501; 90, pp. 11, 22, 34.

⁵² New Coll. Arch., Reg. Evid. pp. 22-32; ibid. nos. 592, 1949, 4878, 4883-5; Reg. 5, f. 17; 8, pp. 126, 212; 9, p. 358; 36, Mar. 1883; Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 2395-2404.

⁵³ Below, Local Govt., Public Health and Services.

⁵⁴ Below, Prot. Nonconf.

⁵⁵ Below, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886 (Finance and Property).

⁵⁶ Boro. Mun. 85, *passim*.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 23/2/9; vctrlrs' recogs. in ibid. 88, 91.

⁵⁸ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 36/2/38; *Univ. Brit. Dir.* [1795], iv. 823-5.

⁵⁹ Boro. Mun. 100, f. 17: plan of 1830.

⁶⁰ *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490-I], pp. 247 sqq., 261, 267, 858; cf. Boro. Mun. 90, p. 339.

⁶¹ *Oxf. Chron.* 7 Apr. 1877, 21 Dec. 1878; *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1890 and later edns.).

⁶² O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 131/1/1-2.

⁶³ Taylor, *Gillets*, 65, 131, 217, and *passim*. Bank staff occupied both sites in 1871: P.R.O., RG 10/1449.

⁶⁴ Boro. Mun. 100, f. 18: plan c. 1830.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 72/2/4.

⁶⁶ For the owners cf. below, Econ.

⁶⁷ e.g. Boro. Mun. 56/9; 72/2/4, which show that its western abutment was the site of Blandford Court, below, Bldgs. no. 21.

⁶⁸ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 293.

⁶⁹ Boro. Mun. 8/10-11.

⁷⁰ *Univ. Coll. Arch.*, R 2 fasc. 1 nos. 1-5; *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 472-3.

maker's shop, but its tenant from 1581, Henry Rudgate, was also a victualler, as were the 17th-century tenants Giles and Peter Franklin, barber surgeons.⁷¹ It was the Star by 1720,⁷² and remained so until changed to the Blandford Arms in the early 19th century.⁷³ By the mid 19th century the inn was in disrepair and was closed for several years. It was acquired by Morlands Brewery in 1869, and was closed as a public house c. 1918.⁷⁴ In the 1960s it was demolished and rebuilt as shops and apartments.⁷⁵

22. *No. 1 Market Street.* The house was occupied from the later 17th century until the 1790s by the Scriven family,⁷⁶ plumbers and glaziers, and bought in 1834 by John Taylor, chemist. It was called the Old Pharmacy by the early 20th century and remained a chemist's shop until 1968.⁷⁷ The house, described as newly built in 1802,⁷⁸ retains 17th-century timber framing in a first floor wall and a datestone of 1722 at the rear.

23. *No. 6 Market Place.* The house was probably owned in 1499 by Alderman John Wallis, mercer, and sold in 1515 to John Baron (or Barnes), mercer, many times mayor.⁷⁹ In the early 17th century the house and its eastern neighbour (no. 1 Market Street), each owing 3d. quitrent, were owned and sublet by Henry Standard;⁸⁰ Thomas Woodward, mercer (d. 1668), owned both and may have occupied no. 6.⁸¹ From the early 18th century the Brothertons, ironmongers, had their shop there⁸² and for several years from 1757 'Mrs. Brotherton's parlour' served as a temporary town hall.⁸³ From 1805 the house and shop belonged to the ironmonger and clockmaker John Fardon (d. 1865),⁸⁴ whose garden produced nationally renowned fruits.⁸⁵ Later owners were Joseph Baker, watchmaker, and c. 1879 W. C. Brotherton, who had a shoe shop there.⁸⁶ From 1900 it belonged to the Buckingham family, watchmakers and jewellers, until the mid 1950s when it became an antique shop.⁸⁷

The building is probably of the late 15th century and its front range, originally jettied, may have extended into the tenement on the west. The back range is timber-framed, with an elaborate jettied elevation to the yard, including

a long window with moulded mullions to the ground floor, a moulded bressumer, and small first-floor windows, of which at least one was an oriel. Part of a stone newel stair survives in the east wall of the cellar. In the 18th century the house was faced in stone, and in the early 19th heightened.

24. *No. 16 Market Place (National Westminster Bank).* In 1499 the site was the Bull inn bought by William Harcourt of Cornbury with an attached shop, probably on the east; his son Richard was owner by 1515.⁸⁸ Queen Elizabeth's retinue stayed there while she was imprisoned in Woodstock Manor in 1554.⁸⁹ Until the mid 17th century the Bull remained one of the principal inns, used for corporate entertainment⁹⁰ and owned by a succession of aldermen, notably Jerome Westall (fl. 1550), Thomas Bradshaw (d. 1613), and Joseph Harris (d. 1635).⁹¹ In the later 17th century Richard Keene, perhaps the bellfounder, was subletting the property, which may have ceased to be an inn since its rent no longer included 6d. for a sign; the tenant, Henry Jefferies, was assessed on six hearths in 1662.⁹² By the earlier 18th century the house was permanently divided, the larger portion forming the Angel inn, later the Old Angel. It was acquired by Hall's Oxford Brewery in 1810 and closed c. 1918 when it was rebuilt as the National Provincial (later National Westminster) Bank. The large inn yard was used for a market from the late 19th century.⁹³ The smaller portion of the former Bull included at least three houses on the east, nos. 10–14 Market Street,⁹⁴ and in the 16th century the inn may have extended even further east.⁹⁵ The rebuilt bank retains some 18th-century work; nos. 12–14 are of the early 19th century but no. 10 is a 19th-century refronting of a late 17th-century house.

25. *No. 18 Market Place.* The site, held in the 15th century by the Marshall family,⁹⁶ was acquired in the later 16th by the Painters⁹⁷ and by the mid 17th was the Three Cups inn. In 1662 the house had eight hearths.⁹⁸ Under Alderman Thomas Painter (d. 1711) it was prominent enough to be used for corporate entertainment but by 1775 had ceased to be an inn.⁹⁹

⁷¹ Vctls' recogs. in Boro. Mun. 77/2; 78/2; 84; 91; Univ. Coll. Arch., Woodstock box, leases. For early tenants see also Boro. Mun. 21/2/1–6.

⁷² O.R.O., Misc. Gow. I/ii/1.

⁷³ Cf. Ibid. Misc. Cha. III/7–8; Univ. Coll. Arch., Woodstock box, lease of 1818. Jos. Barnard of the Sun in *Univ. Brit. Dir.* [1795], iv. 823–5 is probably Jas. Barnard of the Star.

⁷⁴ Cf. Boro. Mun. 145/13–15.

⁷⁵ For a 19th-cent. plan see Univ. Coll. Arch., Woodstock box, lease of 1818.

⁷⁶ Cf. O.R.O., Misc. Gow. I/ii/1–5; II/1/1–3; *ibid.* Misc. Cha. III, IV; *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1890 and later edns.).

⁷⁷ Inf. from Mr. T. C. Shaw.

⁷⁸ O.R.O., Misc. Cha. III/6.

⁷⁹ Cf. Boro. Mun. 83, pp. 41, 57, where the chantry tenement on the east is the later Blandford Arms.

⁸⁰ Cf. *ibid.* 79, f. 22 and garden abutments mentioned in *ibid.* 21/2/1–6; 21/3/1; 49/1/14.

⁸¹ Cf. *ibid.* 7/1–3; O.R.O., Misc. Gow. I/ii/1–2.

⁸² Abutments in O.R.O., Misc. Gow. I/ii/1–2, 4–5; *ibid.* Misc. Cha. III/1, 3, 6. For the Brothertons, below, Econ.

⁸³ Below, Local Govt., Municipal Bldgs.

⁸⁴ Cf. O.R.O., land tax assess. 1804 sqq.; Boro. Mun. 11/32, pencil amendment s.v. Brotherton; E. T. Brown-

Grant, 'John Fardon', *Oxon. Family Historian*, iii (4), 127–30; iii (5), 148–50; cf. *Oxf. Jnl.* 22 Mar. 1817.

⁸⁵ *Oxon. Family Historian*, iii (5), 150.

⁸⁶ For Brotherton, below, Econ.; photo. [1890s] *penes* Mrs. E. Brown-Grant.

⁸⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1899 and later edns.).

⁸⁸ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 37, 56.

⁸⁹ F. A. Mumby, *Girlhood of Queen Eliz.* 133, 148, 159.

⁹⁰ Boro. Mun. 79, *passim*; 31/14; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1634–5, 187–8.

⁹¹ Cf. Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 70–1; 96, f. 87; Blenheim Mun., box 89, deeds of 1672, 1692; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 4/3/17, 298/1/20.

⁹² Cf. Boro. Mun. 7/1–3; 76/1, Mar. 1674/5, Dec. 1677; P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 293.

⁹³ Below, Econ., Mkts. and Fairs.

⁹⁴ Cf. Boro. Mun. 143/5, sqq., rents of 1s. 10d. and 1s. 8d. s.v. Curtis and Castle; P.R.O., HO 107/893.

⁹⁵ Boro. Mun. 53/1/2.

⁹⁶ e.g. *ibid.* 72/1/1; 83/1, p. 15.

⁹⁷ Cf. abutments in O.R.O., Ark. XIII/1/1–2.

⁹⁸ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 293.

⁹⁹ J. G. Milne, *Oxon. Tokens*, 20–1; P.R.O., PROB 11/239, f. 348; Boro. Mun. 76/2, Nov. 1684; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 146/2/36. For the Painters, below, Econ.



WOODSTOCK: Park Street in 1821, looking east towards the town hall



OLD WOODSTOCK: Manor Farm from the south-east in 1821



WOODSTOCK: view from Old Woodstock of New Woodstock in 1823, with Manor Farm on the left



WOODSTOCK: Market Street in 1833, looking south-west towards the shambles (with clock tower) and the town hall

From the 1850s it was the shop of John Parker, upholsterer and cabinet maker,¹ and from the 1880s until c. 1960 an ironmonger's.

In 1650 Thomas Painter built a lean-to roof on posts on the frontage, 'to range with the Bull pentice'.² It survived in the later 18th century,³ but the front range was rebuilt in the early 19th and a new shop front probably added by John Parker in the 1850s.⁴ There is a 17th-century rear wing and an attached building probably of the late 16th century, with a scrolled bracket supporting the ground-floor beam, winder stairs, a moulded stone arched fireplace, and two reset medieval lancets.

26. *The Star*. In 1456 the wardens of Woodstock chapel granted the recently acquired Black Hall to John Bytham for a quitrent of 2s. 4d.⁵ The quitrent was acquired by the corporation in 1565.⁶ In the later 16th century the house belonged to Alderman John Pyman and was acquired in 1594 by Robert Bignell, baker, whose family retained it until the late 17th century; by 1652 there was an extra rent for a bakehouse and in 1662 John Bignell was assessed on 4 hearths for his house and 1 hearth for his oven.⁷ The Bignells and their successors, the Taskers, who had probably taken over the house by 1690, were licensed victuallers,⁸ and under Alderman John Tasker (d. 1741) the house was the White Horse.⁹ It was still so called in the 1780s but was the White Lion by the 1820s.¹⁰ It was acquired by Hall's Oxford Brewery in the 1840s and its name changed to the Star in the 1850s.¹¹ The front range was rebuilt in the early 19th century; a 17th-century rear wing has been altered and heightened.

27. *Nos. 2-8 Brown's Lane*. A house on the site of no. 2 Brown's Lane was sold in 1480 by Nicholas Marshall¹² and may be traced through its quitrent of 1½d. as that occupied in 1598 by Thomas Abbott and owned from the mid 17th century until the mid 18th by the Noble family. From c. 1760 Thomas Brown, smith and alderman (d. 1825), lived there, and the lane was later given his name.¹³ Brown's daughter Sophia (d. 1859) left the house to the corporation as a charity, but her wishes seem not to have been fulfilled.¹⁴ From c. 1879 until the mid 20th century the house belonged to the Paisleys, drapers; it is of the 18th century with later alterations and bears the date 1720, added in modern times.

Much of the east side of Brown's Lane north of no. 2 was occupied by two chantry properties, later subdivided. The southernmost, given to

the church before 1480,¹⁵ was granted by the corporation in 1569 to Edmund Aynger, shoemaker, at a reserved rent of 4s. 6d. on condition that he rebuild; the other may have been granted similarly and in 1598 bore the same reserved rent.¹⁶ The Aynger property, rebuilt in 1672, was probably nos. 4-6 Brown's Lane, a much altered 17th-century building retaining in no. 6 original beams and a central doorway with ovolo-moulded architrave. The house on the north belonged to the Nobles for most of the 17th century. It was acquired c. 1814 by Morrell's Oxford brewery and was the Horse and Jockey, later Horse and Groom, closed by the 1860s.¹⁷ The inn was probably no. 8 Brown's Lane.

28. *Nos. 2-8 Park Street*. In the mid 15th century the corner of Brown's Lane and Park Street belonged to a burgage later Fletcher's House.¹⁸ In 1598 Alderman William Metcalfe (d. 1608), woollendrapier, was paying 6s. 8d. rent to the corporation for a garden on Market Hill in which, before 1601, he built a new house; his son William was granted a 150-year lease of the site in 1608 at the same rent.¹⁹ That and later corporation leases applied only to the surviving front range,²⁰ evidently a large encroachment on the street; perhaps the Metcalfes already had a freehold house behind it. By 1652 John Shewsmith, who married Grace Metcalfe, widow,²¹ owed an additional 2d. quitrent for a staircase 'in the street', possibly cellar steps. From 1662 the property was extended along Brown's Lane and by the later 19th century there were at least two cottages there. The Metcalfes sold the property in the 1690s, and before 1719 it passed to Henry Hodgkinson (d. 1725), mercer, whose family retained it until the bankruptcy of Gamaliel Hodgkinson Bobart in 1807.²² Edward Prescott, mercer and draper, bought the 'large and well-known premises',²³ which remained in his family into the 20th century. In 1865 the corporation bought the freehold part of the property and relet it to Alderman Edward Prescott on terms which provoked accusations of corruption.²⁴ After local government reorganization in 1974 Woodstock council retained the site as 'historic property'. The shop has been the town's post office from c. 1885.²⁵

The building, in several occupations, seems to have comprised in the early 17th century a long range on the street with short wings projecting to the rear at each end and a central passage leading to a rear stair projection. The newel staircase with turned balusters is original but

¹ P.R.O., RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512. For Parker, below, Econ.

² Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 95.

³ It can be seen beyond the cross in plate facing p. 461.

⁴ He paid for 2 bay windows from 1856: Boro. Mun. 143.

⁵ Ibid. 72/1/1.

⁶ Below, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886.

⁷ Boro. Mun. 7/1; 27/1/2; 27/2/1; 78/1, May 1594; P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 293.

⁸ Cf. recogs. in Boro. Mun. 77/2; 84; 91.

⁹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 67/4/43.

¹⁰ Cf. Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 30 July 1781, 2 Oct. 1790; Boro. Mun. 89, p. 298; Pigot, *Lond. & Prov. Dir.* (1823-4).

¹¹ Cf. Gardner, *Dir. Oxon.* (1852); Boro. Mun. 143.

¹² Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 30.

¹³ For Brown, Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 167.

¹⁴ O.R.O., Misc. Ri. III/1.

¹⁵ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 30.

¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.* 31/4; O.R.O., Ark. XIII/i/1-15; *ibid.* Pellatt XXXVIII/i/1-13.

¹⁷ Boro. Mun. 12/4-5; 143/24-5.

¹⁸ Below, Bldgs. no. 29.

¹⁹ Cf. Boro. Mun. 79, f. 19v.; 96, ff. 4, 87; 64/1/1.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 64, *passim*; 100, f. 22: plan of 1830.

²¹ *Ibid.* 83/1, p. 98; P.R.O., PROB 11/382, f. 24.

²² Boro. Mun. 61/1-10; 62/2/1-10.

²³ *Oxf. Herald* 7 Nov. 1807.

²⁴ Below, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886 (Finance and Property).

²⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883, 1887). Wm. Eccles, the previous postmaster, died in 1885.

much altered, and the east wing retains finely carved timber lintels. A two-storeyed square bay was added to the front in the late 17th century or early 18th, and in the 18th century the space between the west and stair projections was infilled and the adjacent room in the front range remodelled. In the early 19th century the front room on the west, which retains 17th-century panelling, was given a large canted bay window; it and the adjacent front room were parlours, and the rest of the front range formed a large shop, with a china shop to the rear.²⁶ Outbuildings and a cottage along Brown's Lane probably date from the later 17th century. The rear west wing, used as a brewhouse in the early 19th century, was rebuilt in the 20th.

29. *Fletcher's House*. In 1279 Adam Bennet held a house, oven, 2 selds, and a forge at the corner of Park Street and Brown's Lane.²⁷ In 1468–9 Thomas Fletcher was paying 6d. for a large vacant plot there which extended north to Harrison's Lane.²⁸ In 1526 a house there belonged to another Thomas Fletcher, and in 1581 was quitclaimed by Joan, relict of John Fletcher, to her son Henry (d. by 1598).²⁹ Before 1609 Alderman Thomas Browne acquired the house, which was occupied by Margaret Fletcher.³⁰ In 1614 he bought two adjacent houses on the west, called Munday's and Maynard's from their 15th-century owners³¹ and together paying 4s. 10d. rent formerly owed to the chantry of St. Mary.³² Browne built a 'great house' called Fletcher's on the enlarged site; the earlier Fletcher's house seems to have been let until the mid 17th century³³ but by the 1680s its 6d. quitrent was attached to a brewhouse presumably built on the site.³⁴ Thomas Browne (d. 1621) was succeeded by his wife Joan and son Thomas, rector of Bladon (both d. 1625).³⁵ John Vernon, heir perhaps by marriage, let the house; the occupant in 1654 was Dr. Francis Gregory, master of the grammar school, and it was probably the 12-hearth house which Gregory was renting in 1662.³⁶ It was later owned by the lawyer and M.P. Sir Littleton Osbaldeston (d. 1692) and for much of the 18th century by the Grove family, which included the maltster James Grove (d. 1714) and his son Joshua (d. 1740).³⁷ It was bought c. 1782 by the duke of Marlborough, who sold or gave it in 1787 to his auditor, Thomas Walker, town clerk (d. 1804).³⁸

He let the house as a girls' boarding school from 1787³⁹ and rebuilt and enlarged it from 1795; the first tenant was Henry Jeffery, Viscount Ashbrook, husband of Walker's granddaughter.⁴⁰ Richard Taylor, esquire, tenant from 1810 and later owner until c. 1842, was succeeded by Alderman William Margetts (d. 1869) and Alderman R. B. B. Hawkins (d. 1894). The name Fletcher's House seems to have been revived in the early 20th century. In 1925 the house was bought from the Hawkins family by Capt. E. C. W. Thring and in 1949 compulsorily purchased by the council for use as the County Fire Brigade headquarters; in 1965 it became the County Museum.⁴¹

The remains of the new house of c. 1614 occupy the centre and west end of the building and include part of an original staircase with heavy turned balusters and newel posts with large ball finials. The house was refronted and the east block built under a contract of 1795.⁴² James Grove's 'Marlborough gardens' bequeathed in 1714 may have been the large high-walled grounds of Fletcher's House,⁴³ of which most surviving features are c. 1800 and later.

30. *Nos. 14–16 Park Street (Barclays Bank)*. The site, a chantry property presumably acquired by the corporation in 1565, was later granted on a long lease.⁴⁴ In 1598 the lessees were the Flemings and in 1611 Edmund Hiorne, town clerk, to whom the corporation granted the freehold in 1618, reserving the annual rent.⁴⁵ The house was large and Hiorne's tenants included Dr. Francis Gregory, master of the grammar school; it was probably the nine-hearth house which Gregory occupied in 1662.⁴⁶ On Hiorne's death in 1669 the house was to be sold, and was later owned by Sir Littleton Osbaldeston (d. 1692), who let it to the town clerk George Ryves (d. 1718).⁴⁷ The Ryves family of town clerks acquired the freehold, which passed from Edward (d. 1767) to his grandson Benjamin Holloway (d. 1796),⁴⁸ and was retained by the Holloways until the 1860s. Their tenants included Lord Charles Spencer (c. 1816). Benjamin Holloway (d. 1856) was resident from c. 1830. Alderman R. B. B. Hawkins bought the house c. 1867 but exchanged it in 1870 for Fletcher's House, owned by William Margetts, junior.⁴⁹ Margetts was clerk, later manager, of Gillett's bank, which was moved

²⁶ Boro. Mun. 100, f. 22.

²⁷ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 841.

²⁸ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 15.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 63; P.R.O., E 40/12371.

³⁰ Cf. Boro. Mun. 79, f. 21v.; 96, ff. 4–7, 87.

³¹ Cf. *ibid.* 83/1, pp. 9, 11, 15, 21, 63; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 47, ff. 4 and v., 12–13.

³² Boro. Mun. 78/3, Feb. 1613/14; 79, ff. 20v.–21v.

³³ *Ibid.* 79, ff. 33v., 186v., 191, 196, 202; *ibid.* 7/1–2; P.R.O., PROB 11/137, f. 7.

³⁴ Boro. Mun. 7/3.

³⁵ P.R.O., PROB 11/137, f. 7; PROB 11/145, f. 227v.; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 5/2/9.

³⁶ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 293. Gregory occupied another large house, the later Barclay's Bank: below, Bldgs. no. 30.

³⁷ e.g. O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 129/4/19; 130/2/47. For Osbaldeston, below, Parl. Rep.

³⁸ Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 8: Walker corresp. (1794).

³⁹ Cf. *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 28 Dec. 1787, 14 June 1794;

Boro. Mun. 11/15 sqq.

⁴⁰ *Complete Peerage*, i. 269–70.

⁴¹ O.R.O., CCE 859.

⁴² Blenheim Mun., wooden chest, plan and contract, labelled in error Hensington Ho.; County Mus., P.R.N. 9504. For encroachment, Boro. Mun. 89, p. 70; for later sale parties, *Oxf. Jnl.* 30 Nov. 1822, 18 May 1833; Bodl. G.A. Fol. B 71, f. 156; *ibid.* G.A. Oxon. c 224 (14).

⁴³ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 129/4/19.

⁴⁴ No grant found but ho. listed as chantry rent (8s.) in 1598: Boro. Mun. 96, f. 87.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 78/2, Apr. 1611; 79, f. 45v.; 27/1/4.

⁴⁶ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 293; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 33/2/28. For Gregory, cf. above, Bldgs. no. 29.

⁴⁷ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 129/4/19.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 11/408, f. 13.

⁴⁹ O.R.O., NWB V/7: copy of Edw. Ryves will. For the Ryveses, below, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886 (Council and Officers).

⁵⁰ Boro. Mun. 143/29–30; above, Bldgs. no. 29.

there soon afterwards from no. 15 Market Street; it became Barclay's in 1919.⁵⁰

The bank (no. 16) was probably built by Edward Ryves in the 1740s;⁵¹ it contains original panelling and fireplaces. A rear wing was added or rebuilt in the early 19th century. The attached bank house (no. 14) was rebuilt or re-fronted in the mid 19th century.

31. *Nos. 18–20 Park Street.* The site held a former chantry house granted on long lease by the corporation in the later 16th century. The lease was acquired before 1613 by Edmund Hiorne, town clerk, and the corporation granted him the freehold in 1618, reserving the annual rent of 5s. 4d.⁵² Hammond's house, named from an early 17th-century tenant, was Hiorne's at his death in 1669; soon afterwards the corporation's right to the rent was challenged successfully.⁵³ The site was owned from the late 18th century until the mid 19th by Thomas Higgins, currier, and his family.⁵⁴ Thomas c. 1800 built or rebuilt the large three-storeyed brick house with rusticated stone quoins; it was divided into two in the 1860s.⁵⁵

32. *Chaucer's House.* In 1279 the site may have been that next to the park gate for which Robert Marshall paid 4d. rent.⁵⁶ Later it seems to have become attached to the royal manor, from which it was held by Maud, relict of Sir Thomas Chaucer, at her death in 1437.⁵⁷ Sir Thomas (d. 1434), royal servant and Speaker of the Commons, was farmer of Woodstock manor and park from 1411.⁵⁸ An idea persisted that the house belonged to the poet Geoffrey Chaucer (d. 1380), Thomas's alleged father,⁵⁹ but the Chaucers had no known connexion with Woodstock until the early 15th century when the house was called Hanwell's, from a tenant John Hanwell (fl. 1395), tax collector in Oxfordshire and probably a royal servant.⁶⁰ In 1450 it was confirmed to Alice de la Pole (d. 1475), dowager duchess of Suffolk, daughter and heir of Thomas and Maud Chaucer.⁶¹ In 1547, as a former possession of Charles, duke of Suffolk (d. 1545), the house and an attached 1½ a. were let by the Crown for 21 years to the occupier Richard Andrews.⁶²

Andrews (d. 1554), an agent for the sale of monastic lands, was mayor in 1551. His house was large and contained a chapel chamber.⁶³ By the later 16th century it was called Chaucer's House.⁶⁴

The Crown granted long leases to a succession of royal servants,⁶⁵ who sublet the house. By 1568–9 and until the 1580s St. John's College, Oxford, reserved it as a retreat in time of plague; it was so used in 1571–2 but was usually sublet.⁶⁶ By 1598 John Phillips, perhaps the alderman who died in 1608, was occupying Chaucer's House.⁶⁷ A Crown lease of 1609 seems to have passed to Thomas Leigh of Shipton-on-Cherwell, who in 1610 sold the house⁶⁸ to Jerome Kyte (d. 1631), jurist of St. John's College, borough magistrate, and brewer.⁶⁹ The house descended to Kyte's daughter Elizabeth and her husband Edward Say, esquire (d. 1647), whose son William sold it in 1673 to Stephen Pomfret, master of Woodstock grammar school 1664–76.⁷⁰ In 1675 Pomfret sold to Nicholas Baynton (d. 1700), Woodstock's M.P. in 1681. Baynton sold it in 1695, when the tenant was another grammar school master, Meredith Vaughan.⁷¹ Robert Hatley, haberdasher of hats, was owner 1696–1716, and his tenant in the early 18th century was Henry Beeston, the town's recorder.⁷² In 1734 the owner and occupant Henry Taylor (d. 1736), gentleman and maltster, settled the reversion on the marriage of his step-daughter, Elizabeth Sutton, to the Oxford mason John Townesend (d. 1746).⁷³ In 1747 Elizabeth Townesend, widow, let it to Thomas Prior, maltster, and the Priors seem to have acquired the freehold.⁷⁴ The family, which included several wealthy maltsters and farmers, retained the house until the 1888; the artist Sir William Nicholson (d. 1949), grandson of Joseph Prior (d. 1886), was lessee 1899–1906.⁷⁵

The house, depicted in 1677 as a large building in a walled courtyard,⁷⁶ was largely rebuilt in the 18th century and later. In 1722 it was described as an old house but by 1787 there were only the 'poor remains' of the house 'where Chaucer dwelt and sung'.⁷⁷ The survivals of the

⁵⁰ A. M. Taylor, *Gilletts, passim*; cf. Boro. Mun. 143/30; P.R.O., RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512.

⁵¹ Date 1742 (?) on cellar steps: County Mus., Woodstock Archit. Survey, 1967.

⁵² Cf. Boro. Mun. 79, f. 45v.; 83/1, p. 93; 27/1/4.

⁵³ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 33/2/28; Boro. Mun. 76/1, s.a. 1675–7; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1673–5, 497; *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1672–5, 800, 819; 1676–9, 112.

⁵⁴ Cf. O.R.O. land tax assess. 1785 sqq.; *ibid.* Pellatt XXXVIII/vi/1–2. For fam. see *ibid.* Pellatt XXXVIII/ii/13–14.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Pellatt XXXVIII/vi/2.

⁵⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 841.

⁵⁷ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 178. For the early hist. see Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 109 sqq.

⁵⁸ *D.N.B.*; below, *Blenheim, Woodstock Manor*.

⁵⁹ e.g. *Torrington Diaries*, ed. C. B. Andrews, i. 325; Brewer, *Oxon.* 389. For the relationship cf. *D.N.B.*; M. B. Ruud, *Thos. Chaucer* (Minnesota Univ. Research Publ. 1926).

⁶⁰ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 9; *Cal. Fine R.* 1391–9, 140.

⁶¹ *Cal. Close*, 1447–54, 211–12; *Complete Peerage*, xii (1), 446–8.

⁶² P.R.O., E 310/3/21; E 315/218, f. 22.

⁶³ *Ibid.* PROB 11/37, f. 134v.; PROB 11/42A, f. 11v. For Andrews, below, *Econ.*

⁶⁴ e.g. St. John's Coll. Mun., *Computus Annuus*, p. 1.

⁶⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1569–72, p. 46; P.R.O., SC 6/Jas. 1/828.

⁶⁶ St. John's Coll. Mun., *Computus Annuus*, pp. 1, 9, 15; W. H. Stevenson and H. E. Salter, *Early Hist. St. John's* (O.H.S. N.S. i), 165–7, 177–9, 261, 334.

⁶⁷ Boro. Mun. 96, f. 87; 79, f. 21v. For Phillips, *ibid.* 82, ff. 15 and v.; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 299/4/26.

⁶⁸ Cf. P.R.O., SC 6/Jas. 1/828; deed of 1675 *penes* Dr. A. H. T. Robb-Smith, Chaucer's Ho.; *Blenheim Mun.*, box 134.

⁶⁹ *Early Hist. St. John's* (O.H.S. N.S. i), 353–4; M.I. in church; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 39/3/2; below, *Local Govt.*, Boro. to 1886; *Econ. For Kyte's extensions at Chaucer's Ho.*, Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 79v., 105v.

⁷⁰ Robb-Smith deeds; *Blenheim Mun.*, box 134; Say's M.I. in church. For Pomfret, Boro. Mun. 76/1, Jan. 1663/4, Aug. 1676.

⁷¹ Robb-Smith deeds; Boro. Mun. 27/1/1. For Baynton, below, *Parl. Rep. For Vaughan*, Boro. Mun. 76/2, Jan. 1691/2, Mar. 1697/8.

⁷² Robb-Smith deeds.

⁷³ Berks. R.O., D/ESv (M), F 136; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 154/3/47; Boro. Mun. 7/10, sqq.

⁷⁴ Robb-Smith deeds; Boro. Mun. 7/20 sqq.

⁷⁵ Chaucer's Ho. colln. *penes* Dr. Robb-Smith; *D.N.B.*

⁷⁶ Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxon.* (1677), pl. 1.

⁷⁷ *Hearne's Colln.* viii (O.H.S. l), 16; *Torrington Diaries*, i. 325.

ancient house were incorporated in a malthouse, a range projecting on the north-west of the main house,⁷⁸ partly preserved in the surviving barn, which has ancient timbers set in the wall and a re-used 14th-century cusped light. The front range of the house, adjoining the park gate, was rebuilt in the earlier 18th century with a principal room on each side of a central entrance and chimneystack; the west room retains original panelling and a fireplace. A central projection at the rear contains an altered 17th-century staircase with flat balusters. In the mid 19th century the east wing was rebuilt and large additions made at the rear; the original entrance doorway was moved to the east wing and oval windows added to the front.⁷⁹

When the park gate was replaced by the Triumphal Arch and associated courtyard in 1723 a house projecting into the park from the west end of Chaucer's House was removed.⁸⁰ In the 17th century the grounds of Chaucer's House extended northwards to the foot of the hill near the causeway, where there was a 'handsome' entrance gate. A house there, probably on the site of no. 85 Oxford Street which retains 17th-century windows, was sold in 1672 to Thomas Norris, and in 1687 Nicholas Baynton sold the lower part of the grounds to Norris; the Priors bought the house, an attached malthouse, and the lower close in 1754 and sold them to the duke of Marlborough in 1783.⁸¹

33. *The Bishop's House*, formerly the rectory house.⁸²

34. *Woodstock House*. In 1639 Thomas White, gentleman, of Woodstock Park sold a new house on Back Green in a close of c. 2 a. to the tenant Benjamin Merrick;⁸³ it may have been Merrick's 'lodge' mentioned in 1635.⁸⁴ The quitrent of only 1d. suggests that the close had been in severalty since the Middle Ages. Merrick (d. 1675),⁸⁵ greatly extended the grounds. His house was assessed on seven hearths in 1662.⁸⁶ In 1695 his heir, Dudley Rogers, sold the estate as Dogkennel House to Thomas Napier of Hensington, who may have let it as a hunting box: Philip, duke of Wharton, was tenant in the 1720s.⁸⁷ In 1727 John Morse (d. 1737), a London goldsmith,⁸⁸ bought the house and in 1737 gave it to a friend, Walter Pryse (d. 1745). It remained in the Pryse family, later of Gogerddan (Cardig.) and Buscot Park (Berks.), until 1850 and was sold to the Blenheim trustees in 1855. The Pryses let the house from the 1820s, one tenant being Henry Peyton, Woodstock's

M.P.⁸⁹ The duke's tenant from the 1860s until the 1880s was Col. H. J. Thomas, an alderman. Since 1950 the house has been a private home for the elderly.⁹⁰

The grounds, again enlarged in the mid 18th century, reached their surviving extent in the early 19th when a large house between Woodstock House and the rectory house was incorporated. In the 17th century Edmund Hiorne, town clerk (d. 1669), sold a house and malthouse there to Benjamin Merrick, who seems to have rebuilt it. It passed to Merrick's godson Charles Jenkins who sold it in 1728 to Thomas Peynton.⁹¹ In the 18th century the house was occupied briefly by the banker Sir Theodore Janssen⁹² and later owned by Grace Cottrell of Rousham and her sister Elizabeth Cartwright (d. 1803). Pryse Pryse bought it in 1803 and soon afterwards it was demolished.⁹³

Woodstock House was rebuilt in the earlier or mid 18th century and retains a fine Doric portico and panelling, dados, and doorcases of that period. It was altered and extended northwards when the Cartwright house was demolished in the early 19th century. The range on Rectory Lane was the site of houses acquired from the mid 18th century and rebuilt as stables and outbuildings in the early 19th.⁹⁴

35. *Site of the Cockpit*. A site on Back Green, used as a cockpit in the earlier 17th century, was later taken into the grounds of Woodstock House.⁹⁵ In 1715 the corporation granted land for a cockpit to William Diston, provided that councillors had free entry to cockfights.⁹⁶ Diston, the duchess of Marlborough's political manager in Woodstock, complained of the high cost of building the cockpit but recognized its political value.⁹⁷ His lease was taken over in 1762 by Edward Ryves, town clerk, whose heir Benjamin Holloway sold it to John Churchill in 1777. Cockfighting had ceased by 1790 when the building was a stable with an attached cottage.⁹⁸ In 1840 the site was bought for a National school but not so used and in 1855 the lease was sold to J. N. Godden,⁹⁹ who turned the buildings into a glove factory. In 1943 Dent & Allcroft bought the factory but ceased gloving soon after 1945.¹ Diston's cockpit, a large octagonal building, was demolished between 1840 and 1876.² Council apartments were built there in the 1960s.

36. *No. 23 Rectory Lane*, formerly the pest house.³

37. *The King's Head*. The building, dated 1735,

⁷⁸ Brewer, *Oxon.* 389. For maltho. see Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 69, nos. 620-2; b 90, nos. 29-30; MS. Gough Maps 26, f. 56v.; MS. Top. Gen. a 11, nos. 565-6; B.L. Add. MS. 15546, ff. 72-4.

⁷⁹ For ho. before alterations, B.L. Add. MS. 36377, f. 203; Chaucer's Ho. colln.

⁸⁰ Below, Blenheim, Pk. from 1705.

⁸¹ Blenheim Mun., box 134. ⁸² Below, Church.

⁸³ Cf. Blenheim Mun., boxes 89, 128, 131, 139; Boro. Mun. 85, *passim*; 100, f. 8; plan 1828.

⁸⁴ Boro. Mun. 79, f. 130v.

⁸⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 45/2/4; *Gent. Mag.* xcv (1), 406-7; below, Econ.; Parl. Rep. ⁸⁶ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 293.

⁸⁷ Blenheim Mun., box 128, deed of Mar. 1723/4.

⁸⁸ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 39/1/8; T. Langley, *Hist. Desborough Hund.* 451, 459.

⁸⁹ *Oxf. Jnl.* 28 Mar. 1829; 26 Sept. 1835; 11 Apr. 1840; below, Parl. Rep. ⁹⁰ Bodl. MS. Dep. d 318, p. 23.

⁹¹ Blenheim Mun., boxes 128, 131; P.R.O., PROB 11/417, f. 191.

⁹² Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 167; d 173, f. 136; *D.N.B.* ⁹³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 167.

⁹⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 128, deed of 1749.

⁹⁵ Boro. Mun. 27/1/9; Blenheim Mun., box 128, deeds of Butt close.

⁹⁶ Boro. Mun. 85, pp. 15-16; 86, June 1715; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 165.

⁹⁷ B.L. Add. MS. 61468, ff. 96-7; below, Parl. Rep.

⁹⁸ Boro. Mun. 85, pp. 56-7; *ibid.* 85, pt. II, pp. 20-2, 228-31; *ibid.* 88, pp. 165, 389.

⁹⁹ O.R.O., J/IXe/63; Boro. Mun. 89, pp. 439-40, 449, 459, 473; 90, pp. 94, 106; 95, s.a. 1854-5; below, Educ.

¹ Boro. Mun. 114, pp. 328-9; below, Econ.

² Boro. Mun. 100, f. 10; O.R.O., J/IXe/63; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 edn.).

³ Below, Local Govt., Public Health and Services.

has the initials of Walter Paine, carpenter (d. 1776), who rebuilt his house as two, retaining no. 9 Park Lane and selling the other in 1755. No. 11 was acquired in 1786 by the duke of Marlborough and by 1801 was the King's Head, a sign used until 1786 by an inn in Park Street. Hall's Brewery was lessee from 1899.⁴

38. *Nos. 5-9 Park Street.* In the early 17th century Alderman Thomas Metcalfe (d. 1630), woollendraper, was paying 10d. quitrent for the site of the later nos. 5-9.⁵ From the 1730s, when owned by the Keywoods, victuallers, part of the site was the King's Arms inn.⁶ In the 1750s Henry Metcalfe, whitesmith, owned the site and sublet the inn, which was closed in 1763.⁷ The site was bought in two portions c. 1775 by William Harrison, steelworker, and Henry North, town clerk.⁸

North (d. 1831) and his son Henry (d. 1881), also town clerk, owned no. 9 Park Street, which passed to their heirs, the Cheatles. In the mid 20th century the house was named the Old Town House; from 1978 until 1988 it housed the Marc Fitch library.⁹ The gabled eastern range is 17th-century with later additions, and probably formed one wing of a house which extended westwards. The large three-storeyed main range was given a symmetrical front with distinctive tympanum arches over sash windows by Henry North c. 1800; much of the interior was remodelled at the same time.

William Harrison's portion was in two occupations by 1785.¹⁰ No. 7 was acquired c. 1815 by Sophia Brown (d. 1859) and rebuilt between 1826 and 1828.¹¹ It was later acquired and sublet by Henry North, whose tenant in the 1860s and 1870s was the glove manufacturer J. N. Godden.¹² The Timms family, owners in the earlier 20th century, renamed it Eversley. Details from the 17th-century house on the site¹³ survive in the interior. The porch was added in the 1850s, when an encroachment rent began to be paid. No. 5 Park Street was a shop by the later 18th century; it was sold in 1877 to the occupier J. W. Garrett and was later called Garrett House.¹⁴ It is of the 18th century or earlier, refronted in the mid 19th. A plaque records its occupation by Edmund Hiorne (d. 1669), who lived in a house on the east.¹⁵

⁴ Blenheim Mun., boxes 129, 135; *ibid.* shelf G 1, box 7; *ibid.* E/P/58, 62: surveys and maps of 1863, 1893; Boro. Mun. 25/2/2; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Hall's Brewery, c 5; below, Bldgs. no. 39.

⁵ Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 21v., 33v.

⁶ Cf. *ibid.* 7/1-20. Earliest ref. to this King's Arms is 1751, but Old King's Arms mentioned 1733: below, Bldgs. no. 41.

⁷ Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 19 Feb. 1757, 30 Dec. 1758, 4 June 1763; Boro. Mun. 8/1-7; *ibid.* Garrett Ho. deeds, box 2, deed of 1759, showing that the King's Arms had a party wall with the King's Head, for which see below, Bldgs. no. 39.

⁸ Boro. Mun. 11/2-4.

⁹ *Ibid.* Garrett Ho. deeds, box 2; *inf.* from Mr. A. R. R. Stephens of the Marc Fitch Fund.

¹⁰ O.R.O., land tax assess.

¹¹ Boro. Mun. 12/22-3.

¹² *Ibid.* Garrett Ho. deeds, box 2; P.R.O., RG 10/1449.

¹³ Above, plate facing p. 348.

¹⁴ Boro. Mun., Garrett Ho. deeds, box 2.

¹⁵ Below, Bldgs. no. 39.

¹⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.); ii. 841. For stile and passage in 17th cent., Boro. Mun., Garrett Ho. deeds.

¹⁷ Above, Church.

39. *War Memorial garden.* In 1279 there was a house on the north side of the church between a stile and passage to the north door and a lane which probably passed the west end of the church.¹⁶ In 1479 Thomas Croft (d. 1488) bought a house there which became a chaplain's house and almshouse attached to his chantry of St. Margaret.¹⁷ It was given to the corporation as an almshouse in 1551 but by the 1590s was let to the town clerk. Thomas Rawlins, clerk 1598-1607, rebuilt it with a town office at the rear.¹⁸ His successor Edmund Hiorne was granted the freehold in 1618, the corporation reserving the customary rent of 10s.¹⁹ The house had four hearths in 1662.²⁰ After Hiorne's death in 1669 it passed to his granddaughter's husband, Richard Major, victualler and later mayor, who turned it into an inn, the King's Head; the corporation gave up the town office in 1679.²¹ In 1753 the inn was sold by Major's great-grandson Thomas to Ezra Wells, landlord from the 1730s,²² whose relict Sarah sold to Thomas Higgins in 1775.²³ In 1786 the building was sold and demolished to make way for the church's new tower and entrance courtyard.²⁴

40. *Nos. 1-3 Park Street.* In 1279 there was a house east of the stile and passage to the church's north door.²⁵ In the later Middle Ages it may have been the site of a chaplain's house attached to St. Mary's chantry: in 1611 the Walker family's house at the church stile, which owed a 'chantry quitrent' of 1d., was called the chantry house.²⁶ From the early 17th century until 1756 it belonged to the Noble family, and may have been the building known as King John's cottages demolished in 1755.²⁷ The Bennetts had two houses on the site in 1785.²⁸ No. 3 Park Street had been acquired by Benjamin Bennett in 1772 and the Bennetts were postmasters there until 1840, when the house was sold to George Coles the younger, surgeon. It was bought by the duke of Marlborough in 1889 and let in the late 19th century as the Conservative club.²⁹ No. 1 Park Street was said in 1840 to have been built on the site of a shop and garden of Sanders Bennett, probably he who died in 1783.³⁰ It was bought in 1840 by the duke, who seems to have let it with the Bear inn.³¹

41. *The Bear hotel.* Until the 18th century the

¹⁸ Boro. Mun., Garrett Ho. deeds; *ibid.* 96, f. 87: rental, 1598.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Garrett Ho. deeds.

²⁰ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 293.

²¹ Boro. Mun., Garrett Ho. deeds. For Major's relationship, O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 456, f. 181.

²² e.g. Boro. Mun. 93, p. 3.

²³ *Ibid.* Garrett Ho. deeds; Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 20 Feb. 1775.

²⁴ Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 7: corresp. of 1785; cf. Boro. Mun. 11/12-13. For the inn's stables, below, Church.

²⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 841.

²⁶ Boro. Mun. 78/2, Jan. 1611; cf. 79, f. 21; 96, ff. 4-7, 87; *ibid.* Garrett Ho. deeds, deed of 1608. For the chantry, below, Church.

²⁷ T. Warton, *Hist. Kiddington*, 66 n.; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 163.

²⁸ O.R.O., land tax assess.

²⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 138; *ibid.* shelf B 2, Woodstock and Eynsham box; *Univ. Brit. Dir.* [1795], iv. 823-5; *Oxf. Jnl.* 11 Apr. 1840.

³⁰ Cf. O.R.O., land tax assess. 1785 sqq.; Westgate Libr., par. reg. transcripts.

³¹ Blenheim Mun., box 138; *ibid.* E/P/53, 62, and associated maps, 1863, 1898.

Bear occupied the site of the present main entrance range and probably the gabled range on the west; the tall block incorporating the carriage entrance was the site of another inn, the King's Arms. Houses on the east and west, now part of the hotel, were private houses or shops until the later 20th century.

In 1279 Robert Marshall held a large plot bounded on the west by the church,³² and in the 16th century the site was one of several owned by Jerome Westall, mercer and innkeeper;³³ assertions, however, that the Bear was an inn from the early Middle Ages³⁴ remain unsubstantiated. By the 17th century the name was in use and from 1593 the site was an inn or wine tavern owned by William Rayer (d. 1619) and his son Thomas (d. 1662), aldermen and vintners.³⁵ It had nine hearths in the 1660s.³⁶ Edward Fenny-more (d. 1695) and his family, owners 1687–1740, were wealthy maltsters.³⁷ Charles Simmons Cross, tenant of the Bully family from 1743, bought the inn in 1759–60.³⁸

By the later 17th century the King's Arms on the east, owned by John Franklin (d. 1685), was a prominent inn with at least 15 bedrooms.³⁹ The tenant from the 1690s until c. 1720 was Thomas 'Jockey' Green and the inn was used by the organizers of Woodstock races.⁴⁰ In 1728 it was being rebuilt⁴¹ but soon afterwards seems to have closed. As the Old King's Arms its quitrent was in arrears from 1728 until 1752; Mr. Barnard succeeded Thomas Franklin as owner c. 1736 but the corporation seems to have acquired an interest in the site, paying its land tax from 1737 or earlier, carrying off timbers from a possibly demolished building there in 1742, and selling them until 1751.⁴² In 1757–8 Charles Cross of the Bear succeeded Barnard as owner and by 1762 the former King's Arms quitrent was paid for the 'new house', presumably the tall carriage entrance block.⁴³

Under Cross (d. 1779) the Bear became a prominent coaching inn.⁴⁴ His son Charles, who operated a Stamp Office there, was made bankrupt in 1789 for debts of over £15,000 to the Crown, which sold the inn in 1790–1 to the duke of Marlborough.⁴⁵ Noted innkeepers included William Hanks from 1798, William Taplin in the 1820s, and Alderman William Margetts in the 1830s and 1840s.⁴⁶ From 1625 until the early 18th century the owners of the Bear held Butt

close, later part of Woodstock House grounds, as a source of hay and pasture; later the duke let the inn with land in Hensington which retained the name Bear Close when built on in the 1930s.⁴⁷

The earliest part of the hotel is the gabled 17th-century range on the west, which retains an early fireplace on the ground floor but was refenestrated in the 18th century and later. The entrance range was rebuilt in the earlier 18th century and altered presumably when the former King's Arms site was incorporated: the doorway, which has a moulded wooden architrave with carved bears in the spandrels and fine wrought iron brackets supporting a flat hood, blocked a former carriage entrance. The tall block on the east was designed as an inn with a central carriage entrance in a symmetrical five-bayed front; it retains the original sash windows with thick glazing bars, and seems stylistically earlier than the c. 1760 suggested by documentary evidence. In 1789 the inn contained 25 bedrooms and stabling in the long rear courtyard for 60 horses. By the 1820s there were beds for c. 50 guests and the stables, for 80 horses, were the largest in the town; it was the busiest of the coaching inns and the starting point of the Blenheim coach.⁴⁸ In the 20th century the Bear was the town's foremost hotel.

42. Nos. 9–11 *Market Place*. In the later 15th century a house on the site, called Newbold, became the Crown inn.⁴⁹ In the 17th century, in the ownership of the aldermen John Glover (d. 1643) and his son Thomas (d. 1684), the Crown was a leading inn, used regularly for corporate festivities.⁵⁰ It had eight hearths in the 1660s.⁵¹ In 1718 Michael Glover sold it to Charles and Merrick Jenkins, whose heirs, the Slaters, sold it in 1765 to the duke of Marlborough.⁵² By 1741 the inn was closed⁵³ and after 1765 was let as two houses. No. 9 was an ironmonger's shop, held by the Brothertons from before 1770 until the 1830s and the Deans until c. 1870; William Howells, draper, tenant of no. 11 in the 1840s, was also postmaster.⁵⁴ In 1884–5 both houses were bought by Richard Lay, glove manufacturer, tenant of no. 11, and gloving continued at no. 11 until the 1980s.⁵⁵

The building, heavily altered in the 19th century, retains an early 18th-century moulded eaves cornice and signs of earlier fenestration: in

³² *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 841; for the bell tower mentioned there, below, Church.

³³ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 68–9, 106. For Westall, below, Econ.

³⁴ e.g. plaque in carriage entrance.

³⁵ Blenheim Mun., box 128, deeds 1593 sqq.; Boro. Mun. 77/2, s.a. 1631: ref. to Bear; P.R.O., PROB 11/134, f. 75.

³⁶ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 293; *Hearth Tax Oxon.* 111: ho. of Geo. Ryves.

³⁷ Cf. O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 127/3/33; P.R.O., PROB 11/454, f. 6.

³⁸ Cf. Boro. Mun. 8/3; Blenheim Mun., box 129, deed of 1790 reciting title.

³⁹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 23/4/3. For Franklin's sign see Boro. Mun. 76/1, Aug. 1678.

⁴⁰ *Lond. Gaz.* 6–9 June 1692; D. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 253; Blenheim Mun., box 133, deed of 1718 giving abutments.

⁴¹ Boro. Mun. 87, Oct. 1728.

⁴² *Ibid.* 7/19–20; 93, pp. 4, 10, 21, 28, 33, 75, 88, 93. For the new King's Arms, above, Bldgs. no. 38.

⁴³ Boro. Mun. 8/1–6.

⁴⁴ e.g. *Torrington Diaries*, ed. C. B. Andrews, i. 53, 192; *Lady's Mag.* ii (1771), 241–8; iii (1772), 3–5, where the landlord's name is given erroneously as North.

⁴⁵ Blenheim Mun., box 129.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* shelf G 1, box 7, corresp. of 1798; Pigot, *Lond. and Comm. Dir.* (1823–4 and later edns.); *Oxf. Chron.* 15 Feb. 1879: article on coaching inns.

⁴⁷ Blenheim Mun., box 128; modern deeds, lease of 1898.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* box 129; *Oxf. Chron.* 15 Feb. 1879.

⁴⁹ Boro. Mun. 83, pp. 9, 31–2, 36, 52.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 79, f. 40v.; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 27/4/23; 297/3/61.

⁵¹ P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 293; *Hearth Tax Oxon.* 111.

⁵² *Ibid.* Blenheim Mun., box 133. For Mic. Glover cf. *Hearne's Colln.* viii (O.H.S. 1), 349.

⁵³ Cf. Boro. Mun. 7/11–12.

⁵⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 133; *ibid.* shelf G 1, box 7, lease of 1768; *ibid.* E/P/58; P.R.O., HO 107/893, 1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512.

⁵⁵ Boro. Mun. 144/3–4; below, Econ.

the 1760s the front was a six-window range with carriage entrance.⁵⁶ It was rebuilt and the carriage entrance blocked perhaps c. 1800 when a bay window was added; the large splayed bay of no. 11 probably dates from the 1860s.⁵⁷

43. *No. 7 Market Place.* The site was held by a Bicester merchant William Dister (d. 1520),⁵⁸ and was given by John Wiggins in 1529 to feoffees for the poor of Bicester. The feoffees sold it c. 1782.⁵⁹ In the early 17th century it belonged to a mercer and in 1668 Alderman Alexander Johnson, mercer, rebuilt the house, which bears the date and his initials.⁶⁰ From the 1850s until the 1920s it was an ironmonger's shop owned by the Eldridges. The double-gabled rubble front retains its original wood mullioned attic windows but was given sash windows, bays, and an arched entrance canopy c. 1800.⁶¹

44. *No. 5 Market Place.* From the early 18th century the Hindes family, apothecaries, owned the site until Zachary (d. 1777) left it to his partner, George Coles.⁶² The Coles family sold it in 1851 to William Eccles, who was succeeded as printer, stationer, and postmaster there by his son William (d. 1885).⁶³ The house, later divided into two, was refronted in the mid 18th century and much altered in the early 19th; it may retain an earlier, jettied front.⁶⁴

45. *Nos. 6–8 High Street.* The site was bought in 1682 by Robert and Simon Hatley, haberdashers of hats.⁶⁵ In 1708 Simon, alderman and maltster, was building the house which bears on the rainwater head his initials and those of his wife Mary and the date 1710.⁶⁶ The house was alleged to have been built with stone taken from the Blenheim works,⁶⁷ and may have been designed by one of the Blenheim masons. In 1812, after the bankruptcy of Thomas Hatley, hatter, the building, by then divided, was acquired by the duke of Marlborough.⁶⁸ It was let as two houses until sold in 1913.⁶⁹ The imposing three-storeyed building, of limestone ashlar, retains on the first floor its original sash windows in segmental arched architraves with large keystones; the interior retains fine early 18th-century stairs and a stone bolection-moulded fireplace. The second floor was refenestrated in the 19th century; a bow window was added to no. 8 in the early 19th century and a canted bay to no. 6 in the late 19th.

46. *Nos. 12–14 High Street.* In 1583 John Phillips of Oxford, draper, bequeathed the site to

support a school in Kirtlington. In 1766 the trustees leased the ruinous building to the duke of Marlborough, who rebuilt it as two houses and added two cottages, the surviving nos. 8–10 Park Lane.⁷⁰ The duke gave up the lease c. 1846.⁷¹ The houses, fronted with limestone ashlar, retain original doors and sashes.

47. *No. 20 High Street (The Ancient House).* The house was occupied in the 17th century and probably earlier by the Williams family, which provided several mayors, including Thomas (d. 1636), baker and innholder, whose initials and those of his wife Elizabeth are carved on the gable finials; John Williams was assessed on eight hearths there in 1662.⁷² The family retained the house until the 1740s. It was bought in 1796 by the occupant Charles Heynes, surgeon (d. 1836); William Heynes was a grocer there in the 1850s and 1860s, and it was later let as a grocer's shop until sold c. 1898 by the Heynes family to W. B. Turrill, lessee from 1892.⁷³ Soon afterwards the Turrills built the large shop (no. 22) on the attached garden east of the house and continued as grocers there until the 1960s; no. 20 was let as shops.

The house bears the date 1627 which, although added later, is the probable date of the building. The house is of limestone rubble with a double gabled front and an L-shaped plan; the gables have finely carved bargeboards and finials and there are wood-mullioned windows with carved lintels. In the rear wing there are other early 17th-century lintels and doors. In the early 18th century the central doorway was remodelled and the front refenestrated on the ground and first floor. The interior contains early 17th-century timbers and early 18th-century paneling and a fireplace.

48. *Nos. 24–36 High Street.* In the early 16th century Sir Edmund Hampden, steward of Woodstock manor, had a very large holding east of Park Lane, perhaps accumulated during the town's decline in the later Middle Ages. His house, called New Place, and a recently acquired tenement on the east were bought in 1513 by Robert Whitehill, comptroller of the park,⁷⁴ and were owned later by George Whitton (d. 1606), comptroller and alderman. In 1567 Whitton extended his 'great house' westwards on a plot granted by the corporation, and a separate house further west was used in the early 17th century as a kitchen for the main house. By then the holding was in several occupations,⁷⁵ and later

⁵⁶ Below, plate facing p. 461.

⁵⁷ Boro. Mun. 11/26, 143/23 sqq.: encroachments for bows.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 83/1, p. 52: eastern abutment of the Crown; P.R.O., PROB 11/20 (P.C.C. 4 Maynwaring).

⁵⁹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* vi. 54; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 285–6, 289; O.R.O., Bicester U.D.C. XVI/1/12a; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Bicester c 18, s.a. 1682, 1686, 1693; Boro. Mun. 11/1 sqq.

⁶⁰ Boro. Mun. 79, f. 21v.; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 38/1/18.

⁶¹ Rent for a bow window was charged from 1799; Boro. Mun. 11/26.

⁶² O.R.O., Parrott V/3.

⁶³ Boro. Mun. 141/16 sqq.; P.R.O., HO 107/1730.

⁶⁴ For illus. of ho., *New Guide to Blenheim* (Woodstock, 1858, publ. Wm. Eccles).

⁶⁵ Blenheim Mun., box 137.

⁶⁶ Boro. Mun. 54/1/11: copy of will of Sim. Hatley.

⁶⁷ B.L. Add. MS. 19618, f. 163.

⁶⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 137; *ibid.* shelf B 2, Woodstock and Eynsham box, deed of 1812; *ibid.* shelf G 1, box 7, corresp. of 1830.

⁶⁹ Ibid. E/P/58, 62.

⁷⁰ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 187, ff. 145v.–146; *V.C.H. Oxon.* vi. 231; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 306–7; Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 7, leases and plans.

⁷¹ Boro. Mun. 143–4, *passim*.

⁷² P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 293. For the family cf. O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 184, f. 44 and v.; 71/1/21; 71/4/1; 72/4/10; 156/1/13; 157/1/8. A quitrent of 5d. was payable in 1733.

⁷³ Blenheim Mun., box 129, deed of 1796; O.R.O., Gibson 1/1/26; P.R.O., HO 107/1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512.

⁷⁴ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 45, 56. For Hampden and Whitehill, below, Blenheim, Woodstock Manor; Pk. to 1705.

⁷⁵ P.R.O., STAC 5/W 77/7; Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 80; *ibid.* 79, ff. 21, 33v.; *ibid.* 96, ff. 4–7, 87.

Whittons seem not to have lived there. A plot at the corner of Park Lane sold off by John Whitton in 1608⁷⁶ was later reunited, for when John Cary of Wilcote bought the 'great house' in 1675 it stretched eastwards from Park Lane to include the site of the later no. 36 High Street.⁷⁷

In 1675 Cary sold the site of no. 36 to John Shewsmith, who built a new house.⁷⁸ It was owned from the early 18th century to the 20th by the Wilkes family and was usually let as a shop; its tenants from the later 19th century were the Mitchells, builders. Shewsmith's house was much altered in the early 19th century, and later a carriage entrance was inserted at the east end of the ground floor.

John Cary (d. 1702), royal servant, agent for several local aristocrats with interests in Woodstock and the park, and prominent in the town's political life,⁷⁹ occupied and probably much rebuilt the rest of the 'great house', laying out a large garden at the rear.⁸⁰ When William III visited Woodstock in 1695 he stayed at Cary's house.⁸¹ Later Carys let the house and by the 1730s Edmund Sheafe had turned part of it into an inn, the New Angel.⁸² In 1749–50 Richard Cary, John's grandson, sold it to Thomas Wyatt, who had agreed on a division with Richard Weller, builder. Weller's share, which lay east of the hall of the house, was partly remodelled as two houses (nos. 30–32), and the rest (no. 34) sold immediately. Nos. 30–32 were sold in 1751 to Peter Pearson and acquired in 1785 by the duke of Marlborough, whose descendants retained no. 32 until 1913 and no. 30 until 1964.⁸³

Wyatt turned the west end of his share into a steelworker's shop and warehouse, occupied by his son Thomas, and in 1764 settled those premises and part of the main house on Richard Cross, who married his daughter Mary (d. 1770). By 1777, when Cross settled the property on his second marriage, a new house (no. 24) had replaced the steelworker's shop and part of the main house. Cross and his sons were glove manufacturers and established behind no. 26 a long range of workshops and warehouses. On Benjamin Billing Cross's bankruptcy in 1840 nos. 24 and 26 were sold,⁸⁴ and gloving seems to have ceased on the site. No. 24, later named the Corner House, was occupied from the 1920s by medical practitioners until turned into a chemist's shop in the 1960s. The Wyatts seem to have retained no. 28 until c. 1775. Charles Turner, draper and glover (d. 1800), was owner from c. 1779 and from c. 1816 until the 1860s the Harris family owned and let the house. Adolphus Ballard (d. 1915), town clerk and

historian,⁸⁵ lived there from c. 1890 and named it Cromwell House.

The rubble coursing of the fronts of nos. 28 and 26 and evidence of linked cellars show that they were of one build; the stone mullioned and transomed windows and heavily dentilled cornice of no. 28 probably date from a remodelling by John Cary of the central range of his house c. 1675. Of the houses on the west nos. 30–4 retain hollow- and ogee-moulded beams of the late 16th century or early 17th, suggesting that Whitton's great house occupied most of the long frontage. The hall section mentioned in the mid 18th century evidently included both nos. 28 and 26, its west end presumably marked by a great fireplace with a chamfered, arched wood bressumer in the west wall of no. 26. In no. 28 the east end of the rear range housed a substantial staircase, perhaps similar to the surviving reset and altered or copied 17th-century staircase. In the late 18th century an attic floor and a two-storeyed bow window were added. Some of the 18th-century panelling and other fittings were introduced by the owner, a builder, in the later 20th century; the late 18th-century porch hood was taken from the Marlborough Arms.⁸⁶ No. 26 was given bow windows in the late 18th century and a second storey and rear wing in the early 19th. No. 24, a large three-storeyed double-depth house of coursed limestone with ashlar dressings, is presumably Richard Cross's house of c. 1770. At the rear an overlap of plan with that of no. 26 recalls that the houses were in single ownership at the time of rebuilding. Interior alterations and some refenestration were carried out in the 19th century, and the ground floor was entirely remodelled as a shop in the 1960s.

49. *Nos. 38–50 High Street.* In 1513 Hugh Weller held the site of no. 38 and in the early 17th century another Hugh Weller owned a 'range of housing next to Oxford Town's End'⁸⁷ which evidently covered the whole site of nos. 38–50. Three houses at the east end were sold by John Weller in the later 17th century,⁸⁸ and nos. 38–44 were sold after the death of Richard Weller in 1804 to the Wilkeses, coachbuilders, who retained them until the early 20th century. The Wellers were slatters and builders, and in 1740 Richard Weller (d. 1758) was rebuilding nos. 38–40 and 42–4.⁸⁹ Both ranges were altered or rebuilt in the 19th century. Nos. 46–8 and no. 50 were owned and let by the Hatley family from 1686 and by the Gregorys of Hordley from 1718 until 1792. In the earlier 19th century the Paines, builders, occupied no. 50 and Thomas Wilkes, coachmaker, no. 48;⁹⁰ both houses were

⁷⁶ Boro. Mun. 78/2, Feb. 1608.

⁷⁷ Cf. Blenheim Mun., box 130, deed of 23 Mar. 1750, and sources for Shewsmith's ho. cited below.

⁷⁸ Cf. O.R.O., Misc. Has. II/1–34; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 33, f. 421; Boro. Mun. 76/1, Aug., Sept. 1676.

⁷⁹ P.R.O., C 104/109: Cary corresp.; *Memoirs of Verney Fam.* ed. M. M. Verney, iii. 313, 428; iv. 243–5; Marshall, *Woodstock Man.* 446; Gardner, *Dir Oxon.* (1852), 695–6, which wrongly identifies Cary's ho. as Woodstock Ho.

⁸⁰ P.R.O., C 104/109, loose paper, 1676; Boro. Mun. 76/1, Aug. 1675.

⁸¹ P.R.O., C 104/109, corresp. 1695; Marshall, *Woodstock*

Man. 446.

⁸² Blenheim Mun., box 130, deeds of 18 Oct. 1749, 23 Mar. 1750; Boro. Mun. 87, vcltrs' recogs.; 93, p. 21.

⁸³ Blenheim Mun., box 130; *ibid.* E/P:58, 62 and associated maps of 1863, 1898; *ibid.* modern deeds.

⁸⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 130.

⁸⁵ *Oxf. Jnl. Illus.* 15 Sept. 1915.

⁸⁶ County Mus., Woodstock Archt. Survey 1967.

⁸⁷ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 56; 79, ff. 22, 34.

⁸⁸ Cf. *ibid.* 7/1–3; O.R.O., Misc. Has. IV/1–3.

⁸⁹ O.R.O., Misc. Has. III/1–4, 9; IV/18; *ibid.* D.V. VIII/275; X/23.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* Misc. Has. IV/1–18.

refronted in that period but retain 17th-century features.

50. *The Crown*. The island site occupied by the Crown belonged to the Weller family in the mid 18th century and comprised a group of houses called the Little Town.⁹¹ The Wellers' property seems to have derived from two early 17th-century holdings, the house and garden of John Durbridge, smith, and 'Cardens in the street', an encroachment made by Edward Carden for a new shop, which also belonged to the Durbridges by 1652. John Durbridge's house owed a chantry quitrent, suggesting that the island site was medieval in origin.⁹² In the 1680s the Durbridges' successor Edward Wilsden had an alehouse, the Horseshoe,⁹³ perhaps the fore-runner of the Crown, which by 1840 occupied the south-east corner of the Little or Round Town, flanked on the south-west by cottages and on the north by a house, long used as a bakery.⁹⁴ John Churchill, who acquired the Wellers' property in 1770, was probably responsible for naming the Crown, since in 1768 he had acquired and closed the nearby Crown, formerly the Rose and Crown.⁹⁵ The Churchill family sold the island site in 1840. William Haynes (d. 1889) bought the Crown from the Hannis family in 1862 and greatly enlarged it, taking in the cottages on the south-west.⁹⁶ Simmonds's Brewery, lessee from 1881, bought the freehold in 1923 and later took in the house on the north, which until 1890 had been the home of the builder George Osborne.⁹⁷

In 1840 much of the Crown was said to be newly built,⁹⁸ and the range on High Street is presumably Haynes's extension of c. 1870. The former private house on the north is of c. 1700, remodelled in the mid 19th century.

51. *Nos. 13-17 High Street*. The site bore an annual rent charge of 6s. 8d. for a bread charity founded by William Cornwell, baker, in 1552.⁹⁹ Cornwell acquired at least two adjacent tenements there in the early 16th century¹ and may have built a single large house. The house, owned in the early 17th century by John Whittton² passed from William Metcalfe to the Gregory family, cutlers, by the mid 17th century, and in the later 17th century comprised three houses in two ownerships.³ The apportionment of the rent charge between the two owners suggests that the principal house was the later no. 17 High Street, held from c. 1734 by

the Metcalfe family, steelworkers, and in the later 19th century by William Leggatt, ironmonger, succeeded by William Jardine, grocer, who in 1909 was sharing the rent charge with Joyce Haynes, owner of nos. 13 and 15.⁴ All three houses were rebuilt in the 18th century and later.

52. *No. 11 High Street*. In 1728 John Kerwood, mason, bought the house from Anne Edgington, formerly Bruce, owner from 1705. It passed from the Kerwoods to the Watsons in 1743 and was sold in 1772 to Thomas Hanks, a London innkeeper.⁵ The Kerwoods and Watsons were licensed victuallers, and by the 1780s the house was the Dog and Duck.⁶ Hanks, who let the inn, rebuilt it before selling it in 1789 to Charles Saunders, brewer.⁷ From 1803 it belonged to Morrell's Oxford Brewery and was renamed the Jolly Farmers c. 1819 and the Prince of Wales c. 1853; it was closed as a public house by 1915.⁸ The building is of the late 18th century, with a bay window of the early 19th; the cellar, round arched and lined with limestone rubble, probably pre-dates the surviving house.

53. *Nos. 2-4 Market Place, Nos. 1-5 High Street*. In 1279 a tenement against the stone cross (the site of the present town hall) paid the high quitrent of 1s. 6d., presumably as an encroachment on the market place.⁹ In 1468 Henry Dogett paid the same rent for a house facing the High Cross, and in 1570 Richard Cornwell sold a house there to Thomas Yate of Witney.¹⁰ Yate had earlier bought a shop on the north, the site of the demolished no. 4 Market Place, held by the Pargetter family from 1461.¹¹ The house and shop remained in single ownership until the mid 18th century. In the early 17th century the Fly family let the house to the Gregorys, cutlers, and in the later 17th century it was owned by the Coopers, ironmongers.¹² Before 1733 it was acquired by William Eldridge, whitesmith, whose family, steelmakers, ironmongers, and glovers, retained it until 1838.¹³ In 1749 George Eldridge sold the site of no. 4 Market Place, and it was occupied as a house or shop, only 12 ft. wide, until condemned and demolished in the 1960s.¹⁴

George Eldridge (d. 1764) rebuilt no. 2 Market Place and no. 1 High Street as a house and shops. The steel jewellery shop apparently faced the Market Place, for the Eldridges later complained that the new town hall of 1766

⁹¹ Ibid. MS. Wills Oxon. 158/4/20.

⁹² Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 21-2, 34v.; 96, ff. 4-7, 87; 7/1-3.

⁹³ O.R.O., Misc. Has. IV/4.

⁹⁴ O.R.O., Courage brewery deeds (uncat.); ibid. J/IXe/63; auction cat. 1840; deed (1842) and plan (1906) displayed in Crown.

⁹⁵ For earlier Crowns, above no. 42, below no. 61.

⁹⁶ For the enlargement see *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490], p. 126, H.C. (1880), xxxi; ibid. [C. 2490-I], pp. 261, 267-70, 858-9, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

⁹⁷ An acct. bk. of Osborne is *penes* Mr. J. Minards, Warrington (Chesh.).

⁹⁸ O.R.O., J/IXe/63.

⁹⁹ Below, Char.

¹ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 49.

² Ibid. 79, f. 21v.

³ Ibid. 97, p. 14; 7/1-3; O.R.O., Rob. II/i/1-3; Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. c 49, no. 4476.

⁴ Char. Com. files, *Scheme* (1909); O.R.O., D.V.

VIII/275; X/23. Occupants of no. 13 are mentioned in deeds of no. 11 *penes* Mr. K. R. C. Pridham, Old Woodstock.

⁵ Cf. deeds from 1705 *penes* Mr. Pridham.

⁶ Boro. Mun. 87-8, vctls' recog.; deed 1781 *penes* Mr. Pridham.

⁷ Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 2 Nov. 1782, 7 Oct. 1783, 5 Mar. 1785, 21 Oct. 1788.

⁸ Gardner, *Dir. Oxon.* (1852); *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1854); Balliol Coll. Mun., F. 10. 52: *sale cat.* The name St. Mary's and date on bldg. are explained in County Mus., Woodstock Archit. Survey (1967).

⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 842.

¹⁰ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 10; 72/2/2.

¹¹ Cf. ibid. 72/2/1; 83/1, p. 14; 83/2.

¹² Ibid. 79, ff. 22v., 34; 7/1-3. For deeds of ho. and shop, ibid. 21/3/5; 44/1/1; 45/3/3; 53/1/5; 54/1/12; 56/8.

¹³ Ibid. 7/5. For the Eldridges, below, Econ.

¹⁴ O.R.O., Misc. Darby 1/1-28; Boro. Mun., modern corresp. files.

obscured their window display for visitors returning from Blenheim.¹⁵ In the later 18th century the Eldridges had a glove shop in the same building.¹⁶ They also held the sites of nos. 3 and 5 High Street; in 1764 no. 3, a new house, was let and soon afterwards no. 5 was sold to Thomas Grantham, who may have manufactured steel there.¹⁷ In 1838 the Eldridge's 'corner premises in the centre of Market Place', possibly including nos. 3 and 5, were said to comprise 4 houses containing 6 show shops, 12 bedrooms, and 3 kitchens.¹⁸

Later owners included, from the 1860s, G. G. Banbury (d. 1911) and the Brothertons. W. C. Brotherton, Banbury's son-in-law, closed his shoe shop at no. 6 Market Street c. 1900¹⁹ and his furniture warehouse and ironmonger's, opened c. 1885 at no. 7 High Street, in 1905.²⁰ By 1903 he was selling hardware and furniture at nos. 1-3 High Street.²¹ The family business was closed in 1977 and the name preserved in Brotherton's Wine Bar.²² From the mid 19th century until the 1930s or later no. 2 Market Place was let separately as a house and grocer's shop.²³ No. 3 High Street, used as a private house in the mid 20th century, was later turned into a shop. No. 5 was occupied from the early 20th century by Charles Banbury, newsagent and stationer, whose business, the Woodstock Press, continued until the late 1940s.²⁴

No. 2 Market Place and no. 1 High Street are of the mid 18th century, but the east range of no. 1 lacks storey bands and may be slightly later. Shop windows added in the late 19th century included, in the east range, a two-storeyed display window in a wood case with a re-used 18th-century carved tympanum. No. 3 High Street, presumably the new house of c. 1764, has a 19th-century shop window incorporating re-used woodwork; a carriage entrance on the east was blocked in the mid 20th century. No. 5 High Street is of the late 17th century refronted in the late 19th or early 20th century.²⁵ 54. *The Town Hall*. The site of the High Cross.²⁶ 55. *Nos. 2-4 Market Street*. The site of the medieval guild hall and the 18th-century market house or shambles.²⁷

56. *The Woodstock Arms*. The building occupies three sites long held by the corporation.²⁸ On the west, next to the guild hall, was a tenement held in the earlier 16th century by John Phillips of Kirtlington and sold in 1553 to John Crossley.²⁹

The Crossleys' tenant from the early 17th century was Thomas Heathen, serjeant-at-mace,³⁰ who before 1638 acquired the freehold, which his grandson sold to the corporation in 1699. The house was rebuilt and let to successive serjeants.³¹ The Heathens and later serjeants were licensed alehouse keepers and under Thomas Norris, serjeant 1738-72, the house was the Woodstock Arms.³² After the death of George Wilsden in 1838 the connexion with the serjeanty was broken.³³

In 1879 the Woodstock Arms was merged with corporate property on the east. A tenement in Woolmarket Street owned in 1528 by the wardens of St. Mary's chantry may be identified by its rent of 16s. as that let by the corporation in the later 16th century to Henry Wilkinson and later to John Dubber.³⁴ It was on the site of the east half of the Woodstock Arms and behind it stood the town's wool barn, usually excepted from leases of the plot in the 17th century but sometimes held with it;³⁵ William Perring (d. 1700), tailor, held both house and barn, but thereafter the barn was not mentioned. Perring and his successor John Puddle, tenant until the 1730s, were alehouse keepers, and the house was named the Three Tuns by 1742.³⁶ In 1735 the corporation agreed to let it to James Simmons, builder, on condition that he rebuild it in stone 'as high as the serjeant's house'.³⁷ It was probably then that the plot was divided to provide a narrow house and shop on the west.³⁸ On the south the Three Tuns plot extended to High Street; the Beckleys, tenants from the mid 18th century, had a cottage and blacksmith's shop on the site of no. 7 High Street, which may have replaced the wool barn.³⁹ In 1813 Halls' Oxford Brewery became lessee of the Three Tuns, which was soon afterwards renamed the Duke of Wellington and, shortly before 1830, the Royal Oak.⁴⁰ In 1879 it was let with the adjacent house and shop to the tenant of the Woodstock Arms,⁴¹ and probably then the buildings were amalgamated. The corporation sold the Woodstock Arms during the Second World War.

The west part of the building, a three-windowed range with a central doorway, is substantially the house rebuilt in 1699, and the east part, a five-windowed range of which the west end was presumably the former tailor's house and shop, is that rebuilt in 1735-7; the whole was refenestrated in the 19th century and

¹⁵ *Oxf. Jnl.* 16 July 1898, reporting family reminiscences.

¹⁶ *Lady's Mag.* ii (1771), 248; iii (1772), 3.

¹⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 126/4/10, 131/1/2; below, Econ.

¹⁸ *Oxf. Jnl.* 11 Aug. 1838.

¹⁹ Above, Bldgs. no. 23.

²⁰ Cf. Boro. Mun. 144/1 sqq.; 145/1; P.R.O., RG 11/1512; O.R.O., D.V. VIII/275; D.V. X/23; *ibid.* Misc. Darby 1/27; bill of 1895; Misc. Brotherton I/3. For no. 7 High Street, below, Bldgs. no. 56.

²¹ O.R.O., Misc. Brotherton I/3.

²² *Oxf. Times*, 25 Feb. 1977. Refs. to the Brotherton fam. kindly supplied by Mrs. E. T. Brown-Grant.

²³ Boro. Mun. 143-5; property identified by rent of 1s. 8d.; view (1900), Westgate Libr., photo. colln. 38005.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 145/1 sqq.; O.R.O., D.V. VIII/275; D.V. X/23; *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1900 and later edns.).

²⁵ For view c. 1890, Westgate Libr., photo colln. 4696.

²⁶ Below, Local Govt., Municipal Bldgs.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ For plans of 1830 see Boro. Mun. 100, ff. 3, 19-21.

²⁹ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 75; cf. *ibid.* 3/3/1.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 79, ff. 23, 34; 7/1-3.

³¹ *Ibid.* 19/3/3; 23/1/1; 27/2/1-3; 76/2, Mar. 1696, Feb. 1699, Jan. 1700; 86, Mar. 1699/1700, Dec. 1700.

³² Vctls' recogs. in *ibid.* 77/2; 84; 91; *ibid.* 27/2/3, endorsement 1769.

³³ e.g. *Ibid.* 89, pp. 398, 424.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 3/3/1; 96, ff. 4-7, 87. Cf. *ibid.* 72/2/2 when Hen. Wilkinson is occupier in 1570.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 31/9, 11; 21/1/6; 79, ff. 19v., 33, 122v., 124.

³⁶ Vctls' recogs. in *ibid.* 91; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 151/4/28.

³⁷ Cf. *ibid.* 85, pp. 68-9; 87, July 1735.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 100, f. 3; P.R.O., HO 107/893.

³⁹ Boro. Mun. 8, 11, *passim*; 100, f. 3; O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 126/4/10; 131/1/2.

⁴⁰ Boro. Mun. 12/3 sqq.; 89, p. 298; *Oxf. Jnl.* 10 Apr. 1813; *Pigot's Lond. & Com. Dir.* (1830).

⁴¹ Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 418, 425; 101, pp. 2-4, 64; 141/1 sqq. For view c. 1890, Westgate Libr., photo. colln. 4696.

the interior much altered. The site of no. 7 High Street, let separately by the corporation in the later 19th century as a cottage and shed, was used from the 1880s by W. C. Brotherton as a furniture warehouse and probably rebuilt in 1892 as the surviving house and shop.⁴²

57. *Nos. 14–22 Market Street (the Feathers hotel)*. The Dorchester hotel, opened by 1947, amalgamated several houses and was renamed the Feathers in the 1980s.⁴³ The east and central parts of the north range occupy the site of a former chantry property held in 1554 by Thomas Colles and acquired by the corporation in 1565.⁴⁴ Like other chantry property it was probably granted away by the corporation on condition of rebuilding; its reserved rent of 13s. 4d. was reduced to 10s. in the early 17th century when attached land on Oxford Street was separated.⁴⁵ The Hammond family, undertenants of the Market Street plot in the earlier 17th century, ran an alehouse.⁴⁶ By the early 18th century the site was in two ownerships and later comprised three houses, of which the westernmost, containing the hotel's north entrance, was acquired in 1799 by Joseph Dewsnap, glover. Dewsnap also held the tall corner block on the west which occupies the site of a house owned in the late 16th century by Ralph Bradshaw, mercer, and of a small corner shop which Bradshaw added c. 1600 as an encroachment on the street.⁴⁷ Later owners included William Bradshaw, mercer (d. 1616), Alderman Nicholas Mayott (d. 1660), and Alderman John Brotherton, ironmonger (d. 1727). In the 1780s the house and shop seem to have been reconstructed as one building.⁴⁸ Dewsnap (d. 1812) presumably had a glove factory behind his houses, which were still called Glove Hall when owned by William Mavor, rector, in the 1830s, although no longer let to glovers.⁴⁹ Later the corner block was occupied by the Woodstock Literary Institute,⁵⁰ perhaps from its foundation in 1852 when the building belonged to the Revd. John Carlyle. The Raine family were owners from c. 1860 until the closure of the Institute in 1894. In the early 20th century the corner block was a butcher's shop.⁵¹

No. 14 Market Street was the site of a former chantry property flanked on the west and north by Woolmarket Street until Bradshaw's shop was built on its north side c. 1600. It was acquired by the corporation in 1565 and granted in 1569 to Peter Densyll on condition that he rebuild two bays of housing.⁵² The house was occupied in the 17th century by the Rathbone and Jenkins families, passing by will in 1716 to Adam Bellinger.⁵³ The Bellingers, carriers and

corn factors, held it until the late 19th century.⁵⁴

The range east of the hotel's north door is of the early 19th century; the block on the west was refronted at that time but contains 17th-century stairs and other woodwork and 18th-century panelling and chimney pieces. A medieval stone statue, perhaps of the Virgin Mary, reset above the north door was discovered during rebuilding in the 1950s.⁵⁵ The corner block, of brick with stone dressings, is of the late 18th century, much altered on the ground floor in the mid 20th century. No. 14, once called Warwick House, an imposing, apparently late 18th-century, brick building with stone dressings and a parapet, may have been built in 1807 after a serious fire was recorded at the Bellingers';⁵⁶ the arched carriage entrance retains its original doors. The building was evidently linked with no. 12 Market Street, acquired by the Bellingers in the early 18th century and rebuilt in 1888.

58. *Nos. 31–3 Oxford Street*. In the later 16th century the site was vacant ground, the site of a demolished house once attached to a chantry property in Market Street.⁵⁷ It was held in the early 17th century by the tenant of the adjacent corner house, and was built on before 1652.⁵⁸ By 1733 it was an alehouse, the Adam and Eve, a sign apparently retained until the late 18th century; a later Adam and Eve, no. 38 Oxford Street, closed in the earlier 20th century, was an alehouse by the 1760s, presumably under a different name.⁵⁹ The Morley family, smiths, occupied nos. 31–3 from the 1790s until the late 19th century. The Pitts have been fishmongers there from c. 1910. The house retains early 17th-century features, notably re-used carved wood lintels, but was much altered in the 18th century and 19th.

59. *Nos. 23–9 Oxford Street*. In the 1560s the corporation granted two former chantry houses on the site to John Pyman on condition that he rebuild.⁶⁰ The houses, which included a malt-house, passed to the Collingwood family in the late 16th century and may be traced to the 1870s, when John Parker rebuilt them in stone and ornamental brick as four houses and shops.⁶¹

60. *Nos. 17–19 Oxford Street*. Probably the site of the Rose and Crown inn, held in the early 17th century by Thomas Williams, mayor, later by the Drinkwaters, and from 1673 until the 1750s by their relatives, the Dennetts; in 1662 Elizabeth Drinkwater's house was assessed on six hearths.⁶² The inn, by then sometimes called the Crown, was turned into a private house c. 1768 by John Churchill.⁶³ When sold by the Churchills in 1840 it comprised a house (no. 17)

⁴² Ibid. 144/1 sqq. The site was void in 1892 and the rent increased thereafter. For view c. 1890, Westgate Lib. photo. colln. 4696.

⁴³ *Kelly's Oxf. Dir.* (1947 and later edns.).

⁴⁴ Boro. Mun. 83, p. 78; *Cal. Pat.* 1563–6, 440.

⁴⁵ Boro. Mun. 96, ff. 4–7, 87; 79, f. 20.

⁴⁶ Vctls' recogs. in ibid. 77/2, 78/2.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 96, ff. 4–7; 79, ff. 19v., 23.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 23/1/6; 60/1/8; for the rebuilding cf. 11/16–17.

⁴⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 138: copy of will of Wm. Mavor.

⁵⁰ Above, Intro.

⁵¹ For views before changes, Westgate Lib., photo. colln.

⁵² Boro. Mun. 31/3.

⁵³ O.R.O., Rob. II/iii/14: abstract of title.

⁵⁴ Below, Econ.

⁵⁵ Westgate Lib., O.R.C.C. file 130; County Mus., P.R.N. 4886; *Oxf. Mail*, 15 July 1960.

⁵⁶ Boro. Mun. 89, p. 171.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 27/1/5; above, Bldgs. no. 57.

⁵⁸ Boro. Mun. 79, f. 20; 7/1: Augustine Freeman's ho.

⁵⁹ Cf. ibid. 7–8, 11; vctls' recogs. in ibid. 88.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 27/1/3, 5.

⁶¹ Cf. ibid. 143–4; 90, p. 422.

⁶² P.R.O., E 179/255/4, f. 293. For the Drinkwater/Dennett relationship cf. Boro. Mun. 76/1, July 1673; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 18/4/4.

⁶³ Boro. Mun. 8/8–13.

and a public house, the Coach and Horses.⁶⁴ From 1862 both parts belonged to Halls' Oxford Brewery; the public house was renamed the Rose and Crown by 1871 and the Coach and Horses again by 1881. It was probably closed in the late 19th century although owned by the brewery until c. 1930.⁶⁵ The building is probably of the early 18th century, with canted bays and other windows of the early 19th.

ECONOMIC HISTORY. In the century after its foundation the town prospered, acquiring a fair in addition to its original market,⁶⁶ but it remained a small community of tradesmen, craftsmen, and royal servants. Service in the park and household is denoted by 13th-century surnames⁶⁷ such as Parker, Porter, Franklin, Despenser, and Marshall; other names were derived from the building crafts of mason, carpenter, thatcher, and slater, the metal crafts of smith, ironmonger, and plumber, the textile crafts of weaver, dyer, and napper, the clothing trades of tailor and wimpler, the leather crafts of tanner and parchmenter, and the victualling trades of butcher, baker, and vintner. There were turners, a chapman, a harper, and a potter. Evidence adduced for a substantial pottery industry in Woodstock is weak,⁶⁸ requiring the assumption that ovens recorded in the town in 1279 were pottery kilns. Surnames derived from places suggest that most townsmen were recruited from the immediate market area, but there were men from Warwick, Aylesbury, and Marden (Herefs.). Although no early inns were mentioned, it may be significant that the site of one of the principal later medieval inns, the George (later the Marlborough Arms), belonged in 1279 to one of the leading townsmen, Adam Bennet.⁶⁹ Property was concentrated in relatively few hands: the c. 140 houses were held by only 97 rent-payers, and Adam Bennet, Robert Marshall, John at Green, Richard Marden, and the hospital of St. John, Oxford, owed over a third of the total rental.⁷⁰ The hospital's estate had been granted in the mid 13th century by wealthier townsmen, including Marshalls, Turners, Caperuns, and Nortons.⁷¹

In 1306, when taxed as demesne at a twentieth, c. 43 contributors paid a total of only c. £3 5s., less than nearby Hanborough or any Oxfordshire market town except Eynsham.⁷² In 1327 Woodstock's assessment of c. 40s. was paid by only 18 inhabitants, of whom 7 paid more than 3s.⁷³ In 1334 the town was assessed on total

wealth of only c. £38.⁷⁴ Population seems to have declined in the later Middle Ages, and in the early 16th century Woodstock remained among the smallest and least wealthy Oxfordshire towns.⁷⁵ In 1523–4 half c. 60 contributors paid the lowest rate of 4d. on their wages.⁷⁶ Higher subsidy assessments in 1541 and 1547 were accounted for chiefly by the inclusion of Leonard Chamberlain, steward of the manor and park, who in 1547 paid as much as £8 for his lands.⁷⁷ By 1581 the town's assessment and the distribution of its wealth was similar to that of small market towns such as Deddington.⁷⁸

Late-medieval decline encouraged the concentration of property in fewer hands, a process evident in other small Oxfordshire towns:⁷⁹ in 1468–9 there were only 52 rent-payers, of whom Henry Dogett, three members of the Marshall family, Thomas Spilsby, and William Faulkner, St. John's hospital, and the chapelwardens paid almost half the total rents.⁸⁰ The leading townsmen were drawn from a range of occupations characteristic of small towns, and many who were probably engaged in only local trade reached aldermanic rank:⁸¹ the bakers John Norris (fl. 1480) and William Cornwell (d. 1552), the butchers William Wise (fl. 1504) and William Skelton (fl. 1580), the tailor John Careless (fl. 1470), and the shoemaker Edmund Aynger (fl. 1580) all became mayor. Some may have combined their trade with innkeeping, notably John Norris who held the Crown in Market Place, while William Cornwell was also a brewer.⁸² Men with probably wider contacts were Richard Bailly (d. 1461), chapman of Woodstock and haberdasher of London, and Robert Austen, variously called chapman and mercer, who as mayor in 1470 apprenticed one of the wealthy Marshalls of Standlake to teach him the business of mercer, wax chandler, and cap maker.⁸³ Henry Dogett (d. 1491), whose trade is not recorded, held estates in north Berkshire, was an official of Eynsham abbey, and may have been engaged in the wool trade.⁸⁴ The mercer John Wallis (fl. 1498) probably owned Woodstock's best preserved late-medieval house (no. 6 Market Place)⁸⁵ and seems to have been succeeded there by the mercer John Barnes (or Baron), ten times mayor in the early 16th century.

Weavers, some fairly prosperous and one a German immigrant, were recorded in the 15th century,⁸⁶ and the proportion of the market area devoted to wool and the number of mercers and drapers suggest that the wool and cloth trades

⁶⁴ O.R.O., J/IXe/63; P.R.O., HO 107/893.

⁶⁵ Boro. Mun. 143–5; P.R.O., RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512; O.R.O., W.R.D.C. VII/1/1; *ibid.* D.V. VIII/275; X/23.

⁶⁶ Below, Mkts. and Fairs.

⁶⁷ e.g. *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 839; *Magd. Coll. Mun.*, Woodstock deeds 4–8; *ibid.* MS. cclxxv, ff. 73–5; P.R.O., JUST 1/695, rot. 20.

⁶⁸ *Oxon. Potters* (Oxon. Mus. Publ. 13), 4, 29.

⁶⁹ Above, Bldgs. no. 4.

⁷⁰ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 839–42.

⁷¹ *Magd. Coll. Mun.*, MS. cclxxv, ff. 73–5; *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226–57, 299; *Close R.* 1256–9, 417.

⁷² P.R.O., E 179/161/10.

⁷³ *Ibid.* E 179/161/9.

⁷⁴ R. E. Glasscock, *Subsidy 1334*, 245.

⁷⁵ Above, Intro.; *Historic Towns in Oxon.* ed. K. Rodwell, 201.

⁷⁶ P.R.O., E 179/161/175, 194.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* E 179/162/235, 253.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* E 179/162/345.

⁷⁹ e.g. Banbury: *V.C.H. Oxon.* x. 6.

⁸⁰ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 9–15.

⁸¹ Inf. on early occupations is derived chiefly from deeds and enrolments in Boro. Mun., espec. 83/1, and wills in O.R.O. and P.R.O.

⁸² Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 31; P.R.O., E 178/1824.

⁸³ M.I. in church; P.R.O., C 146/1129.

⁸⁴ P.R.O., PROB 11/9 (P.C.C. 1 Doggett); *V.C.H. Oxon.* vii. 96.

⁸⁵ Above, Bldgs. no. 23.

⁸⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1429–36, 577; *New Coll. Arch.*, Reg. Evid. ii, pp. 25–9; Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 18: will of John Baret, weaver.

were important. In the 1550s a Woodstock man who was neither a woollen nor a staple merchant was reported for buying large quantities of wool contrary to statute.⁸⁷ Brewers, brewhouses, and malhouses were mentioned,⁸⁸ and in 1571 there were at least 17 privately owned malt querns, mostly held by innholders and victuallers, who were challenging the monopoly claimed by the owners of Woodstock mill.⁸⁹

The town's leaders were only moderately wealthy: John Barnes was taxed in 1523-4 on goods worth £40, William Cornwell on £20;⁹⁰ in 1552 Cornwell's personalty was valued at £108,⁹¹ but many 16th-century councillors had personalty valued at much less. A few were associated with the royal park. Thomas Croft (d. 1488), a royal servant who shared with his brother the control of Woodstock manor, had commercial interests in London, Bristol, Gloucester, Hereford, Oxford, and Aylesbury, and he endowed a chantry at Woodstock with extensive property in Oxfordshire and Bristol.⁹² In 1468 he held the George inn and two other Woodstock houses, later acquiring more houses and shops and a brewhouse in Old Woodstock.⁹³ Edmund Hampden, steward of the manor from 1486, and Robert Whitehill, comptroller of the park from 1496, acquired large houses in the town, and in 1523-4 Margaret Whitehill, widow, was assessed on goods worth £20.⁹⁴ Later stewards, the Chamberlains, and comptrollers, the Whittons, were dominant in the 16th-century borough and their landholdings outside the town were reflected in high subsidy assessments.⁹⁵ Richard Andrews (d. 1554), mayor in 1551, prospered as an agent for the sale of monastic estates;⁹⁶ in 1537, when described as a 'little gentleman' of Oxfordshire, he was living at Yarnton,⁹⁷ and was described between 1542 and 1549 as of Hailes (Glos.), although apparently established at Chaucer's House in Woodstock before 1547.⁹⁸ Andrews was brother-in-law to Leonard Chamberlain, with whom he was closely associated in monastic sales.⁹⁹ Jerome Westall, mercer, innholder, and mayor by 1554, was licensed in 1568, as a groom of the Chamber, to import wine;¹ he, too, was associated with Leonard Chamberlain's land transactions and owned several Woodstock houses, including one of the principal inns, the Bull.²

Trade attracted outsiders to the town. In 1461

John Pargetter, ironmonger of Chipping Norton, bought a shop in Market Place which his family held for a century.³ William Dister (d. 1520) of Bicester acquired two houses in Market Place, later the endowment of a Bicester charity.⁴ A Northampton dyer owned a High Street shop in 1500,⁵ and in 1499 William Harcourt of Cornbury, esquire, acquired the Bull inn.⁶ John Exnyng, a London grocer and staple merchant, acquired some of the Marshalls' Woodstock houses in the late 15th century, later selling them to Sir Thomas Danvers of Waterstock.⁷ In 1553 John Crossley, a Kidlington draper, bought a house in Market Street (later part of the Woodstock Arms) from an Oxford draper, and soon afterwards moved to Woodstock and became mayor in 1558.⁸ In 1566 a London draper was keen to establish a foothold in the town.⁹

No craft guild seems to have been established, but the corporation regulated trade and supervised apprenticeship arrangements in the borough; the mayor as clerk of the market had wide powers.¹⁰ The charter of 1453 quit freemen from toll throughout the kingdom, a privilege still recognized in Oxford in 1835.¹¹ The exclusive right of freemen to trade in the borough was reinforced by bylaws restricting the activities of 'foreigners': in 1580 it was ordered that none should work in Woodstock except for a freeman, and all journeymen were to be hired for at least a year and in the presence of the mayor.¹² In 1608 an Oxford saddler was imprisoned for illegally trading outside the market, but an Oxford goldsmith was given exceptional permission to trade in Woodstock while the king was in residence.¹³ Exclusive trading was maintained in the 1660s,¹⁴ but statutory changes made enforcement increasingly difficult, particularly in the early 18th century when the town contained large numbers of Blenheim workmen. A bylaw of 1705 ordering distraint of unfree traders was repeated in 1715 and 1726, when a test prosecution apparently failed.¹⁵ Unfree traders were occasionally fined, but in 1769 the council recorded a legal opinion that freemen's exclusive trading rights were unenforceable.¹⁶ In the 1830s none could remember assertion of the privilege.¹⁷

Reference to Woodstock's poverty in the mid 16th century was probably exaggerated, since

⁸⁷ P.R.O., C 1/1385/80.

⁸⁸ Ibid. C 3/86/55; *ibid.* E 178/1824; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 181, f. 57 and v.

⁸⁹ P.R.O., E 178/1824.

⁹⁰ Ibid. E 179/161/175.

⁹¹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 180, ff. 122v.-123v.

⁹² P.R.O., PROB 11/8 (P.C.C. 17 Milles), pt. printed in *Some Oxon. Wills* (O.R.S. xxxix), 37-8.

⁹³ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 12; *Cal. Pat.* 1548-9, 191.

⁹⁴ Above, Bldgs. no. 48; P.R.O., E 179/161/175.

⁹⁵ Below, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886; P.R.O., E 179/162/235, 253, 345.

⁹⁶ P.R.O., PROB 11/37, f. 134v.; *Agrarian Hist. of Eng. and Wales*, iv. 350; *L. & P. Hen. VIII, passim*; *Cal. Pat.* 1547-53, *passim*.

⁹⁷ *L. & P. Hen. VIII, Addenda*, i, p. 415; below, Yarnton, Manor, Econ.

⁹⁸ e.g. *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, p. 263; *Cal. Pat.* 1548-9, 369; above, Bldgs. no. 32.

⁹⁹ P.R.O., PROB 11/37, f. 134v.; e.g. *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, pp. 259-62, 630, 637, 642.

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1566-9, p. 315.

² P.R.O., REQ 2/243/46; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (2), p. 418; above, Bldgs. no. 24.

³ Above, Bldgs. no. 53.

⁴ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 52; P.R.O., PROB 11/20 (P.C.C. 4 Maynwaring); above, Bldgs. no. 43.

⁵ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 41.

⁶ Above, Bldgs. no. 24.

⁷ P.R.O., C 1/306/8; *ibid.* REQ 2/4/224; Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 30-1, 33-4, 36.

⁸ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 75, 106.

⁹ P.R.O., REQ 2/290/31.

¹⁰ Below, Mkts. and Fairs.

¹¹ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1427-1516, 125-7; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* H.C. 116, p. 142 (1835), xxiii.

¹² Boro. Mun. 82, ff. 5 sqq.

¹³ Ibid. 78/2, Aug. 1608.

¹⁴ e.g. *ibid.* 76/1, f. 14v.

¹⁵ Ibid. 86, Jan. 1705, Sept. 1715, June 1726; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* (1835), p. 142.

¹⁶ Boro. Mun. 87, s.a. 1728; 97, p. 56.

¹⁷ *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* (1835), p. 142.

townsmen were able to rebuild many of the former chantry houses granted to the corporation in 1565.¹⁸ The grant of additional markets and fairs in that year was followed by an Act in 1576 making Woodstock a staple town. George Whitton, alderman and M.P., probably instigated the Bill and certainly paid for the new wool market; there may have been pressure, too, from Sir Henry Lee, steward of the manor and sheep farmer on a large scale.¹⁹ The corporation provided a wool barn, and several late 16th-century townsmen were woolmen, some evidently linked with Cirencester.²⁰ The new market was only a limited success: in 1602, while defending the borough's privileges as a staple town against the Crown's patentee, the mayor noted that there were only *c.* 5 townsmen trading in wool and yarn, and although in 1617 all local fellmongers were ordered to trade there the corporation's income from the wool beam fell steadily.²¹

The dominance of distributive and victualling trades in the town's economy continued in the 17th century. Of the 34 mayors between 1580 and 1700 at least 15 were in distributive trades, including 8 mercers, 3 woollendrapers, 2 ironmongers, a grocer, a haberdasher of hats, and a Chandler and fishmonger. At least 12 were in food and drink trades, including 5 innkeepers, 2 vintners, 3 bakers, a maltster, and a butcher; the vintners and two of the bakers also kept inns. The remaining mayors comprised a cutler, 2 glovers of whom one was principally a woolman, and 4 whose trades are unknown.²² As elsewhere distinctions between distributive trades were becoming less precise: Thomas Woodward (d. 1668) was variously called mercer and grocer, Richard Hinton (d. 1690) mercer and draper, John Bradshaw (d. 1614), mercer, sold large quantities of cloth, thread, and buttons, but also raisins, sugar, spices, salt, soap, tobacco, aniseed, and gunpowder.²³ Thomas Sparrow (d. 1678), mercer, who sold a similar range of goods, including cloth valued at over £100, also had a tallow chandler's workshop.²⁴ Alexander Johnson (d. 1681), mercer, like Sparrow used the Grocers' Company arms on his trade token, and his shop contained cloth, haberdashery, groceries, and salters' wares.²⁵ John Bradshaw's personalty was valued at £180 and that of his brother William (d. 1616), also a mercer, at over £200; their father Ralph (d. 1606), woolman and draper, left goods worth over £400.²⁶ Of the Metcalfe family of drapers in the early 17th

century William (d. 1608) had shops in Woodstock and Bicester, owned several houses, and besides his 'mansion house' built a large new house in Park Street (nos. 2–8);²⁷ his sons Thomas and William both became aldermen. Robert Cooper (d. 1662), ironmonger and alderman, left personalty worth £480, including large quantities of iron in his workshop and malt, grain, and cattle on his Hensington farm.²⁸ The later 17th-century mercers Thomas Sparrow and Alexander Johnson left personalty worth £666 and over £700, and Johnson's sons Edmund (d. 1688) and Benjamin (d. 1715), mercers and aldermen, left over £1,000 and £1,600.²⁹ John Davies (d. 1711), formerly apprenticed to Benjamin Johnson, also left over £1,000; his widow Grace, Johnson's niece and beneficiary, later married Edward Ryves, town clerk, whose career as a prosperous lawyer and landowner was perhaps founded on her inheritance.³⁰

In 1580 George Whitton complained that the council was monopolized by victuallers 'to the utter decay of the poor'.³¹ In 1608 an inquiry into the dearth of grain named 29 residents with stocks of malt or grain for brewing and baking, and 17 were councillors.³² The licensing justices usually distinguished five or six 'ancient inns' from common alehouses, of which there were *c.* 20 for much of the 17th century;³³ in 1611 three of the inns were held by aldermen.³⁴ In 1616 one alderman was a maltster and the other four were innkeepers, although two had other occupations, and of the common councillors at least six owned inns or alehouses.³⁵ The principal inns in the earlier 17th century were the Bull and the Crown in Market Place.³⁶ Alderman Thomas Bradshaw (d. 1613) of the Bull left personalty worth *c.* £240, including costly clothes and books, and a later landlord Joseph Harris (d. 1635), mercer and alderman, left *c.* £125.³⁷ John Glover (d. 1643), baker and innkeeper of the Crown, left more than £200.³⁸ Alderman Thomas Williams (d. 1636), baker and innkeeper of the Rose and Crown, was of a family prosperous in Woodstock from the mid 16th century; he probably built the surviving Ancient House (no. 20 High Street).³⁹ The vintners William Rayer (d. 1619) and his son Thomas (d. 1662), prosperous aldermen, kept the Bear inn; a later landlord, Edward Fennymore (d. 1700), maltster, made bequests of *c.* £800.⁴⁰

Malting and brewing were practised on a large scale by Thomas Browne (d. 1621) who rented a

¹⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1563–6, p. 440; below, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886 (Finance and Property).

¹⁹ Act for Re-edifying New Woodstock, 18 Eliz. I, c. 21; P.R.O., STAC 5/W 77/7; T. E. Schulz, 'Woodstock Glove Industry', *Oxoniensia*, iii, 142–3.

²⁰ Above, Bldgs. no. 56; e.g. Boro. Mun. 77/1, Dec. 1592; 77/2, June 1626.

²¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, ff. 3–6v.; *Acts of P.C.* 1616–17, 181; below, Mkts. and Fairs.

²² Several followed multiple occupations but the predominant one was usually apparent; most doubtful cases fell within a single trade group and therefore did not affect the pattern. ²³ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 4/3/45.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 62/1/9.

²⁵ J. G. Milne, *Oxon. Tokens*, 20–1; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 38/1/18.

²⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 4/3/45; 4/4/17; 106, f. 15.

²⁷ P.R.O., PROB 11 111, f. 20.

²⁸ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 13/4/12.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 62/1/9; 38/1/18; 38/2/10; 137/1/28.

³⁰ *Ibid.* Whit. VI/1–3. For Ryves, below, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886 (Council and Officers).

³¹ B.L. Lansd. MS. 40, ff. 70v.–71.

³² Boro. Mun. 78/2, Nov. 1608.

³³ Above, Local Govt., Admin. of Justice.

³⁴ Boro. Mun. 78/2, Apr. 1611.

³⁵ Cf. *ibid.* 78/3, endpapers; 77/2, s.a. 1618.

³⁶ Above, Bldgs. nos. 24, 42.

³⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 4/3/17; 298/1/20.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 297/3/61.

³⁹ Above, Bldgs. nos. 47, 60.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* no. 41; P.R.O., PROB 11/289, f. 184.

malthouse by the river (later the White Hart inn) and built another at his new house in Park Street (later Fletcher's House); his relict Joan (d. 1625) had malt and barley worth £126, and grew hops.⁴¹ Jerome Kyte of Chaucer's House also had a riverside malthouse in 1611, and when he opened a brewhouse in 1612 the council stipulated, perhaps because he was a magistrate, that no victualler should be obliged to buy from him; Kyte owned the Talbot inn, a brewhouse in Oxford, Bladon mill, and several houses, and his personalty was worth *c.* £350.⁴² Other gentlemen apparently concerned in malting and brewing were Benjamin Merrick (d. 1675), who lived at the house later Woodstock House and at his death had a malthouse and malt valued at £400,⁴³ and Sir Littleton Osbaldeston (d. 1692) who had a brewhouse at Fletcher's House.⁴⁴ John Williams (d. 1681) built a malthouse on the Back Green,⁴⁵ and the Parker family of maltsters had a malthouse behind no. 14 Oxford Street by 1683.⁴⁶ The ironmonger Edward Silver (d. 1684) and the mercer Benjamin Johnson (d. 1715) both owned malthouses.⁴⁷

Tradesmen's tokens were issued in the 1650s by the mercers Alexander Johnson, Thomas Sparrow, and Thomas Woodward, and the innkeeper and glover Thomas Painter (d. 1654) of the Three Cups inn (no. 18 Market Place); Painter's son Thomas (d. 1711), a chandler, took over the inn and was many times mayor.⁴⁸ The migration to Woodstock in the later 17th century of tradesmen and craftsmen from market towns such as Bicester and Deddington suggests some revival of the town's economy: they included apothecaries, maltsters, and braziers.⁴⁹ Among 17th-century craftsmen making wills but failing to become councillors were builders, blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, glovers, coopers, and barbers. Roger Sturgis (fl. 1612), barber, was also a surgeon.⁵⁰ The importance of coopering is suggested by the designation in the early 17th century of the north side of High Street as Copperware Street, but few coopers were recorded. Tailors and shoemakers, never wealthy, were not numerous, although in the early 17th century the south side of High Street was designated Shoemakers' and Glovers' Row.⁵¹ A local rhyme which presumably predates the town's reputation for gloves implies that Woodstock was best known for its bacon,⁵² but no specialist curers were recorded before the 19th century. A bell foundry was established in Woodstock in the 1620s by James Keene (d.

1654), perhaps in 1628 when he agreed to cast a bell in part payment for his freedom of the borough.⁵³ He was succeeded by his son Richard, possibly owner of the Bull inn from the 1660s.⁵⁴ The Keenes were recorded at several addresses, notably the later no. 52 Oxford Street,⁵⁵ but the site of their foundry, apparently closed in the 1680s, has not been firmly identified.⁵⁶

Assertions about Woodstock's early importance as a gloving centre are unsubstantiated. A Woodstock glover was indicted for Lollardy in 1415,⁵⁷ and regulations of *c.* 1580 for the fell market restricted resident glovers to two buyers and foreign glovers to one.⁵⁸ The few glovers recorded in the 16th and 17th centuries included three who were prosperous enough to become aldermen, but all may have derived their wealth from other occupations: John Phillips, alderman in 1580, was briefly the lessee of Woodstock mill,⁵⁹ William Fly, mayor in 1618, was also a wool merchant,⁶⁰ and John Raunson, who died as mayor in 1611, may have been primarily a dealer in wool and fells. His stock in 1611 included no gloves, but a quantity of wool, 1,660 large sheepskins, 33 buckskins, some 'soft skins' and white leather, and, in a limepit near the river, a further 350 sheepskins, 25 doeskins, and 3 buckskins: the total value of his personalty was only £66.⁶¹ Other glovers seem to have been poor, and Andrew Homes, who had a limepit behind his house near Woodstock mill, was twice accused of receiving stolen goods.⁶² Anthony Wood and Robert Plot, aware of the important Oxford glove industry, made no reference to gloving in Woodstock, nor is there evidence that in the 16th century and early 17th Woodstock gloves were prized for their quality or were presented to kings and queens by Oxford university.⁶³ In 1611 a Woodstock man, when choosing presents, bought plain gloves in Woodstock but expensive gloves in Oxford.⁶⁴ The known makers of the gloves given regularly by the university to kings at Woodstock were Oxford men.⁶⁵ The identification of surviving gloves of Elizabeth I as Woodstock gloves was apparently first made in the mid 19th century, long after Oxford's reputation for gloves was forgotten, by a Woodstock glove master who likened their cut and style to gloves still made in the town.⁶⁶

The glove industry's decline in Oxford began in the later 17th century and was complete by the mid 18th.⁶⁷ It flourished simultaneously at

⁴¹ Above, Bldgs. nos. 10, 29; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 5/2/9.

⁴² Boro. Mun. 78/2, Apr. 1611, Apr. 1612; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 39/3/12; above, Bldgs. no. 32.

⁴³ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 45/2/4.

⁴⁴ Above, Bldgs. no. 29.

⁴⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 72/4/10.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 144/4/20; above, Bldgs. no. 3.

⁴⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 62/2/36; 137/1/28.

⁴⁸ J. G. Milne, *Oxon. Tokens*, 20-1, where the two Painters are confused: cf. P.R.O., PROB 11/239, f. 348; above, Bldgs. no. 25.

⁴⁹ Boro. Mun. 76/1-2, *passim*.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 78/2, Mar., Oct. 1612; 78/3, Feb. 1613.

⁵¹ For street names, above, Development.

⁵² O.R.O., Misc. Budd V/3.

⁵³ Boro. Mun. 81, Dec. 1628.

⁵⁴ Cf. *ibid.* 76/1, Mar. 1674/5, Dec. 1677.

⁵⁵ O.R.O., Misc. Has. I/3, 7, naming abutments of no. 50; Boro. Mun. 81, Dec. 1636; above, Bldgs. no. 1.

⁵⁶ *Ch. Bells Oxon.* iv. 452, 476; County Mus., P.R.N. 5767; Marshall, *Woodstock Man.* 184-5.

⁵⁷ *Reg. Repingdon*, iii (L.R.S. lxxiv), p. 73 n.

⁵⁸ Boro. Mun. 96, f. 2, printed in Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 71-2.

⁵⁹ P.R.O., E 178/1825.

⁶⁰ e.g. Boro. Mun. 44/1/1; 53/1/5.

⁶¹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 85/2/11.

⁶² Boro. Mun. 77/2, Oct. 1625, Mar. 1626.

⁶³ e.g. Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 142; Gardner, *Dir. Oxon.* (1852); J. M. Faulkner, *Hist. Oxon.* 218.

⁶⁴ Boro. Mun. 78/2, Apr. 1611.

⁶⁵ Oxf. Univ. Arch., WP β 21 (4), pp. 147 and *passim*.

⁶⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 189, f. 60.

⁶⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 120; *Oxf. City Apprentices 1697-1800* (O.H.S. N.S. xxxi), p. x.

Woodstock, albeit on a small scale, probably because the town's few established glovers supplied luxury goods to fashionable visitors to Blenheim and thus withstood competition from cheaper products. Woodstock was known for wash leather gloves by the 1690s and by the mid 18th century its reputation was for expensive gloves of the best wash leather.⁶⁸ There is no evidence of a migration of Oxford glovers to Woodstock. Its freedom from guild regulations and easier access to rural out-workers may have helped gloving there, although it is not known whether out-workers were employed on a large scale until the later 18th century. In 1768 only 40–50 men and women, earning 8s.–9s. a week, were said to be employed in the industry.⁶⁹ Apprentice glovers were rarely recorded, and there seem to have been only two or three established masters in the earlier 18th century.⁷⁰ Alderman Samuel Heath (d. 1726), who left personalty worth as much as £636 and was succeeded by his son Samuel (d. 1767), probably worked at nos. 2–4 High Street;⁷¹ John Norman (d. 1760), fellmonger and glover, and his sons Laurence (d. 1754) and Richard (d. 1779) owned nos. 44–6 Oxford Street and probably had their workshop there;⁷² Richard, who may have derived his wealth from other sources, was many times mayor.

By the mid 18th century Woodstock was renowned also for its manufacture of polished steel.⁷³ Horseshoe nails were re-used⁷⁴ to produce distinctive, highly polished, studded jewellery and objects such as watch chains, buckles, scissors, buttons, and boxes.⁷⁵ Woodstock jewellery was noted for its unusual lustre and its use of screwed studs rather than rivets, which eased polishing.⁷⁶ It was sold in London and its international reputation was spread by fashionable tourists: in 1759 buckles were ordered for the king of Prussia, and in 1768 the king of Denmark, on a visit to Blenheim, bought gloves and steel.⁷⁷ Because of elaborate decoration even small items such as scissors were 'amazing dear', selling for 30 gn. or more.⁷⁸ The corporation in 1802 paid c. £38 for a box in which to present to Viscount Clifden the freedom of the borough;⁷⁹ a Garter star for the duke of Marlborough cost

50 gn., and a 2 oz. chain sold in France for £170.⁸⁰

The craft's introduction to Woodstock was attributed locally to an early 18th-century whitesmith, Henry Metcalfe.⁸¹ Assertions that it was established much earlier derive solely from a poetic reference of 1598 to a man's ruff which 'did eate more time in neatest setting/ Then Woodstocks worke in painfull perfecting/ It hath more doubles farre, then Ajax shield': Thomas Warton assumed in the 1780s, when the fame of Woodstock jewellery was at its height, that the allusion was to the 'laboured nicety' of the craft, but the only Woodstock work likely to have been familiar to the 16th-century author was the legendary labyrinth 'of Daedalian workmanship' associated with 'Fair Rosamund'.⁸² There is no reference to steel work in Woodstock earlier than the 18th century, and although blacksmiths and braziers were recorded regularly there were no whitesmiths, the likeliest practitioners of the craft. In 1695 a smith called Hunt was admitted to the freedom as 'an ingenious man',⁸³ but the nature of his skill is not known.

Henry Metcalfe (d. 1738) bought his freedom as a gunsmith in 1715⁸⁴ and by 1718 was taking apprentices as a whitesmith. His son Henry (d. 1807), nine times mayor from 1753, called himself whitesmith and polished steel worker. Together the Metcalfes took on at least 15 apprentices between 1718 and 1776,⁸⁵ the earliest being George Eldridge (d. 1764), a master by 1734 and later one of the town's principal steel workers;⁸⁶ his son George (d. 1814) and grandsons George (d. 1834), William (d. 1815), and John Eldridge (d. 1824) were all steel workers.⁸⁷ Other masters included Alderman Thomas Grantham, grocer and steel worker (d. 1776),⁸⁸ established by 1734, his son Thomas (also d. 1776), and two of their apprentices Thomas Wyatt, established by 1766, and William Harrison (d. 1807), established by 1768.⁸⁹ Robert Kerwood (d. 1831) was the son of a steel worker, William (d. 1806), who was apprenticed to George Eldridge in 1743.⁹⁰

George Eldridge (d. 1814) was steel jeweller to the queen;⁹¹ he lived and worked at the large

⁶⁸ P.R.O., C 104/109, letter to John Cary 1694; F. von Kielmansegge, *Diary of Journey to Eng. 1761–2* (1902), 93; *Torrington Diaries*, ed. C. B. Andrews, i. 53.

⁶⁹ [A. Young], *Six Weeks Tour through the Southern Counties* (1768), 97–8.

⁷⁰ Apprenticeship enrolments 1712–1800 are scattered in Boro. Mun. 85, 87–8, 92.

⁷¹ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 134/1/43; 135/5/13; Blenheim Mun., box 133, deeds 1720–75.

⁷² O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 143/4/14; 48/3/29; above, Bldgs. no. 5.

⁷³ S. Simpson, *Agreeable Historian* (1746), iii. 777. This account of Woodstock steel is based on a draft prepared by Joanna West.

⁷⁴ W. F. Mavor, *New Guide to Blenheim* (1789), 170–1.

⁷⁵ For examples and discussion of the craft see *Oxf. Jnl.* 16 June 1898; *Country Life*, clv, p. 1344; *Antique Collector*, Apr. 1980, 74–6; *Country Fair*, Mar. 1965, 47–8. There is a colln. of Woodstock steel in County Mus., Woodstock.

⁷⁶ Kielmansegge, *Diary* (1902), 93; *Diary of Syllas Neville, 1767–88*, ed. B. Cozens-Hardy, 281; S. Shaw, *Tour to West of Eng. 1788*, 80; Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 328–9.

⁷⁷ *Glympton* (O.R.S. v), 15; *Oxf. Jnl.* Synopsis, 14 Sept. 1768.

⁷⁸ *Diaries of Mrs. Lybbe Powys, 1756–1808*, ed. E. J.

Climenson, 200; Kielmansegge, *Diary*, 93.

⁷⁹ Boro. Mun. 93, pp. 365–7, 377–9. The cost is wrongly stated in Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 329.

⁸⁰ Mavor, *New Guide* (1797), 147; Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 329.

⁸¹ e.g. Shaw, *Tour*, 1788, 80; Mavor, *New Guide* (1803), 132.

⁸² John Marston, *Metamorphosis of Pigmaliions Image and Certain Satyres* (1598), 50–1; T. Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, iv. 58. For the legend, below, Blenheim, King's Hos.

⁸³ Boro. Mun. 76/2, Feb. 1695.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 86, s.a. 1715.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 87–8, 91, *passim*.

⁸⁶ Ibid. 91, Dec. 1718; 87, *passim*; O.R.O., MS. Wills

Oxon. 126/4/10.

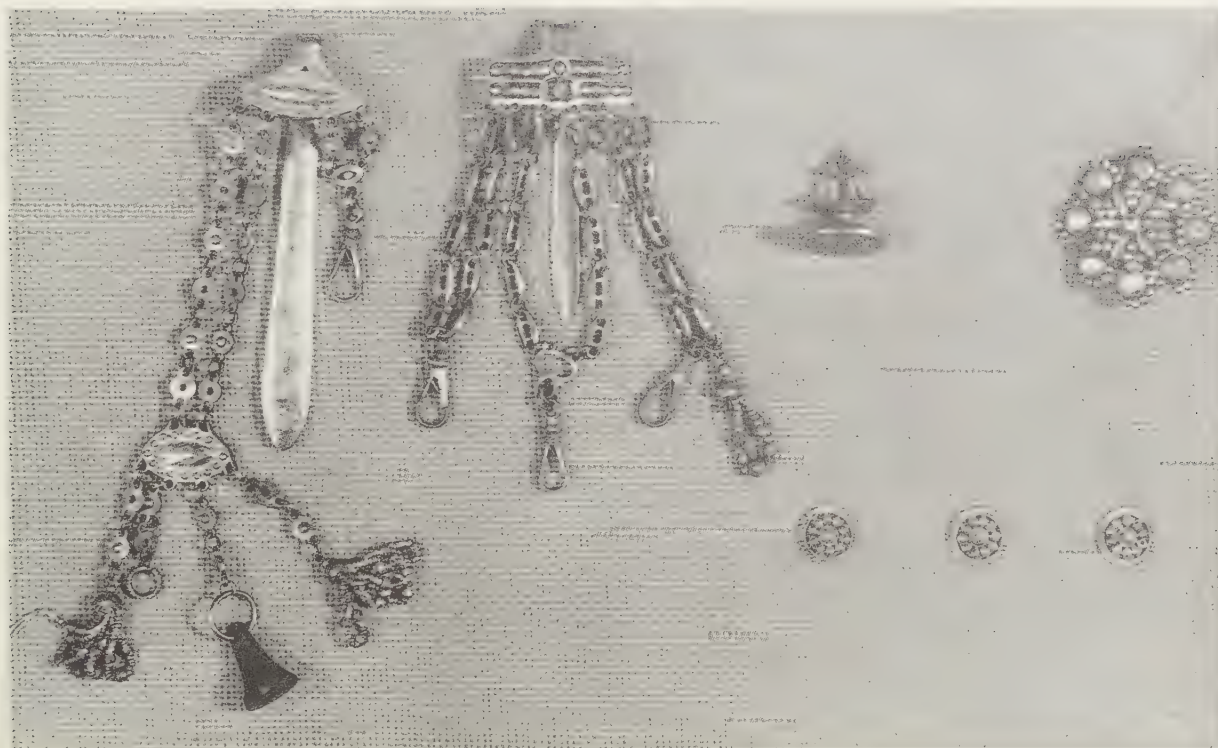
⁸⁷ Boro. Mun. 88, 92, *passim*; Westgate Libr., par. reg. transcripts.

⁸⁸ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 131/1/2.

⁸⁹ Boro. Mun. 88, 92; County Mus., corresp. files re steel, copy of Harrison's will.

⁹⁰ Boro. Mun. 87, 92, *passim*; Westgate Libr., par. reg. transcripts.

⁹¹ Cf. *Lady's Mag.* ii (1771), 248; *Oxf. Jnl.* 16 July 1898, where inf. from George Eldridge (d. 1902) confuses the chronology.

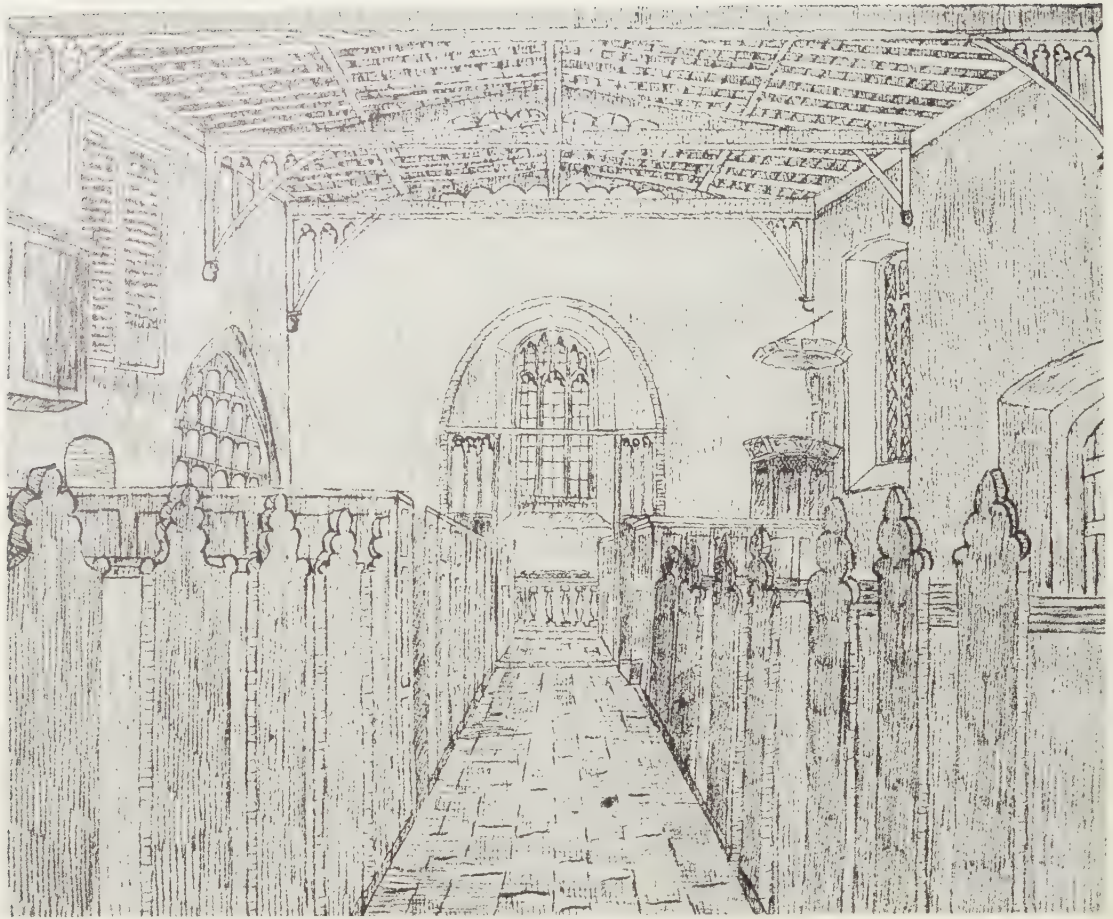


Examples of steel jewellery

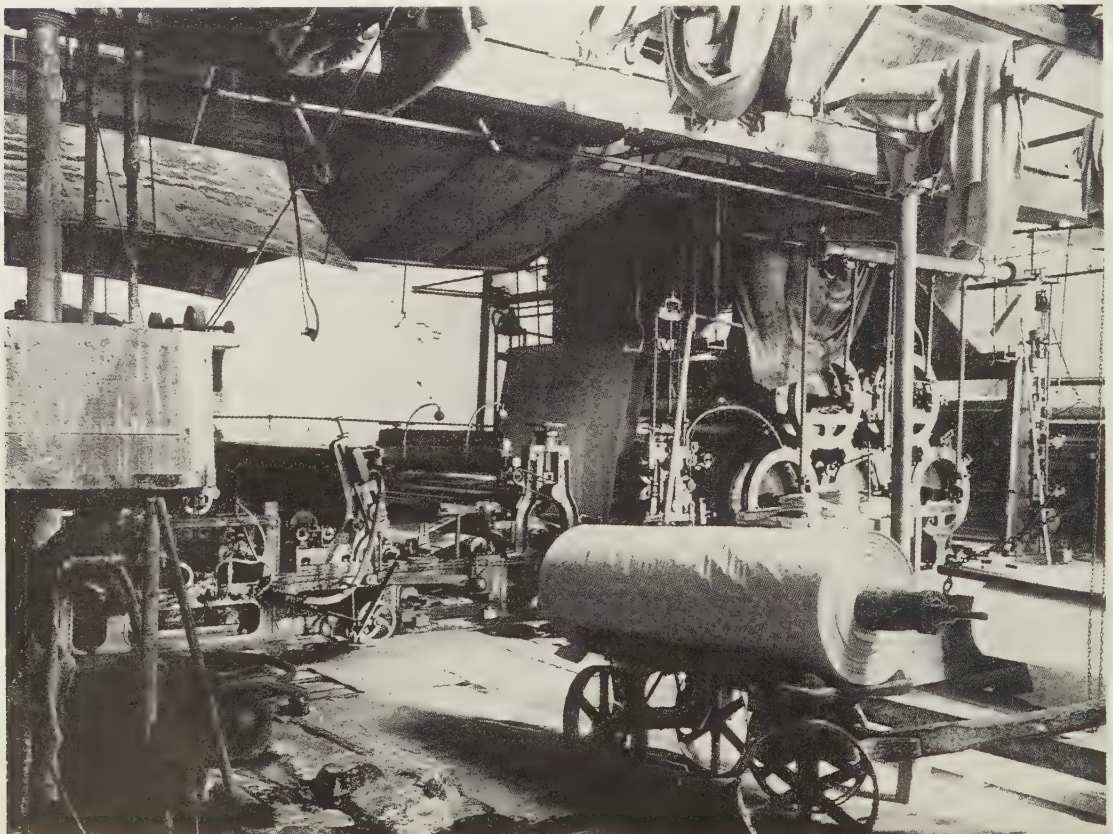


Skins bleaching behind Atherton and Clothier's glove factory, early 20th century

WOODSTOCK INDUSTRIES



WOLVERCOTE: the church *c.* 1832



WOLVERCOTE: the paper mill in the early 20th century

block of houses and shops east of the town hall (no. 2 Market Place, no. 1 High Street), rebuilt by his father.⁹² The Metcalfes may have worked at no. 17 High Street which they owned from c. 1734.⁹³ The Granthams lived at no. 15 Market Street but may have worked steel at a shop bought c. 1764 from George Eldridge, the site of no. 5 High Street.⁹⁴ Thomas Wyatt in 1764 had his workshop in High Street, apparently on the site of no. 24.⁹⁵

In 1768 the steel industry employed 20–30 hands, journeymen earning between 15s. and 2 gn. a week.⁹⁶ Competition from cheaper Birmingham and Wolverhampton wares was intense by the 1780s,⁹⁷ and in 1807 mass-produced products from the Midlands were blamed for the collapse of Woodstock's industry, which by then employed fewer than a dozen men.⁹⁸ George Eldridge (d. 1834) had turned to his family's other interest, gloving, and was later called variously ironmonger, brazier, and tinman.⁹⁹ Two steel workers were recorded as late as 1830 and occasional steel items were said to have been made until the 1860s.¹

The building of Blenheim in the early 18th century brought sudden prosperity to the town, providing direct employment for building craftsmen, carters, and labourers, and creating demand for lodgings, goods, and services. Some townsmen established flourishing businesses while others overreached themselves and suffered badly as the Blenheim debt accumulated.² By 1728, when the building was almost complete, it was noted that the townsmen were generally poor.³ Even so the palace and park permanently benefited the town by providing direct employment and the benefits of tourism.

The town's élite was drawn from a wider range of occupations. Of the 30 18th-century mayors 12 were in the distributive trades, including 3 apothecaries, 2 mercers, 2 grocers, 1 draper, 1 ironmonger, and 3 (all members of the Hatley family) who were haberdashers of hats but may have derived their wealth chiefly from malting; the food and drink trades were represented by 3 innkeepers and a maltster, and there were 3 carpenters (all Simmonses), 2 carriers, 2 glovers, 2 whitesmiths, a saddler, a tailor, a smith, a cabinet maker and auctioneer, and an attorney and banker.⁴ The Hodgkinson family of drapers, later called Hodgkinson Bobart, were established in the early 18th century at nos. 2–8 Park Street where the Prescott family con-

tinued as mercers and drapers throughout the 19th century.⁵ Thomas Grantham (d. 1776) was succeeded in his grocery business at no. 15 Market Street by William Carter, whose family continued there until the 1850s.⁶ The Brotherton family of ironmongers prospered from the late 17th century: John (d. 1727), apprenticed in and later a freeman of Oxford, was six times mayor of Woodstock from 1694, and was succeeded in the business by a son Josiah (d. 1744), Josiah's wife Elizabeth (d. 1762), and other Brothertons until c. 1830.⁷ The Brothertons were for much of the 18th century at no. 6 Market Place, moving to no. 9 before 1770.⁸

Apothecaries increased in number as Woodstock developed as a social centre. Zachary Hindes (d. 1737) settled in the town in 1688 and several other apothecaries in the early 18th century.⁹ Hindes's son Zachary (d. 1777) passed on his business at no. 5 Market Place to his partner George Coles (d. 1814), who called himself surgeon;¹⁰ Coles's son George (d. 1841), mayor and surgeon, was a fellow of the Linnaean Society and his son George was a medical practitioner in Woodstock until the 1860s.¹¹ Another prominent 18th-century apothecary, Alderman Richard Bartholomew (d. 1798) of Bartholomew House (no. 9 Market Street), also practised medicine and his son-in-law Charles Heynes (d. 1836), was an apothecary and surgeon.¹²

The demand for professional services brought prosperity to lawyers, particularly to successive members of the Ryves and North families, town clerks;¹³ by the early 19th century there were two firms of solicitors besides Henry North.¹⁴ New occupations such as auctioneer and house agent emerged in the later 18th century: in the 1790s John Churchill and his son Benjamin were cabinet makers, upholders, and auctioneers, and by the 1820s there were three auctioneers in the town.¹⁵ Joseph Brooks, mayor in 1794, was an attorney, agent to the duke of Marlborough, and a founding partner in 1790 of Oxford's University and City bank; in 1805 he opened a bank in Woodstock at no. 12 Oxford Street, combining with it a servants' agency, brokerage office, and house agents. On his death in 1807 he was in financial difficulty and his property, which included the Marlborough Arms, was sold. The bank was carried on by Cox & Morrell of Oxford until the 1840s.¹⁶

Malting remained important in the town: the

Libr., par. reg. transcripts. Mrs. E. T. Brown-Grant kindly supplied notes on the fam.

⁵ *Oxf. Jnl.* 24 Apr. 1770; above, Bldgs. nos. 23, 42.

⁶ Boro. Mun. 76/2, Apr. 1688; 86, s.a. 1709, 1712.

⁷ O.R.O., Parrott V/3; *Univ. Brit. Dir.* [1795], iv. 823–5; above, Bldgs. no. 44.

⁸ M.I. in ch.; *Dutton & Allen's Dir. Oxon.* (1863).

⁹ *Univ. Brit. Dir.* [1795]; Westgate Libr., par. reg. transcripts; Heynes M.I. in ch.; above, Bldgs. no. 20. Mr. T. C. Shaw of Woodstock kindly supplied inf. on Woodstock apothecaries.

¹⁰ Below, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886 (Council and Officers).

¹¹ Pigot, *Lond. & Prov. Dir.* (1823–4).

¹² *Ibid.*; *Univ. Brit. Dir.* [1795], iv. 823–5; *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, passim.*

¹³ Berks. R.O., D/ESv (M)/B 6–22; *Oxf. Jnl.* 4 Sept. 1790; 5 Jan. 1805; 24 Jan., 12 Sept. 1807; 19 Mar. 1808; E. M. Taylor, *Gilletts*, 59; above, Bldgs. no. 1.

⁹² Above, Bldgs. no. 53.

⁹³ *Ibid.* no. 51.

⁹⁴ Cf. O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 126/4/10; 131/1/2, in which Thos. Beckley's ho. was probably no. 7 High Street; above, Bldgs. no. 56.

⁹⁵ Above, Bldgs. no. 48.

⁹⁶ [A. Young], *Six Weeks Tour*, 97–8.

⁹⁷ G. Bernard Hughes, 'Eng. Steel Jewellery', *Country Life*, cxv, 85–7.

⁹⁸ Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 328.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 330; Pigot, *Lond. & Prov. Dir.* (1823, 1830).

¹ Pigot, *Lond. & Prov. Dir.* (1830); Anne James, 'Woodstock Steel', *Country Fair*, Mar. 1965, 47.

² Below, Blenheim, Blenheim Palace.

³ e.g. B.L. Add. MS. 61468, ff. 140–2.

⁴ Inf. on trades derived mainly from O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. and Boro. Mun. 87–8, 92: apprenticeship enrolments.

⁵ Above, Bldgs. no. 28.

⁶ *Ibid.* no. 19.

⁷ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 117/1/35; 9/2/22; 118/3/11; P.R.O., PROB 11/1336 (will of Lucy Brotherton); Westgate

Hatleys, hatters and maltsters, and Miles Parker (d. 1719), a maltster also concerned in the financial administration of the Blenheim works, built two of the town's notable early 18th-century houses,¹⁷ and the Grove family probably at Fletcher's House and Henry Taylor and later the Priors at Chaucer's House were prominent maltsters.¹⁸ Improved transport brought prosperity to the town's many inns, particularly the Marlborough Arms and the Bear, and provided employment for wheelwrights, coachmakers, and other related trades. Adam Bellinger was operating a carrying service to London by 1708 and was involved in transport of materials to Blenheim; in the later 18th century the Bellingers ran a twice weekly service to London. Another Adam (d. 1794), carrier and corn factor, and his son John (d. 1803) were aldermen, and built no. 14 Market Street; the Bellingers continued as corn factors into the late 19th century.¹⁹

A tradition of local building seems to have survived the completion of Blenheim. The Simons family of carpenters owned much property;²⁰ Joseph and John Chapman (d. 1794, 1799), carpenters, and John Churchill (d. 1796), cabinet maker, were also builders.²¹ Resident masons included the Paine family,²² George Pearson (d. 1763, who bequeathed six houses and over £200, John Staveley (d. 1746),²³ and his apprentice John Hooper (d. 1772), who owned a quarry at Bladon and left bequests of over £900; Hooper was the mason for Woodstock's town hall in 1766, and his work elsewhere included the shell of Nuneham Courtenay house.²⁴ The Scriven family of plumbers and glaziers²⁵ and the Weller family of slatters and plasterers prospered in the 18th century.²⁶ Of 18th-century tradesmen leaving wills those in the food and drink trades formed the largest group, particularly innkeepers, butchers, and bakers. Woodstock tradesmen patronized by Blenheim in 1784 included also 2 shoemakers, 2 weavers, and 5 tailors.²⁷

There are signs in the later 18th century that Woodstock's market declined as Oxford's market flourished.²⁸ The glove industry, however, expanded rapidly and by the 1790s there were six manufacturers, of whom three also made leather breeches and one was principally a draper; another man was a specialist breeches

maker.²⁹ In 1807 the demand for breeches was said to have declined but output of gloves had multiplied in the previous decade from 20–30 dozen pairs a week to 350–400 dozen. Woodstock's speciality remained elegant wash leather gloves, flexible and durable; doe skin gloves might cost 5s. but were expected to last a year. Between 60 and 70 men, earning 21s.–30s. a week, were employed in preparing and cutting leather, and the gloves were sewn by 1,400–1,500 women, mostly out-workers in surrounding villages, earning 8s.–12s. a week.³⁰

The principal late 18th-century manufacturers were the Cross, Money, Eldridge, and Dewsnap families.³¹ In 1788 Richard Cross, Knap Money, and Joseph Dewsnap were convicted for evading stamp duty on gloves.³² The Cross family had workshops behind no. 26 High Street and Richard Cross (d. 1807) probably built the imposing no. 24 High Street; later the family also had a retail glove shop near the park gate.³³ Knap Money (d. 1790) may have worked from no. 6 Oxford Street,³⁴ but from 1809 the Moneys were established at no. 10 Oxford Street before moving in the 1850s to Hope House (no. 14), where they used the former malthouse range for gloving until the 1930s.³⁵ In the 1770s Sarah Eldridge ran a gloving business next to her brother's steel jewellery shop at no. 1 High Street,³⁶ bequeathing it in 1800 to her nephew George Eldridge (d. 1834), who was a leading manufacturer in 1807 but later ceased gloving.³⁷ Joseph Dewsnap (d. 1812) probably had his workshop on the site of the Feathers hotel in Market Street.³⁸ By the 1820s there were at least 14 glovers, including 5 at Old Woodstock,³⁹ which remained an important centre of the industry; leather dressing was carried out there, and in the period 1810–20 at least 9 families of leather dressers were resident.⁴⁰ The expansion of the industry was stimulated by outsiders: in 1813 there was a London glover at Manor Farm, Old Woodstock, and after his bankruptcy another company from outside Woodstock continued business there until 1823.⁴¹ The prominent gloving families of Webley and Godden moved to Old Woodstock in the 1820s from Worcester and London, and by the 1870s many of the town's skilled glovers were from Worcester and Yeovil (Som.).⁴²

Dependence on gloving exposed the town to

¹⁷ Above, Bldgs. nos. 3, 45.

¹⁸ Ibid. nos. 29, 32; B.L. Add. MS. 61679, pt. B, ff. 1–2; *Univ. Brit. Dir.* [1795], iv. 823–5.

¹⁹ P.O. Arch., Post 2/17, p. 13; Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, misc. box 10: accts. 1715–20; *Univ. Brit. Dir.* [1795], iv. 823–5; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1877); above, Bldgs. no. 57.

²⁰ e.g. O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 151/4/15, 28; 152/2/5, 53.

²¹ Below, Local Govt., Municipal Bldgs.; Church; Char.

²² e.g. O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 53/2/22; 84/5/27; 85/4/27; 145/1/40; 146/2/88.

²³ Ibid. 146/1/71; 151/4/61.

²⁴ Boro. Mun. 87, Dec. 1735; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 135/4/48; inf. from Mr. D. Sturdy.

²⁵ e.g. O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 86/1/30.

²⁶ Ibid. 158/4/20. For the Scrivens, O.R.O., Misc. Gow I, and for the Wellers, *ibid.* Misc. Has. III.

²⁷ B.L. Add. MS. 61679, pt. B, ff. 1–2.

²⁸ Below, Mkts. and Fairs; L. W. Thwaites, 'Marketing of Agric. Produce in 18th-cent. Oxon.' (Birm. Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1981), 149, 151.

²⁹ *Univ. Brit. Dir.* [1795], iv. 823–5.

³⁰ Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 329–30.

³¹ Ibid.; *Univ. Brit. Dir.* [1795], iv. 823–5.

³² *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 30 Aug. 1788; T. E. Schulz, 'Woodstock Glove Ind.' *Oxoniensia*, iii. 145–6.

³³ Above, Bldgs. no. 48; *Oxf. Jnl.* 25 Apr. 1807; Blenheim Mun., box 130, sale parties. 1841.

³⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 129, draft lease 1776; Boro. Mun. 85, pp. 41–4: lease of 1794.

³⁵ Above, Bldgs. nos. 1, 3.

³⁶ *Lady's Mag.* ii (1771), 248.

³⁷ Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 330; Pigot, *Lond. and Prov. Dir.* (1822–3, 1830).

³⁸ Above, Bldgs. no. 57.

³⁹ Pigot, *Lond. & Prov. Dir.* (1823–4).

⁴⁰ Westgate Libr., Wootton par. reg. transcripts.

⁴¹ Balliol Coll. Mun., lease bk. 1767–1836, pp. 348–53; *ibid.* lease logbk. 1588–1850, p. 147.

⁴² P.R.O., HO 107/890: dates and birthplaces of Geo. Webley's fam.; *ibid.* RG 10/1449; Westgate Libr., Woodstock and Wootton par. reg. transcripts.

the sharp fluctuations of the trade. By the 1830s Woodstock was 'not flourishing' and its decline after 1815, reflected in a 25 per cent fall in property values and a steep increase in poor rates,⁴³ was attributed to increased imports of gloves in the later 1820s. The rise in poor rates, however, had begun earlier, only c. 200 out of a population of c. 1,400 were engaged in gloving, and few glovers received poor relief; a more likely cause of distress was the permanent reduction of the Blenheim household after 1817. Some alleged that output of gloves had halved in the decade from 1824 but others pointed to a recovery, particularly in exports, claiming that there was no serious unemployment despite the fall in prices, profits, and wages.⁴⁴ Industrial unrest was evident by 1830 when two glovers, James Hedges and George Dewsnap, were convicted for using the truck system and their effigies burned outside their houses.⁴⁵

Failure to establish a railway link until 1890 adversely affected the town's markets, coaching inns, tourist trade, and primary industry; the hinterland which it provided with goods and services diminished. Economic distress, particularly acute in the 1840s, continued to be attributed to the state of the glove industry,⁴⁶ but the problem was wider: even at its height, gloving remained small-scale and employed relatively few townspeople. In 1841 only 85 of c. 1,800 residents in the borough and Old Woodstock were directly engaged in the industry, and in 1851 only 180 out of c. 1,690.⁴⁷

In 1839 the number of manufacturers was reduced to nine, employing 120–150 men and over 1,000 women. The principal glovemaster, Richard Taylor (d. 1841), lessee from 1823 of Manor Farm, Old Woodstock, was employing 30 men and producing 150 dozen pairs of gloves a week; another prominent glover, Samuel Green of no. 11 Park Street, employed 12 men and over 100 women, producing 50–60 dozen pairs. In 1839 both men were demanding a direct rail link between Oxford and London, for by then Woodstock glovers imported processed leather from London and sent most of their finished goods there.⁴⁸ The characteristic Woodstock glove, renowned for its 'lily white appearance' and conventionally called doe skin, was made from sheep skin, dressed and dyed locally, and finished on the flesh side of the skin. Until the First World War the army ordered white, pipeclayed gloves in large quantities. Heavier deer skin gloves continued to be made, but in 1839 no kid gloves, while cheaper tanned leather gloves, finished on the fur side of the

skin, were not introduced until later in the 19th century.⁴⁹ Lack of reference to Woodstock fell-mongers or tanners in the 18th century suggests that the importation of partially finished leather was long established.

In 1842 the Woodstock glovers petitioned against proposed tariff reductions on imported gloves.⁵⁰ The bankruptcy of Benjamin Billing Cross in 1840 was followed by financial difficulties for other leading glovers in the next decade, and later the prominent J. N. Godden was temporarily insolvent.⁵¹ Estimates of total output ranged from 350 dozen in 1847 to 600 dozen in 1852⁵² but trade remained very variable in the 1850s; there was industrial unrest, particularly in factories where the truck system was operated.⁵³ In 1866 the Woodstock glovers were condemned for their dependence on commission from London firms, which frequently left them without orders for months, and it was alleged that they usually employed only 100–150 workers, mostly in Old Woodstock; the glovers' claim that trade was steady, providing employment for a minimum of 200 men and 1,500 women, was probably exaggerated, since in 1861 there were only c. 200 male glovers in the whole county outside Oxford.⁵⁴ Some machine stitching had been introduced by 1871, when there were at least 11 resident machinists; total numbers in the industry had increased to c. 210 in the borough and Old Woodstock, but during the 1870s there was a decline to fewer than 100.⁵⁵

Until the introduction of purpose-built factories in the late 19th century gloving was carried on in small workshops, often behind houses in the central streets. By 1851 Sampson Godden was at no. 50 Oxford Street, which became one of the principal glove factories; he was employing 6 men and 70 women, and continued to use the glove workshop at Manor Farm into the 1860s.⁵⁶ J. N. Godden, employing 150 workers, lived in Park Street but may have worked elsewhere, and in 1855 took over the former cockpit in Rectory Lane⁵⁷ which remained a glove factory until the 20th century. William Ryman, the largest employer in 1851 with 43 men and 600 women, lived in Brook Hill on the later gas works site, but seems also to have worked in Old Woodstock.⁵⁸ In the 1860s he was briefly established at nos. 22–4 Oxford Street, which had been a glove workshop in the early 19th century and was later taken over by Christopher Daggett,⁵⁹ who in 1871 was Woodstock's largest glove manufacturer with 42 employees;⁶⁰ Benjamin Disraeli visited Daggett's workshop in 1873.⁶¹ In 1871 H. K. Money

⁴³ 12th Rep. Com. Char. 323.

⁴⁴ Rep. Com. Mun. Corp. H.C. 116, pp. 143–4 (1835), xxiii.

⁴⁵ Oxf. Jnl. 11 Dec., 22 May 1830; Oxf. Herald, 11 Dec. 1830.

⁴⁶ e.g. Pigot, Nat. & Comm. Dir. (1842); P.O. Dir. Oxon. (1847); Gardner, Dir. Oxon. (1852). For the 1840s see also A. M. Taylor, Gilletts, 73–5.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., HO 107/890, 893, 1730.

⁴⁸ Sel. Cttee. on G. W. Union Rly. Bill, H.L. 227, pp. 114–20.

⁴⁹ Oxoniensia, iii, 148 sqq.; H. A. Jones, 'Where Tommy Atkins' Gloves are made', Black and White, 3 Dec. 1898.

⁵⁰ Oxf. Jnl. 2, 16 Apr. 1842.

⁵¹ Blenheim Mun., box 130: deeds of land bought from

B. B. Cross; Taylor, Gilletts, 66, 73–5; Rep. Com. Mun. Corp. [C. 2490–I], pp. 247 sqq. (1880), xxxi.

⁵² P.O. Dir. Oxon. (1847); Gardner, Dir. Oxon. (1852).

⁵³ Oxf. Chron. 19 Feb., 15 Oct. 1853; 10 June, 5 Aug. 1854.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 22 Dec. 1866; Census, 1861.

⁵⁵ P.R.O., RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512.

⁵⁶ Ibid. HO 107/1730; Balliol Coll. Mun., lease logbk. 1588–1850, p. 147; Dutton & Allen's Dir. Oxon. (1863).

⁵⁷ P.R.O., HO 107/1730; above, Bldgs. no. 35.

⁵⁸ Cf. P.R.O., HO 107/1730; Boro. Mun. 143, s.v. Brook Hill encroachments; below, Old Woodstock, Econ.

⁵⁹ Boro. Mun. 12, 143; 5s. rent s.v. Mavor and successors; Oxf. Jnl. 26 Jan. 1839, auction notice.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., RG 10/1449.

⁶¹ Oxf. Jnl. 20 Dec. 1873.

employed 30 workers at Hope House and Edmund Webley, earlier established in Old Woodstock, employed 32 workers at no. 58 Oxford Street.⁶² Other long established gloving sites were the buildings on the southern corner of Market Street and Oxford Street, occupied by the Mears family of glovers for much of the 19th century, and no. 10 Oxford Street which, after the Moneys moved, was occupied by Thomas Edwards and his successor Eden Brice, both specialist manufacturers of sports equipment; Brice later moved to the workshop at nos. 22–4 Oxford Street.⁶³ After 1871 Richard Lay, a tobacconist at no. 11 Market Place, turned to gloving and in 1881 was employing 30 workers.⁶⁴

The opening of the railway in 1890 encouraged outside firms to invest in and fully mechanize Woodstock's glove industry, and by the 1930s, after the closure of the Moneys' workshop, all the main factories were branches of larger enterprises; the number of out-workers was reduced to fewer than 200, and there were 90 men and 150 women in the Woodstock factories, which produced 750–800 pairs of gloves a week. Leather dressing in Woodstock had largely died out and although expensive deer and doe skin gloves were still made the chief product was cheaper, mass-produced gloves.⁶⁵

In 1889⁶⁶ a London company, Pullman's, built a factory at Hensington, at first called the Woodstock Glove Co. but R. & J. Pullman's from the early 20th century; it closed in 1966.⁶⁷ By 1891 the Worcester company of Frank Bryan had opened a factory at Glove House in Old Woodstock which produced sports gloves until the 1960s. Webley's premises at no. 58 Oxford Street were taken over by Atherton & Clothier of Yeovil in 1915 and a factory added;⁶⁸ the firm closed c. 1957. Godden's cockpit factory was taken over c. 1908 by A. G. Spalding Bros. and was occupied by successive companies, including Dent & Allcroft of Charlbury, who bought the premises in 1943 but ceased gloving there soon after the war.⁶⁹ Crutch's glove factory in New Road, Hensington, was opened c. 1924 and closed in the 1950s.⁷⁰ In 1953 Pullman's factory employed 100 workers and 200 out-workers, but soon after its closure only 35 people in Woodstock were employed in gloving.⁷¹ A. R. Lay's at no. 11 Market Place was continued as a glove factory by the Blenheim, later the Glyme, Glove Co. and by L. E. Clothier from c. 1969 until its

closure in the 1980s. By c. 1910 Benjamin Webley had a glove factory in the former industrial school behind his house, no. 24 Park Street; in 1967 the premises were taken over by Woodstock Leathercraft Co.,⁷² the only Woodstock glove manufacturer to survive in 1987.

Although Woodstock declined as a market town in the 19th century it retained a range of shops and services which far exceeded the needs of its own population: it provided not only for its market area but for Blenheim's flourishing tourist trade.⁷³ In 1830 the shops included 5 grocers and tea dealers, 5 general shops, 4 drapers and a haberdasher, 3 stationers (one a bookseller), a chemist, a watchmaker, several ironmongers, and many butchers and bakers; there were 6 shoemakers, 7 tailors, and 8 milliners or hatters, of whom many probably had shops. Professional services were provided by a bank, 3 doctors, and 2 solicitors, and there were 15 inns or alehouses. The building and metal trades were well represented, and there were 3 wheelwrights, 3 saddlers, and a coachmaker; there were 3 coal merchants, 2 corn dealers, and a currier and cheese factor.⁷⁴ Increasing economic problems from the 1840s were reflected in futile efforts to expand the market and to establish rail links, and from c. 1844 the Marlborough Arms was closed as an inn for over ten years. The decline of Woodstock's trade and consequent fall in property values was attributed directly to the passing of the coaching era.⁷⁵ Even so the town retained as many as 9 grocers and 9 drapers, and the number of solicitors increased to four.⁷⁶ Woodstock Savings Bank, recorded from the 1830s until the 1890s, operated from a rented room in the town hall.⁷⁷ In 1841 Gillett & Tawney of Banbury opened a bank at no. 15 Market Street, which moved to no. 16 Park Street in the 1870s and was taken over by Barclays in 1919.⁷⁸ About the same time the National Provincial (later National Westminster) bank opened a branch at no. 16 Market Place.⁷⁹

At the Great Exhibition of 1851 Woodstock was represented by deer and sheep skin gloves by Elizabeth Money and a machine for separating and cleaning seeds designed by John Gillam, landlord of the Bear Hotel, who was made an honorary freeman.⁸⁰ John Fardon (d. 1865), from a Deddington clockmaking family, made long case clocks at no. 6 Market Place from 1805, and clockmaking was continued by his son and daughter-in-law at no. 3 Market Place

⁶² P.R.O., RG 10/1449; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1854).

⁶³ Above, Bldgs. nos. 1, 57; Boro. Mun. 144–5, s.v. Brice; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1869 and later edns.).

⁶⁴ P.R.O., RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512.

⁶⁵ *Oxoniensis*, iii. 149 sqq.; *Woodstock Glove Tradition* (1923); copy in Westgate Libr.

⁶⁶ Para. based on N. L. Leyland and J. E. Troughton, *Glovemaking in West Oxon.* (County Mus. Publ. 4); County Mus., P.R.N. 5892–7; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.); *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1890 and later edns.).

⁶⁷ Blenheim Mun., box 131: sale of site, 1889; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.); *Oxf. Mail* 3 July 1968.

⁶⁸ *Woodstock Glove Tradition* (1923).

⁶⁹ Above, Bldgs. no. 35.

⁷⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1925 and later edns.).

⁷¹ *Oxf. Mail*, 27 May 1953; *Woodstock, 1967* (Woodstock Soc. 1970); copy in Westgate Libr.

⁷² *Oxf. Mail*, 1 Feb. 1967.

⁷³ Below, Blenheim, Blenheim Palace.

⁷⁴ Pigot, *Lond. & Prov. Dir.* (1830).

⁷⁵ Balliol Coll. Mun., lease logbk. 1588–1850, p. 147.

⁷⁶ Below, Mkts. and Fairs; *Census, 1851*; Gardner, *Dir. Oxon.* (1852).

⁷⁷ Boro. Mun. 95, s.a. 1838; 90, pp. 2, 140, 261, 327; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1877 and later edns.).

⁷⁸ Above, Bldgs. nos. 19, 30.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* no. 24.

⁸⁰ *Oxf. Jnl.* 10 May, 12 July, 18 Oct. 1851; *Official Cat. of Gt. Exhibition*, pp. 57, 107. Refs. supplied by Mrs. E. T. Brown-Grant.

until the early 20th century.⁸¹ John Dean, ironmonger at no. 9 Market Place by 1849, sold cattle troughs and other ironware made at his Blenheim Foundry at Sturdy's Castle: he established a branch at Oxford by 1866 and soon afterwards moved there permanently.⁸² John Parker, upholsterer and cabinet maker, who employed 9 assistants in 1871 at no. 18 Market Place, manufactured a patent earth closet, of which, allegedly, over 20,000 were in use.⁸³

Poor communications were reflected in the period 1851–71 by a fall in the number of carriers from 4 to 1, and of solicitors and doctors from 10 to 6; otherwise there was little change in the occupational structure, except for the increase in glovers.⁸⁴ By 1900 the range and number of shops and services was broadly similar to that of 1830. The effect of the railway and later the motor car on the tourist trade was reflected by the 4 cafés and 3 boarding houses which supplemented the town's inns and public houses in the 1930s. The owner of the Marlborough Arms, however, attributed the notable revival of his trade to the Second World War, which brought first Malvern College and then government employees to Blenheim Palace, and an influx of middle-class refugees from London.⁸⁵ After the war another hotel, the Dorchester (later the Feathers) was opened. The reduction in the number of drapers, tailors, and furniture sellers in the early 20th century suggests that better communications were enabling Woodstock people to buy elsewhere.⁸⁶ By 1967 over 60 residents were employed in hotels and catering; the town's 54 shops included 5 antique shops and 4 cafés,⁸⁷ and by the 1980s the dependence on tourism was even more marked.

Long lived businesses, besides those mentioned above, included Banbury's, drapers, at nos. 18–20 Oxford Street since the 1850s.⁸⁸ Gabriel Banbury (d. 1911), apprenticed in Woodstock from Burford in 1829, was first established in High Street; he and his son John prospered and became influential figures in the town.⁸⁹ W. C. Brotherton (d. 1928), descended from a junior branch of the prominent 18th-century Brothertons, set up a boot and shoe warehouse in the 1870s, married into the Banbury family, and extended his business to include furniture, china, and ironmongery. He moved c. 1879 from Oxford Street to no. 6 Market Place, and from c. 1900 until 1977 the

family business was carried on in the High Street premises, later Brotherton's Wine Bar.⁹⁰ No. 1 Market Street was a chemist's shop from 1834 until c. 1968.⁹¹ Freeman's butchers at no. 10 High Street occupies a site used as a butchers' shop continuously from the later 18th century, and possibly from the mid 17th when Thomas Brown, butcher, was occupant.⁹² No. 48 Oxford Street, where Wiggins's bakery closed in the 1970s, was probably a bakery in the early 19th century.⁹³ In c. 1849 William Budd, an established baker in Woodstock, took over no. 18 High Street from James Gibbons, baker, probably a relative, and the bakery remained in the Budd family until closed in 1938.⁹⁴ William Eccles (d. 1876), printer, was established in the 1830s at no. 7 Market Place, moving in 1851 to no. 5 where his son William (d. 1885) worked as printer, stationer, bookseller, and postmaster; the firm published a guide to Blenheim which passed through many editions.⁹⁵ From the 1930s Miss J. M. Shelmerdine worked as a hand printer and later founded at no. 11 Park Street the Samson Press, which continued until c. 1970.⁹⁶

Light industrial firms were established after the Second World War, notably Owen Mumford's, makers of medical equipment in the former glove factory at nos. 58–60 Oxford Street from the 1950s, moving to a new factory in Brook Hill c. 1972.⁹⁷ Hensington works, the former Pullman's glove factory, was occupied by several small firms, mostly concerned with building supplies, until demolished in the 1980s.⁹⁸

MARKETS AND FAIRS. When Henry II founded the borough he granted a Tuesday market of which the tolls were to be paid to the Exchequer.⁹⁹ In some years the tolls were included in the farm of the borough,¹ but for much of the 13th century and early 14th the bailiffs of Woodstock manor accounted annually for tolls of between £2 and £3.² In 1565 Queen Elizabeth I granted an additional, Friday, market for wool and other wares, allowing the mayor the profits of weighing wool, and ordering the use of weights similar to those of Cirencester (Glos.).³ Woodstock's status as a staple town from the later 16th century briefly stimulated the wool market.⁴ The Friday market was still recorded in the late 18th century but was probably mori-

⁸¹ E. T. Brown-Grant, 'A Clockmaking Family', *Oxon. Family Historian*, iii (6), 208–11; above, Bldgs. no. 23. For location of later Fardons, P.R.O., RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512.

⁸² P.R.O., HO 107/1730; *Oxf. Jnl.* 14 July 1849, 4 Nov. 1865, 13 Oct. 1866; *Webster's Oxf. Dir.* (1869). Refs. supplied by Mrs. E. T. Brown-Grant.

⁸³ P.R.O., RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.).

⁸⁴ P.R.O., HO 107/1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1449.

⁸⁵ D. M. Johnson, *Bars and Barricades*, 41, 179, 194, 253.

⁸⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883 and later edns.).

⁸⁷ *Woodstock, 1967* (Woodstock Soc. 1970).

⁸⁸ Boro. Mun. 143/16 sqq.: s.v. Geo. Shuffrey and successors.

⁸⁹ P.R.O., HO 107/893; *Oxf. Times*, 21 Oct. 1911; below, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886.

⁹⁰ Above, Bldgs. no. 53.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* no. 22.

⁹² Boro. Mun. 11–12, 143–4: rentals, 5d. rent of Thos. Morris and his successors; *ibid.* 7/1: 5d. rent of Ric. Nurth;

ibid. 44/1/1; 44/3/3, 5.

⁹³ P.R.O., HO 107/893, 1730, s.v. Thos. Smith.

⁹⁴ Westgate Libr., par. reg. transcripts; *Pigot's Dir.* (1823, 1830); P.R.O., HO 107/893, s.v. Wm. Budd; Boro. Mun. 143/1 sqq., s.v. Mrs. Gibbons.

⁹⁵ Above, Bldgs. no. 44; Westgate Libr., par. reg. transcripts; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1854 and later edns.); *New Guide to Blenheim* (Woodstock, c. 1850 and later edns., publ. Wm. Eccles).

⁹⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1939 and later edns.).

⁹⁷ *Owen Mumford Ltd.* (priv. print. 1977): copy in Westgate Libr.; *Oxf. Mail*, 6 Jan. 1978; *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1958 and later edns.).

⁹⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1945 and later edns.).

⁹⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 839.

¹ e.g. *Rot. de Ob. et Fin.* (Rec. Com.), 215–16, 234, 407; *Cal. Pat.* 1245–58, 87.

² P.R.O., SC 6/962/4–20.

³ *Cal. Pat.* 1563–6, p. 440.

⁴ Above, Econ.

bund: an early 19th-century rector pointed to its neglect as a potential cause of economic decay.⁵ The Tuesday market was said to be well attended in 1852 but declined sharply thereafter;⁶ a monthly sheep and cattle market on Tuesdays, planned in connexion with a proposed railway,⁷ began in 1869, and there may have been no weekly market thereafter.⁸ The cattle market flourished in the later 19th century, and a thousand sheep were regularly sold.⁹ By 1912 it was in decline but continued on a small scale until 1930; it was revived as a fortnightly market in 1932 and abandoned after a year.¹⁰

In 1250 Henry III granted a three-day fair at the feast of St. Matthew (21 Sept.), for which no toll was payable to the king.¹¹ Before 1318 another fair was established at the feast of St. Mary Magdalene (22 July), the dedication day of Woodstock's chapel; by then both fairs lasted two days, but at the request of the tenants of Woodstock manor were extended in 1319 to eight days before each feast and eight days after.¹² Both fairs were confirmed at the incorporation of the borough in 1453, but for five days each.¹³ In 1565 the borough was granted two additional, four-day, fairs at Lady Day and the feast of St. Nicholas (6 Dec.).¹⁴ In the early 17th century the four fairs each lasted one day.¹⁵ In 1656 the corporation asked for additional fairs on Whit Tuesday and All Saints day,¹⁶ and the abortive borough charter of 1688 granted a three-day fair on the Tuesday after Candlemas.¹⁷ Fairs may long have been held on those days without formal authority, for although no additional fairs were granted in the borough's governing charter of 1665¹⁸ the Whitsun and All Saints day fairs were evidently traditional in the mid 18th century,¹⁹ and a Tuesday market in February was later acknowledged as a cattle fair.²⁰

Under the Act of 1751 the four authorized fairs were put back 11 days,²¹ so that in the late 18th century the seven fairs were held on the second Tuesday after 2 February, 5 April, Whit Tuesday, 2 August, 2 October, the Tuesday after 1 November, and 17 December. A fair on 1 December was sometimes listed.²² In the 1720s the Lady Day and Magdalene fairs were publicized as leather fairs.²³ During the 18th century several fairs, particularly the St. Matthew's fair, were noted for cheese; large quantities were sold

there in the 1760s and 1780s, and in September 1796 over 200 tons of cheese were pitched there, although sales were 'dull'. In 1806 the October cheese fair was 'never better attended'.²⁴ The fairs in February and on 17 December were the chief cattle fairs, the August fair was noted for cherries, and the Whitsun fair was partly a pleasure fair; some fairs were noted for horses, of which large numbers, mostly cart horses, were brought for sale in September 1796.²⁵ Except for the fair on 1 December all survived until the mid 19th century; in 1852 the February cattle fair, immediately following a popular cattle fair at Reading (Berks.), was said to be flourishing.²⁶ Proposals of 1843-4 to establish a wool fair in July seem to have failed,²⁷ and by the 1860s the cattle and cheese fairs had ceased, leaving only a 'statute fair' on the first Tuesday in October. It was partly a hiring fair but by the 1870s hiring was dying out and it became chiefly a pleasure fair.²⁸ A fair on that day continued in the 1980s. An August sheep fair was briefly revived in 1893.²⁹

For most of their history the markets and fairs were held in the central streets, whose changing names reflected the principal divisions of the market.³⁰ Most stalls were erected and dismantled on the day,³¹ although the butcher's stalls or shambles seem to have been permanent. Other structures associated with the market were the open ground floors of the medieval guild hall and the 18th century town hall, the roofed bench around the High Cross, and the shambles or market house of 1766.³² The later 19th-century cattle market centred on the green at the junction of Oxford Street and Rectory Lane, but there was a separate sheep market, probably further north in Oxford Street, and pigs were sold in Market Street.³³ In 1888 the cattle and pig market was moved into the large yard behind the Old Angel inn, later the National Westminster Bank, and the sheep market to the open space in front of the town hall. Later the yard was given up, but by 1909 the inconvenience of a street market was causing concern and from 1912 until 1933 the yard was again used, although sheep were also penned in Market Place.³⁴

The borough charter of 1453 granted the assize of bread and of ale to the mayor, and the charter of 1565 allowed him to hold piepowder

⁵ *Univ. Brit. Dir.* iv [1798], 823; W. F. Mavor, *New Description of Blenheim* (1817), 136.

⁶ Gardner, *Dir. Oxon.* (1852); *P.O. Dir.* (1864 and later edns.).

⁷ *Oxf. Chron.* 4 July 1868; *Oxf. Jnl.* 27 June 1868.

⁸ *Boro. Mun.* 90, p. 272; *Rep. Com. Market Rights* [C. 5550], p. 193, H.C. (1888), liii.

⁹ e.g. *Oxf. Chron.* 6 Jan., 10 Mar., 9 June 1877.

¹⁰ *Boro. Mun.*, 112, p. 4; *ibid.* files 37, 50; F. Bevan, 'Social Conditions in Woodstock 40 Yrs. Ago' (1972): TS. in Westgate Libr.

¹¹ *Close R.* 1247-51, 320; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 839.

¹² *Cal. Chanc. Wts.* i, 489; *Cal. Close*, 1318-23, 166.

¹³ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1427-1516, 125-7.

¹⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1563-6, p. 440.

¹⁵ *Boro. Mun.* 77/2, s.a. 1624, 1626; *ibid.* 79, f. 37.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 83/1, p. 8; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1656-7, 71, 241.

¹⁷ *Boro. Mun.* 83/5.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 83/4.

¹⁹ J. Macky, *Journey through Eng.* ii (1722), 117; *Boro. Mun.* 88, p. 95.

²⁰ *Rep. Com. Market Rights*, p. 193.

²¹ *Oxf. Jnl.* 26 Mar. 1757.

²² *Rep. Com. Market Rights*, p. 193; *Univ. Brit. Dir.* iv [1798], 823.

²³ *Boro. Mun.* 87, 3 June 1720.

²⁴ *Par. Colln.* 351; *Oxf. Jnl.* Synopsis, 6 Oct. 1764, 2 Oct. 1781, 2 Oct. 1783, 4 Oct. 1806; *Oxf. Mercury*, 28 Sept. 1796.

²⁵ *Par. Colln.* 351; A. G. Cook, *Topog. Oxon.* [1805], 14; *Oxf. Mercury*, 28 Sept. 1796.

²⁶ Gardner, *Dir. Oxon.* (1852); *Oxf. Chron.* 7 Feb. 1852.

²⁷ *Oxf. Jnl.* 6 Jan. 1844; A. M. Taylor, *Gilletts*, 62.

²⁸ *P.O. Dir.* (1864 and later edns.); *Oxf. Chron.* 5 Oct. 1878; *Boro. Mun.*, Cttee. Min. Bk. 1892-7, 71, 85.

²⁹ *Boro. Mun.* 102, pp. 186, 213.

³⁰ Above, Development.

³¹ e.g. *Boro. Mun.* 78/2, 17 Apr. 1611.

³² Below, Local Govt., Municipal Buildings.

³³ *Boro. Mun.* 90, p. 272; 101, pp. 50-1, 88-9; Marshall, *Woodstock Manor, Supp.* 98.

³⁴ *Boro. Mun.* 107, pp. 30-1, 35, 52, 72, 78; *ibid.* files 37, 50; Bevan, 'Social Conditions'.

courts at the fairs.³⁵ Although royal clerks of the market were barred from the borough by the charter of 1453, the corporation welcomed clerks general and clerks of the verge during the frequent royal visits of the late 16th century and early 17th, and allowed them to declare the assize.³⁶ Usually, however, the mayor acted as clerk of the market, and at regular courts of assize, after the jury had presented the current market price of grain, he set the prices of bread, ale, and sometimes a wide range of other products.³⁷ The jury also presented breaches of the assize and offences relating to weights and measures, and the same court checked and sealed private measures.³⁸ In the 1670s the corporation's new Exchequer standard was used to check the measures used in the villages for which Woodstock was the market town, an area stretching north to the Tews and to Eynsham and Islip in the south-west and south-east.³⁹ The corporation's measures, including the bushel of 1670 and weights purchased in 1782, are preserved in the town hall.⁴⁰ Although the corporation continued to check measures into the 19th century no formal declarations of prices were recorded, and an isolated reference to an assize of bread in 1804 may have been to the court of Wootton hundred.⁴¹

The council made market regulations and appointed minor officials such as watchmen for the fairs.⁴² By the mid 18th century two ale-tasters, usually elected in the court leet, were called clerks of the market.⁴³ In the 17th century the serjeant-at-mace and town crier were usually employed as market officials, and in 1838 they were clerks of the market.⁴⁴ Regulations of 1580 imposed restrictions on the length of stalls and defined areas where certain goods might be sold; only three common bakers, presumably nominated on a rota, were allowed to sell bread on market and fair days; co-operation with foreigners which might lead to the evasion of tolls was forbidden, and some tradesmen, notably glovers, were restricted to employing no more than two buyers, presumably to prevent unfair bidding.⁴⁵ Later regulations concerned forestalling and regrating, and the placing of new stalls for shoemakers, butchers, and braziers.⁴⁶ In 1680 those refusing to pay stallage were threatened that they might lose their right to place stalls before their doors.⁴⁷ In 1735 laws

governing the sale of grain by sample within the borough were reinforced by rewards offered to informers.⁴⁸ When the new shambles opened in 1766 butchers were forbidden to sell meat from their own premises during markets and fairs.⁴⁹

The profits from weighing wool, granted to the mayor in 1565, were diverted in 1580 to the common chest,⁵⁰ and thereafter were usually farmed by a townsman concerned in the wool or cloth trades. In 1628 the corporation acquired a new wool beam.⁵¹ In 1598 the wool was farmed for £5 a year, but a reduction to £1 by 1606 and 2s. by 1684⁵² reflects the diminishing scale of Woodstock's wool market. The profits of the sheep market also passed in 1580 from the mayor to the common chest.⁵³ In the early 17th century cattle tolls, collected by the crier, yielded between £2 and £4, mostly taken at the four fairs.⁵⁴ From 1635 the tolls were leased, yielding £8 a year in 1636.⁵⁵ In 1652 they were let for 20 years at only £4 a year, the lessee agreeing to clean the market place.⁵⁶ In 1673 the rent of tolls was raised to £10 and remained unchanged in 1684.⁵⁷

Stallage yielded between £6 and £8 a year in the early 17th century, and from 1637 the serjeant and crier were paid for collecting it;⁵⁸ the country bakers paid separately for their standings beneath the High Cross from 1622.⁵⁹ By the mid 17th century stallage was let to the serjeant, and some townsmen, notably Thomas Glover of the Crown inn in Market Place, were granted long leases of the 'pitch and shew' of stalls in front of their houses; the corporation received little more than £5 a year in all.⁶⁰ In 1661, when the serjeant was again accounting directly for stallage, the corporation set rates ranging from 1s. for braziers to 1d. for seedsmen but in 1680 all stalls were charged 2d.⁶¹ In 1684 stallage was let for £8 and the Crown inn's stalls were still let separately.⁶²

From 1685 stallage and tolls were usually granted together on long leases, except in the 1730s and 1740s when cattle tolls were let separately.⁶³ From 1732 the main lease included the profits of weighing cheese, formerly assigned to the mayor.⁶⁴ Stalls in the new shambles of 1766 were usually let individually, but from the 1790s were sometimes let together.⁶⁵ Excluding the shambles the stallage and tolls yielded rents to the corporation of c. £20 for much of the 18th

³⁵ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1427-1516, 125-7; *Cal. Pat.* 1563-6, p. 440.

³⁶ Boro. Mun. 78/1, 13 Sept. 1592; 79, *passim*. The king's clerk of the market was entertained in 1687: *ibid.* 76/2, 29 Aug. 1687.

³⁷ Records of late 16th- and 17th-cent. cts. of assize are in *ibid.* 80, and interspersed with portmoot records in *ibid.* 77/1-2, 78/1-3. For assizes of 1604 and 1626 see E. McArthur, 'Prices at Woodstock, 1604', *E.H.R.* xiii. 711-16; Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 140-1.

³⁸ For sessions dealing with weights and measures see e.g. Boro. Mun. 78/2, Sept. 1608. For early refs. to standard measures, *ibid.* 79, ff. 12v., 77, 82, 98v., 185v.

³⁹ Boro. Mun. 84, 1 Apr. 1671; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 47, ff. 43v.-46v.

⁴⁰ For the 1782 weights see Boro. Mun. 93, p. 267.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 89, p. 139; cf. Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 122-3.

⁴² e.g. Boro. Mun. 79, f. 29v., 37, 82.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 88, *passim*.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 89, p. 402.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 82, ff. 2 sqq.; 96, ff. 2-3v.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 76/1, 18 July 1670; 83/1, p. 9; 84, 17 Apr. 1675;

Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 95.

⁴⁷ Boro. Mun. 76/2, 28 Sept. 1680.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 87, 21 Jan. 1734/5.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 88, pp. 226, 229, 261.

⁵⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1563-6, p. 440; Boro. Mun. 82, f. 2.

⁵¹ Boro. Mun. 79, f. 94.

⁵² Boro. Mun. 96, f. 87; 81, Dec. 1606; 7/3.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 82, f. 2.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 79, ff. 10v. and *passim*.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* ff. 128 and v., 133.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 31/12.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 76/1, 13 Mar. 1672/3; 7/3.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 79, ff. 137, 142, 148 and *passim*.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* ff. 61, 71, 75, 106, 128.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* f. 201v.; 7/1.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 76/1, 17 Mar. 1661; 76/2, 28 Sept. 1680.

⁶² *Ibid.* 7/3.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 76/2, 15 Apr. 1685; 86-8, *passim*; 27/1/6; 7/4-18: rentals 1733-52.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 87, 13 Dec. 1732; *ibid.* 27/1/6.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 88, pp. 229-31, 261; 89, pp. 38, 63, 71, 129.

century; there was a brief increase to £31 in 1766 but a steady fall thereafter.⁶⁶ In 1769 corn was quit of toll for three years and in 1776 corn tolls were given up; in 1781 sheep and cattle were declared toll free except at fairs.⁶⁷ Falling rents from toll and stallage probably reflect a continuing decline of the market, particularly during the Napoleonic wars.⁶⁸ In 1825 tolls were 4d. for horses, 2d. for cattle, and 8d. a score for sheep, but many local villages and towns secured exemption while others refused to pay; all stalls and standings were by then charged 1d., except those of the butter and egg sellers beneath the town hall, which were free.⁶⁹ By 1830 the rent of tolls and stallage, nominally £8 a year, was many years in arrears, and after the restoration of the corporation in 1839 no income from that source was recorded.⁷⁰

When the monthly cattle market was revived in 1869 tolls were 2d. for cattle and ½d. for sheep.⁷¹ The corporation contributed towards prizes awarded each year at a special 'anniversary' market.⁷² Until 1906 a council officer collected tolls and allotted pens, but thereafter tolls were let to a firm of auctioneers for £30 a year, out of which the council paid the rent of the Angel yard.⁷³

MILLS. The mills sometimes called Woodstock mills predated and lay outside the borough in Old Woodstock.⁷⁴

LOCAL GOVERNMENT: BOROUGH TO 1886. When New Woodstock was incorporated in 1453⁷⁵ the borough and its customs were ancient. The plots laid out at the town's foundation were held by burgage tenure,⁷⁶ and the burgesses from the outset, in addition to their market, probably also had their court or portmoot, frequently recorded in the 13th century.⁷⁷ The town was taxed as a borough in the early 14th century.⁷⁸

The development of self-government was only gradual, for the vill was merely one of several 'members' of the royal manor of Woodstock, whose bailiff was accountable for the borough's rents, market tolls, and profits of court.⁷⁹ In King John's reign the market and probably the rents were put to farm, yielding between £4 and £6 4s. a year in the period

1204-7; some of the farmers may have been townsmen.⁸⁰ Then for many years the royal manor was held by successive sheriffs of Oxfordshire,⁸¹ and in 1230, for example, the sheriff as *custos* answered directly in the Exchequer for the town's rents.⁸² Perhaps from 1236, when Exchequer procedures were revised, and certainly by 1242, the bailiff of Woodstock manor again accounted for the town's issues.⁸³ In 1250 the burgesses acquired a toll-free fair⁸⁴ and in 1251 eight men, evidently leading townsmen, were granted the farm of the town for six years.⁸⁵ The farm, by then over £32, included the fair, two mills, and a detached meadow in Oxford which had long been accounted for by Woodstock's bailiff.⁸⁶ Soon afterwards the bailiff of the manor was again accounting for the borough's profits,⁸⁷ and he did so at least until Woodstock manor was granted to Queen Isabella in 1313.⁸⁸ Thereafter the royal manor was farmed, and the town's contribution to that farm ceased to be of direct concern to the Crown or to its officers. The borough's independence may then have developed more easily: in 1319 its fairs were increased in duration,⁸⁹ and in 1322 the 'bailiffs and good men of Woodstock' received a murage grant for three years,⁹⁰ suggesting the existence of a governing body with increasing urban ambitions. Probably by then the burgesses had formed a guild with a common hall and a hierarchy of offices: in 1338 the principal officer, by then called mayor, was using his official seal even to authenticate land transactions outside the borough.⁹¹ Mayors were recorded regularly thereafter,⁹² and in 1402 the mayor and bailiffs forfeited £5 of felons' goods for allowing an escape.⁹³ In Woodstock, as elsewhere, the ruling group may have belonged to a religious guild, since the borough's first charter was granted in the same year as a licence to the chapelwardens of Woodstock which marked the formal constitution of the town's principal chantry, and the new corporation was closely involved with the chapel's administration.⁹⁴

The charter of 1453 confirmed ancient liberties and customs, and probably much that was then granted had been long enjoyed. New Woodstock was declared a free borough and its inhabitants free burgesses with a guild merchant and the same liberties and customs as New Windsor. Burgesses were to be exempt from

⁶⁶ Ibid. 7-8, 11: rentals 1733-1808.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 88, p. 371; *Oxf. Jnl.* 18 Feb. 1769; 1 Sept. 1781.

⁶⁸ Boro. Mun. 11-12: rentals 1773-1832.

⁶⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 162.

⁷⁰ Boro. Mun. 12/19; 143/1.

⁷¹ Ibid. 90, p. 272.

⁷² Ibid. p. 373; e.g. *Oxf. Chron.* 7 Apr. 1877.

⁷³ Boro. Mun. 110, pp. 9, 36; *ibid.* files 37, 50.

⁷⁴ Below, Old Woodstock, Econ., Mills.

⁷⁵ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1427-1516, 125-7.

⁷⁶ e.g. Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 79; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, p. 84.

⁷⁷ e.g. P.R.O., SC 6/962/4, 12; Magd. Coll. Mun., Woodstock deeds 4.

⁷⁸ Glasscock, *Subsidy 1334*, 245. The borough rate was the same as that for ancient demesne, but in 1327 Woodstock was expressly called a borough: P.R.O., E 179/161/9.

⁷⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 839; P.R.O., SC 6/962/4 sqq.

⁸⁰ *Pipe R.* 1204 (P.R.S. N.S. xviii), 16, 111, 113; 1205 (P.R.S. N.S. xix), 149-51; 1207 (P.R.S. N.S. xxii), 44; *Rot. de Ob. et Fin.* (Rec. Com.), 216, 234, 407.

⁸¹ e.g. *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i. 272; ii. 92; *Pat. R.* 1216-25, 52; 1225-32, 455; *Cal. Pat.* 1232-47, 16.

⁸² *Pipe R.* 1230 (P.R.S. N.S. iv), 258.

⁸³ P.R.O., SC 6/962/4. In 1236 the manor and county were separated: *Cal. Pat.* 1232-47, 141.

⁸⁴ *Close R.* 1247-51, 320; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 839.

⁸⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1247-58, 87; cf. *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 839 sqq., where the families of Marden, Parker, Turner, and Bennet were major landholders in the town.

⁸⁶ e.g. P.R.O., SC 6/962/4. No connexion between Woodstock and the meadow has been traced after 1251.

⁸⁷ e.g. *ibid.* SC 6/962/5.

⁸⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, 5; 1317-21, 115.

⁸⁹ *Cal. Close* 1318-23, 166.

⁹⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1231-4, 42.

⁹¹ Balliol Coll. Mun., F.8. 4; below, Seals and Insignia.

⁹² e.g. New Coll. Arch., Reg. Evid. ii, pp. 23-7; Magd. Coll. Mun., Woodstock deeds 1; A. Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 15 n.

⁹³ *Cal. Pat.* 1401-5, 123, 163.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 1452-61, 51; below, Church.

tolls throughout the kingdom and from taxes such as pavage and pontage; they might devise their burgages by will and none might be arrested as a villein. They were to choose a mayor and sergeant-at-mace, and the corporation, under the title of the mayor and commonalty, was to have perpetual succession and a common seal, and might plead and be impleaded. It was to have cognizance of most pleas, including those such as novel disseisin instituted by writ, and the borough was given its own commission of the peace, although it could not prosecute felonies without special mandate. County justices and royal officers were excluded from the borough, and residents were not answerable in other courts for things done in the borough. The mayor and commonalty were to have return of writs and all other judicial precepts, and the mayor was to hold the assize of bread and of ale without interference from royal officers. The corporation was to have felons' and fugitives' goods from all inhabitants, wherever arising, and within the borough all fines, forfeitures, and profits such as waifs and strays; half those profits, however, were to be paid to the king. The charter also granted a valuable marsh or meadow called le Pool, the later corporation meadows, for an annual farm of £2 13s. 4d., and two additional fairs. The corporation was exempted from sending representatives to parliament, a privilege willingly eschewed from the mid 16th century.⁹⁵

The fee farm and the Crown's half share of profits seem to have been paid from the outset to the farmer of Woodstock manor: in 1551 he received the meadow rent of £2 13s. 4d. but the annual share of profits was said to have fallen from £3 to only 13s. 4d. because of the Crown's seizure of chantry and monastic property in the town.⁹⁶ Evidently the profits were taken to include the quitrents set on burgages at the town's foundation and still listed in 1468-9 as 'the king's rents'.⁹⁷ In 1575 the fee farm of £2 13s. 4d. was paid but profits were not mentioned, and although the Crown's right to the half share was acknowledged by the mayor in the 1580s the corporation retained all quitrents and profits in the early 17th century.⁹⁸ In the 1580s the attorney general claimed arrears of £466 13s. 4d. for the fee farm, a calculation based on an annual payment of 5 marks which presumably included 1 mark for the Crown's share of the profits; eventually it was accepted that the corporation had paid the farmer of the royal manor and in 1587 the action was abandoned.⁹⁹ Thereafter the

£2 13s. 4d. was regularly paid to the Exchequer through the sheriff.¹ In 1650 the fee farm was sold to Thomas Butler of Deddington.² If recovered by the Crown at the Restoration it was presumably resold, for after prolonged neglect of the payment arrears were claimed in 1779 by a private owner, Thomas Wyld, and 35 years' arrears were paid in 1787-8.³ The payments, sometimes mistakenly thought to have arisen from a grant of tolls, were made until 1832 but have not been traced thereafter.⁴

The charter of 1453 was confirmed in 1463 and 1487.⁵ Soon afterwards there seems to have been dissension in the borough, for a letter under the privy seal, probably of the 1490s, banned liveries and retainers and the interference in elections of 'gentiles and other foreigners'; it enjoined the corporation to be 'whole and undivided' and to choose men of good disposition and sufficient ability.⁶ The charters of 1453-87 were confirmed in November 1552,⁷ and again in January 1553 after it was affirmed that Henry VII's charter (or perhaps its recent confirmation) had been accidentally lost.⁸ The charter of 1552 survives in the borough muniments, but it was that of 1553 which was confirmed in 1559.⁹

In 1565, following a plea by the corporation that decreasing use of the royal manor house had brought the borough to poverty and decay, the Crown granted additional markets and fairs and the residue of the Woodstock property of the dissolved chantry of St. Mary, in return for a fee farm rent of £5 6s. 8d., of which £4 was for the property.¹⁰ The new fee farm rent, treated separately from that for the meadows, was paid regularly, sometimes under the name of the chantry quitrent.¹¹ In 1671 the Crown sold the fee farm to David Walter and others, and in 1702 Sir John Walter sold it to Montagu Bertie, earl of Abingdon, from whom it was bought in 1710 by the duke of Marlborough.¹² The rent (£4 6s. 8d. after the deduction of land tax) was paid throughout the life of the old corporation, and £4 for the property was still paid in 1987.¹³

In the later 16th century the corporation promoted a bill to make Woodstock a staple town which failed in 1572 but was passed in 1576;¹⁴ having again attributed the town's decline to the cessation of royal patronage the Act allowed free trading in wool and yarn within the borough.¹⁵ In 1581 a bill to restrict such trade to inhabitants only, except on market days, was dashed on the third reading.¹⁶ The borough's privileges under the Act of 1576 were invoked in

⁹⁵ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1427-1516, 125-7; Boro. Mun. 83/3.

⁹⁶ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, ff. 14-20v. The phrasing is obscure.

⁹⁷ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 29.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 81, Nov. 1575; 79, *passim*; Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 52-3.

⁹⁹ Boro. Mun. 74/6; cf. Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 49-50.

¹ e.g. Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 4, 198.

² P.R.O., E 307/B 3/21.

³ Boro. Mun. 88, p. 408; 93, pp. 300-5.

⁴ *Ibid.* 93, *passim*; 95, s.a. 1832. In 1828-9 the rent was described correctly as 'out of the Pools': *ibid.* 95, s.a. 1829.

⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, 248; P.R.O., C 56/14, no. 6.

⁶ P.R.O., REQ 1/1, f. 198v.; an unfinished draft, partly

printed in *8th Dep. Kpr's. Rep.* App. II, 167. That the letter was received by the corporation is shown by an allusion to it in 1584: B.L. Lansd. MS. 40, ff. 70v.-71.

⁷ Boro. Mun. 74/1.

⁸ P.R.O., C 56/68, no. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.* C 56/78, no. 3; Boro. Mun. 74/2.

¹⁰ Boro. Mun. 74/4, partly printed in *Cal. Pat.* 1563-6, p. 440.

¹¹ Boro. Mun. 81, s.a. 1576, 1588, 1599; 79, *passim*, espec. ff. 141v., 198.

¹² Blenheim Mun., box 131; P.R.O., IND 17347, p. 445.

¹³ Boro. Mun. 93-5, *passim*; ex inf. the town clerk.

¹⁴ *C.J.* i. 96, 101, 105-7; *L.J.* i. 721-3, 734, 736, 739, 752.

¹⁵ Act for Re-edifying New Woodstock, 18 Eliz. I, c. 21.

¹⁶ *C.J.* i. 128-9; *Procs. in Parls. of Eliz. I*, ed. T. E. Hartley, i. 538-40.

1602 in a dispute over wool buying with the Crown patentee Sir Edward Hoby¹⁷ but otherwise seem to have been of little lasting value.¹⁸

In the later 16th century the council defined the constitution more closely in a series of bylaws.¹⁹ The extent of the franchise was an issue in the 1580s during a prolonged struggle between two factions, one led by Alderman William Skelton, butcher, the other by Alderman George Whitton, comptroller of Woodstock park and lord of Hensington manor.²⁰ Whitton's father, Owen, had been prominent in both park and borough in the 1550s,²¹ and George served as mayor in 1571 and 1572 and M.P. from 1572. He provided the drive and funds to establish the new wool market, lending £80 to the corporation, but soon aroused opposition by high-handed and litigious actions. He participated in council business as late as 1580, signing his approval of the new bylaws,²² but in 1581, in a dispute over the borough's eastern boundary with Hensington manor, he instigated riots; when his party failed in the mayoral election of 1581 he resigned his aldermanship and was disfranchised. He was accused in Star Chamber of withholding borough funds and property, and countercharged electoral misconduct, monopolization of government by a clique of victuallers, and arbitrary rule by Skelton. By calling the Exchequer's attention to the fee farm he embarrassed both the corporation and Sir Henry Lee, steward of the manor, to whom the farm was then paid and with whom Whitton was also in dispute.²³ During the quarrel other aldermen were dismissed and disfranchised.²⁴ The dispute probably reflected wider issues common in expanding towns in that period: questions over the franchise and the composition of the ruling élite may indicate pressure from new men and jealousies between different crafts and trades. In the event a proposed new borough charter in 1584, alleged by Skelton's opponents to threaten the rights of the commonalty in elections and in the corporation meadows,²⁵ was not acquired, and further bylaws in the later 16th century made few substantial constitutional changes.²⁶ George Whitton never rejoined the council but remained a borough magistrate and indeed by 1598 was a prominent supporter of the ruling group when it evicted the town clerk.²⁷

From 1585 the corporation was closely involved in the establishment of the grammar school, and in 1599 obtained a licence to hold in mortmain lands valued at £100, of which £20 was for the school and the rest for the poor and

for disabled soldiers.²⁸ A confirmation of the borough's charters in 1603, mentioned in later sources,²⁹ has not been traced. Until the Civil War political pressure on the corporation was restricted largely to the informal influence of local gentry at times of parliamentary elections,³⁰ but the war and its aftermath led to politically motivated interference with the composition of the council. Notable changes were the removal of the royalist town clerk, Edmund Hiorne, and the appointment as high steward of Lt.-Gen. Charles Fleetwood in 1655, while several dismissals of councillors in the 1650s for non-attendance and 'abuse' probably reflect political differences.³¹ It is not known if a new charter, sought by the council in 1656-7 and intended to include additional fairs and reduce the cognizance of the borough court to sums of £10 or less, was ever granted.³²

After the Restoration Woodstock, like other municipal corporations, suffered direct political interference by the government. The Corporations Act of 1661 excluded from corporate life dissenters and others unwilling to renounce the Covenant or swear oaths of supremacy, allegiance, and non-resistance; in 1662 a purge carried out by commissioners appointed under that Act removed the mayor, the town clerk, and four common councillors, while another alderman resigned allegedly because of ill-health. Fleetwood was replaced by Sir Thomas Spencer of Yarnton in 1661, and Edmund Hiorne was restored as town clerk.³³

A charter of 1664 confirmed the new order, nominating the whole council and its officers, requiring all to swear the statutory oaths, and making future appointments of high stewards, recorders, and town clerks subject to the Crown's approval. The charters of 1453 and 1565 were confirmed, and the corporation's right to acquire lands worth £100 restated. Detailed provisions were made concerning the structure of the council and the elections and duties of officers; most confirmed long established practice, but the grant of powers to raise taxes for repairing bridges and streets may have been an innovation.³⁴ In 1667-8 a challenge to the new charter by *quo warranto*, obtained by a faction led by Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, and Sir William Fleetwood, one of the borough's M.P.s, was successfully defended by Sir Thomas Spencer at his own cost; Clarendon was allegedly disappointed to have been passed over for the high stewardship, but the grounds of his attack on the charter are not known.³⁵

Outside influence on the corporation in-

¹⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, ff. 3-6v. For Hoby see *D.N.B.*

¹⁸ Below, Econ.

¹⁹ e.g. Boro. Mun. 82, ff. 1 sqq.; 83/1, p. 109.

²⁰ Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 43-59, summarizing P.R.O., STAC 5/W 77/7; *ibid.* SP 12/165/53; B.L. Lansd. MS. 40, ff. 70v.-71. For Whitton, below, Blenheim, Pk. to 1705; above, Bladon, Manors; E. K. Chambers, *Sir Hen. Lee*, 94 sqq.

²¹ e.g. Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 70-1, 78; below, Blenheim, Pk. to 1705.

²² Boro. Mun. 82, f. 9.

²³ Chambers, *Sir Hen. Lee*, 94 sqq.

²⁴ Boro. Mun. 82, ff. 13v.-14.

²⁵ B.L., Lansd. MS. 40, ff. 70-71.

²⁶ Boro. Mun. 82, ff. 9v. sqq.

²⁷ P.R.O., STAC 5/D 36/12.

²⁸ Boro. Mun. 74/3; below, Educ.

²⁹ e.g. Boro. Mun. 83/4; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 87; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* H.C. 116, App. I, p. 141 (1835), xxiii. It is not on the confirmation rolls: P.R.O., C 56.

³⁰ Below, Parl. Rep.

³¹ Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 89; Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 6-7, 94, 97.

³² Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 8; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1656-7, 5, 71, 241, 278.

³³ Boro. Mun. 76/1, ff. 1-6v.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 83/4; for translations see *ibid.* 83/8; 149, pp. 1-104.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 97, p. 48; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, ff. 89-91.

creased as political patrons secured the admission to the freeman body and the council of numerous adherents, usually non-resident gentry, the practice reaching peaks during the Exclusion crisis and in the reign of James II. The borough charter was not threatened until January 1688 when the council, persuaded by lack of funds and the fear of losing all chartered privileges, agreed unanimously to surrender it without a struggle.³⁶ A charter granted in August 1688 nominated a new council and officers, restricted the franchise for parliamentary elections to the council, reserved the Crown's right to nominate and remove officers, but dispensed officers from the statutory oaths; otherwise it confirmed existing liberties, restricting to residents certain freemen's privileges such as quittance from toll, and granted an additional fair.³⁷ The nominated council seems to have excluded two aldermen and demoted another, omitted several councillors listed in April 1688, and appointed over a dozen newcomers, all resident, including at least one known recusant.³⁸ The charter was effectively annulled by a royal proclamation in October 1688, and by November the former council and officers had resumed office.³⁹

The charter of 1664 remained the corporation's governing instrument until 1886, for Woodstock, along with over 100 smaller boroughs, was excluded from the provisions of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. Woodstock shared the characteristics of other rotten boroughs: its council, controlled by political patrons, became increasingly unrepresentative of the inhabitants, and its corporate government, through lack of ambition or funds, was severely limited in scope. Corporate property was administered chiefly for the benefit of councillors and funds were provided for feasting and other entertainments but not for public services.⁴⁰ The right to levy rates was not invoked and much local government was left to the vestry and its officers. The corporation's political subservience after the Restoration was reflected in frequent loyal addresses, many of them composed with the approval of the high steward or other influential outsiders. In 1681 the council welcomed the promised annulment of penal laws against dissenters, in 1682 eschewed all forms of association against the established government, and in 1683 congratulated the king on his deliverance from the Rye House plot.⁴¹ The accessions of James II and Anne were greeted with jubilation,⁴² that of William III with silence. The council con-

demned the Pretender and his adherents in 1708 and welcomed the suppression of the rebellion of 1745.⁴³ It approved the support given by Woodstock's M.P.s to the Regency Bill of 1789, required them to oppose the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1790, and repeatedly expressed hostility to Catholic Emancipation.⁴⁴ In 1793 the council provided ale for the populace on burning the effigy of Thomas Paine.⁴⁵ Most 19th-century addresses expressed conventional reactions to royal and national events, but in 1850 the council was particularly hostile to the pope's appointment of an archbishop of Westminster.⁴⁶

Divisions over parliamentary representation finally caused a suspension of corporate government in 1831, when the election of F. P. Walesby as recorder on the nomination of the duke of Marlborough as high steward was invalidated by lack of a quorum;⁴⁷ thereafter the factions both for and against the duke's nominee shunned council meetings to prevent a valid election. No chamberlains were appointed, no accounts presented, and no courts held; mayors were elected at meetings attended only by the retiring mayor and the town clerk, and the only recorded council business was the distribution of a charity. In February 1838, on the initiative of the Revd. John Carlyle, master of the grammar school, who by then was owed five years' salary, a writ of *mandamus* was obtained requiring the council to fulfil its obligations. A quorate council met at once, electing a mayor and chamberlains, two new aldermen, and seven new councillors; Walesby was sworn in as recorder, and the accounts audited.⁴⁸ Although in 1832 Woodstock was merged in a larger single-member constituency the political hostility between supporters and opponents of the Marlborough interest continued to influence corporate government, provoking competition not only for the mayoralty but for minor offices.⁴⁹

By the 1860s⁵⁰ prominent inhabitants, mostly Liberals and nonconformists, took no part in corporate affairs but were active in local government, particularly as guardians of the Woodstock poor law union.⁵¹ Such men argued that the corporation was unrepresentative and that councillors held only a small fraction of the borough's rateable property; the electoral structure gave no choice to the body of inhabitants and at times promoted inexperienced, unsuitable, and even non-resident councillors. It was alleged that no dissenter had been elected for over 30 years, and that the preference for churchgoers of 'Conservative tendency' excluded such

³⁶ Boro. Mun. 76/2, 18 Jan. 1687/8; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, ff. 92-4; P.R.O., C 104/109, undated note 'touching the delivery up of the charter'.

³⁷ Boro. Mun. 83/5; P.R.O., SP 44/336, pp. 29-31, summarized in *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1687-9, p. 229.

³⁸ Boro. Mun. 76/2, s.a. 1688; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, pp. 92-4.

³⁹ Boro. Mun. 76/2, 16 Nov. 1688.

⁴⁰ Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 110-13; below, Finance and Property.

⁴¹ Boro. Mun. 76/2, May 1681, Mar. 1682, July 1683.

⁴² Ibid. Feb. 1684-5; 86, Mar. 1701-2.

⁴³ Ibid. 86, Mar. 1707-8; 87, Oct. 1746.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 89, pp. 11-12, 19, 160, 287-8, 293-4.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 93, s.a. 1792-3.

⁴⁶ Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 130-1; Boro. Mun. 90, p. 71.

⁴⁷ Boro. Mun. 97, pp. 365-6.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 365-405; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* (1835), App I, p. 144; *Oxf. Jnl.* 24 Feb. 1838; C. Freeman, 'Mr. Harrison refused to sign: political tensions of Woodstock 1838-52' (*Oxf. Univ. External Studies Dissertation*, 1987), 6-7, 18-19.

⁴⁹ Freeman, 'Mr. Harrison', *passim*.

⁵⁰ The rest of this sub-section is based on *Oxf. Chron.* 15, 22 Dec. 1866: rep. of Privy Council petition; *ibid.* 29 Oct. 1881: rep. of inquiry re new chart.; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490], pp. v-xi, 124-30, H.C. (1880), xxxi; *ibid.* [2490-I], pp. 247-70, 851-60, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

⁵¹ Cf. Boro. Mun. 90, 101: council acts 1844-86; O.R.O., T.G. VII/i/1-30: mins. of guardians 1835-1931.

men as the Methodist G. G. Banbury, one of the town's principal property owners, and all the leading glove manufacturers, who were Liberals. The council was criticized for sectarianism in contributing to the maintenance of Woodstock's curate, for using corporate property such as the meadows exclusively for the benefit of its members, and for mismanagement of the grammar school. Certainly the corporation's contribution to local government continued to diminish: most of its judicial activity ceased, several public services were provided by private concerns, others were supervised by the vestry or the poor law guardians.⁵²

In 1866 a group of ratepayers led by John Parker, cabinet maker, John Banbury, draper, and Edwin Hiorns, clerk, petitioned the Privy Council to change the charter so that Woodstock should come under the provisions of the Municipal Corporations Acts of 1835 and later, but after an inquiry no action was taken. Public criticism of the closed corporation and the scandalous behaviour of councillors continued.⁵³ In the 1870s the opposition group presented damaging evidence to royal commissioners who in 1880 recommended that Woodstock might usefully retain its municipal institutions but be reformed in keeping with the Municipal Corporations Acts. When in 1881 the Privy Council was again petitioned for a revised charter the 140 signatories included several councillors who favoured election by ratepayers and preferred the retention of the corporation to the establishment of a Local Board. A rearguard action was led by the influential R. B. B. Hawkins, town clerk and former mayor, but an Act of 1883 listed Woodstock among boroughs to be reformed in accordance with the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882.⁵⁴ An Order in Council of 1886 proposed a Scheme for reform, and a charter of April 1886 abolished the old corporation.⁵⁵

Freemen. The basis of the borough's constitution, derived from that of the medieval guild merchant, was membership or freedom of the guild. In 1584, during a struggle over the franchise, it was noted that the charter of 1453 declared all inhabitants to be free burgesses,⁵⁶ but in practice the commonalty of the borough's corporate title was the freeman body; other inhabitants were regarded with outsiders as foreigners.⁵⁷ The council and officers were drawn from the freemen, and there is no evidence that non-freemen ever voted in local or parliamentary elections. Only freemen and their lawfully hired servants and apprentices were allowed to occupy crafts and trades in the

town,⁵⁸ a rule that was largely overlooked by the mid 18th century.⁵⁹ Freemen had privileged access to the borough courts,⁶⁰ the free grammar school, and many of the endowed charities.

The freedom also incurred burdens, and in 1557 it was ordered that none should be admitted unless able to meet the town's charges, summed up in the phrase 'scot and lot'.⁶¹ Foreign (non-resident) freemen were to leave in the town a 'distrainable pawn', usually 40s., or be disfranchised.⁶² Because admission conferred substantial trading and voting privileges it was closely controlled by the council: orders of 1575 placed fines on the mayor for admitting men without consent and on councillors for failure to attend admissions.⁶³ In 1681 it was agreed that freemen must be elected in council but might take their oaths in the town office before the mayor and two magistrates.⁶⁴ A rule of 1733 that freemen should be at least 21 years old probably endorsed long established practice.⁶⁵ Disfranchisement became rare after the disputes of the 1580s, but in 1599 the council disfranchised an evicted town clerk and in 1614 a man who had insulted the mayor.⁶⁶

The freeman's oath in the mid 16th century included commitments to obey the mayor and aldermen, to defend the borough's liberties, to pay 'without grudging' duties to God and the Crown, and to be 'a quiet man amongst your neighbours, always ready to do good and profitable things amongst them'.⁶⁷ Freemen on admission were probably given a copy of the oath, for in Woodstock, as elsewhere, men claiming freedom through patrimony were said to do so 'by their father's copy'.⁶⁸ In 1732 it was agreed that new freemen should pay for a printed copy of the oath, which by then had been revised and included promises to be faithful to the king, to obey and help the council and officers, to contribute to the corporation's charges and maintain its liberties and customs, and not to support foreigners 'by colour of your freedom'.⁶⁹

The freedom was acquired by patrimony, as eldest son born after the father became free, by serving a 7-year apprenticeship in a freeman's household, by marriage to a freeman's widow, and by compounding at the invitation of the council.⁷⁰ Men claiming the hereditary qualification were sometimes rejected because born before their father's admission, and unenrolled or improperly qualified apprentices were rejected or charged higher fees.⁷¹ The standard fee for sons and apprentices remained very low, only 4s. in the 16th century and early 17th.⁷² In addition, by 1580, all new freemen provided a leather bucket for fire fighting, or an equivalent fee, rising from 2s. 6d. in the late 16th century to

⁵² Below, Admin. of Justice; Public Health and Services.

⁵³ e.g. *Oxf. Times* 16 Jan., 23 Jan., 30 Jan., 13 Feb. 1875.

⁵⁴ Mun. Corpn. Act 45 & 46 Vic. c. 50; *ibid.* 46 & 47 Vic. c. 18.

⁵⁵ Boro. Mun. 83/6, 9.

⁵⁶ B.L. Lansd. MS. 40, ff. 70v.-71.

⁵⁷ e.g. Boro. Mun. 82, ff. 1 sqq.; bylaws of 1580.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Above, Econ.

⁶⁰ e.g. Boro. Mun. 82, f. 10.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 83/1, p. 105.

⁶² *Ibid.* p. 109; *ibid.* 82, f. 6v.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 83/1, p. 109.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 76/2, 30 May 1681.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 87, s.a. 1733.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 82, f. 14v.; *ibid.* 78/3, Feb. 1614.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 83/1, p. 113. For a slightly different, 17th-cent., form of the oath see *ibid.* 78/3, endpapers.

⁶⁸ e.g. *ibid.* 76/1, June 1679; 87, Apr. 1738.

⁶⁹ O.R.O., CH. IV/21.

⁷⁰ Admissions are scattered through the main series of council mins. from 1661: Boro. Mun. 76/1-2; 86-90. Others were recorded in the portmoot: e.g. *ibid.* 91-2, *passim*. For earlier admissions, *ibid.* 78/2, *passim*; 82, ff. 16 sqq.; 83/1, pp. 82 sqq.

⁷¹ e.g. *ibid.* 86, July 1702, Mar. 1713.

⁷² *Ibid.* 82, f. 3; 79, *passim*.

5s. by 1835.⁷³ Admission fees for sons and apprentices varied over the centuries, but in 1835 were still only £1 15s. 5d., which included the bucket and 5s. instead of a feast or treat at the freeman's house, an obligation evidently established by the early 18th century.⁷⁴ Those claiming freedom through marriage to a freeman's widow paid 20s. from the 16th century to the early 18th;⁷⁵ the council stressed in 1583 that the deceased freeman must have been resident, and the widow resident at the time of her marriage.⁷⁶ In 1652 it was added that she must have been paying scot and lot, and in 1705 the council ruled that men marrying widows should be treated as ordinary compounders.⁷⁷

For those seeking admission by purchase the council repeatedly set and disregarded a minimum entry fee: the mid-16th century fee of £1 was increased in 1575 to £5.⁷⁸ The minimum fee, restated as £5 in 1677, was increased in 1733 to £10 and in 1803 to 15 gn. plus officers' fees.⁷⁹ In the 1580s the £5 fee was paid regularly, but in the early 17th century fees varied widely but rarely exceeded £3.⁸⁰ Sometimes fees were waived in return for services, as in 1616 and 1662 when entrants agreed to maintain the town's armour, and in 1628 when the bellfounder James Keene paid only 30s. but agreed to cast a new bell.⁸¹ From the later 17th century fees of £5 or more became common, particularly for prosperous applicants such as maltsters and apothecaries.⁸² In 1665 Richard Hinton, later mayor, was charged over £11 and extra officers' fees after attempting to open a shop in the town while not free.⁸³ In the later 17th century and early 18th the council frequently imposed special conditions on compounders, obliging them to reside, to restrict themselves to particular occupations, and in one case to trade only in markets and fairs.⁸⁴ In the 18th century compounders were expected to entertain the council well, and in 1732 a man admitted for £5 was asked to pay £10 towards a treat.⁸⁵

Until the later 17th century the freeman body was composed largely of resident tradesmen and craftsmen, together with those such as high stewards, recorders, and M.P.s whose office required admission. Few local landowners sought admission, with the notable exception of the Whittons, who in any case owned one of the larger houses in the town; by contrast the lawyer Jerome Kyte (d. 1631), although resident and a borough magistrate, was not a freeman.⁸⁶ In

1519 only 34 freemen, including 18 councillors, were named in a seemingly complete list, and six more were admitted in that year.⁸⁷ In 1581, including councillors, 58 freemen were named,⁸⁸ and for mayoral elections in the 1620s between 60 and 75 freemen were present.⁸⁹ In the early 17th century the freeman body usually comprised between 60 and 70 of the 100–120 male inhabitants listed as suitors to the views of frankpledge.⁹⁰ Freemen's widows were sometimes listed,⁹¹ presumably because they retained some of their husbands' rights, able to occupy trades and perhaps attend the view, although none appear to have voted in mayoral elections.

In 1662 there were 82 councillors and freemen, and 10 foreign freemen; a few councillors were non-resident so just over half the c. 132 listed male inhabitants were freemen.⁹² Already the foreign freemen included a few local gentry, and thereafter the practice of taking up the freedom purely for electoral advantage added not only a large group of honorary freemen, mostly non-resident gentry, but also men who, while qualified through patrimony or apprenticeship, in the past would have avoided the burdens of freedom because of their poverty or non-residence. By 1681 the freeman body had probably doubled in size to over 200 and by the 1720s was over 350, but two thirds were non-resident and affected town life only during parliamentary contests.⁹³ In 1687 councillors and resident freemen comprised over two thirds (92) of 139 listed adult males but the proportion fell when parliamentary contests became less frequent; in 1703 only 81 of 171 listed inhabitants were freemen.⁹⁴ By the later 18th century, when the Marlboroughs had secured their hold on the constituency, it was in their interest to keep voters to a minimum, and in the 1760s and 1780s there were only c. 120 freemen, of whom more than a quarter were non-resident.⁹⁵ Numbers rose to between 150 and 200 with the renewal of parliamentary contests in the early 19th century. In 1831 there were estimated to be 167 freemen, of whom 66 were resident; in 1833 the number of freemen qualified as voters by residence in the enlarged constituency was 76, of whom 52 were said to live in the borough.⁹⁶

Attempts to limit the rights of foreign freemen suggest that the council occasionally resented their influence. An order of 1660 requiring them to pay £2 13s. 4d. for the right to vote was probably short-lived or ineffective, but in

⁷³ Ibid. 82, f. 5; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* H.C. 116, App. I, p. 142 (1835), xxiii.

⁷⁴ *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* (1835), App. I, p. 142; e.g. Boro. Mun. 87, 23 Jan. 1743/4.

⁷⁵ e.g. Boro. Mun. 82, f. 3; 83/1, pp. 83–4, 109; 86, s.a. 1703.

⁷⁶ Ibid. 82, f. 13v.

⁷⁷ Ibid. 83/1, p. 98; 86, Oct. 1705, Mar. 1708.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 82, f. 3; 83/1, pp. 105, 109.

⁷⁹ Ibid. 76/1, s.a. 1677; 87, s.a. 1733; 89, p. 134.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 83/1, pp. 82–3; 79, *passim*.

⁸¹ Ibid. 76/1, f. 7v.; 81, s.a. 1616, 1628.

⁸² Ibid. 76/1–2, *passim*.

⁸³ Ibid. 76/1, f. 14v.

⁸⁴ Ibid. s.a. 1670 and *passim*; 76/2, *passim*; 86, Feb. 1705.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 87, Feb. 1731/2.

⁸⁶ e.g. *ibid.* 96, ff. 9 sqq. where he is listed among councillors and as an unfree inhabitant. For Kyte see W. H.

Stevenson and H. E. Salter, *Early Hist. St. John's Coll. Oxf.* (O.H.S. N.S. i), 353–4.

⁸⁷ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 103.

⁸⁸ Ibid. 82, f. 12.

⁸⁹ Ibid. 96, ff. 29, 38.

⁹⁰ For suitors' lists, above, Intro.; below, Admin. of Justice.

⁹¹ Boro. Mun. 96, ff. 13, 34. The c. 40 widows listed in 1619 presumably included those of non-freemen: *ibid.* f. 14.

⁹² Ibid. 76/1, ff. 8–9.

⁹³ Below, Parl. Rep.

⁹⁴ Boro. Mun. 96, ff. 55, 62–3.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., CH. IV/4, 8, 12: freemen lists, which only partially distinguish non-residents.

⁹⁶ *Rep. Com. Parl. Bdries. (Voters and Freemen)*, H.C. 112, p. 112 (1831–2), xxxvii; *Registered Electors*, H.C. 189, p. 223 (1833), xxvii; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* (1835), App. I, p. 142.

1685 their children were denied privileged access to the grammar school and in 1713 their apprentices were denied the right of admission; the patrimonial qualification was confirmed in that year, however, and several non-resident gentry secured the admission of their eldest sons.⁹⁷ The honorary freemen, who were elected in large batches from 1673, paid only officers' fees⁹⁸ but also gave treats, since in 1687 it was agreed to devote such contributions towards building a market house.⁹⁹ From 1703 fees for honorary freedom, sometimes called 'gentlemen's fees', were usually 2 gn.¹ By the later 18th century the honorary freedom was rarely used to introduce political partisans. In 1763 Edward, duke of York, received a record of his admission in a silver box and in 1802 Henry Agar, Viscount Clifden, received his in a box of polished steel; in 1779 Sir Joshua Reynolds was made free during a visit to the town.² Honorary freedom was also used to introduce local worthies, notably in 1787 William Mavor,³ schoolmaster and author, who later became rector and mayor. By the later 18th century outgoing mayors regularly nominated a son as an honorary freeman, and the custom of the 'mayor's child' was soon extended to allow any mayoral nominee.⁴

Although unaffected by municipal reform in 1835 the freeman body diminished rapidly after changes in parliamentary voting qualifications in 1832.⁵ The rump of the old freeman body continued to participate in mayoral elections, but admission by apprenticeship ceased, on the assumption that the qualification was abolished by parliamentary or municipal reform, and very few hereditary freemen were admitted, the last in 1864.⁶ Instead the council, when it became necessary to fill its ranks, merely elected honorary freemen; the mayor's right to nominate was also preserved. Admission fees were abolished in 1851.⁷ By the 1870s there were c. 25 honorary freemen and councillors, besides the 'common freemen', survivors of the old freeman body, whose numbers had fallen to fewer than a dozen. They were mostly poor and non-resident, and when attending mayoral elections were given meal tickets.⁸ Although some surviving councillors were technically common freemen the 'refreshment freemen' were regarded in the 1870s as a separate class, whose continued participation in elections outraged the excluded dissenters and Liberals. After 1886 no reference to common or hereditary freemen has been found.

Council and Officers. The charter of 1453 empowered the corporation to elect a mayor and

serjeant-at-mace annually, but made no mention of aldermen or a common council.⁹ From the first, however, aldermen formed part of the new corporation¹⁰ and the office may have succeeded that of bailiff, mentioned in 1402 and 1438 but not later.¹¹ After incorporation witnesses in the portmoot usually included the mayor, 4 aldermen, 2 constables, and the serjeant, and in the 1490s the town clerk and crier were also mentioned.¹² Two chamberlains, elected annually in the early 16th century,¹³ were probably from the outset the town's chief accounting officers.

The constitution confirmed in the charter of 1664 was the result of gradual development. Reference in 1461 to 'the mayor and his brethren and other of the commonalty'¹⁴ implies the existence of a ruling élite within the freeman body, and by the early 16th century there was a common council comprising the mayor, 4 aldermen, and at least 13 councillors including the town clerk.¹⁵ Presumably, as later, councillors were chosen from the freemen and served for life unless they resigned or were dismissed. In the 1530s there were at least 15 councillors besides the mayor and aldermen,¹⁶ and in 1580 the number of common councillors was fixed at 20,¹⁷ making up a council which included perhaps a third of the freeman body; a quorum of 13, set in 1583, remained unchanged in the 19th century.¹⁸ Later 16th-century lists of councillors frequently contained fewer than 20 names, but in 1605 the council was near full strength, with a mayor, 4 aldermen, 2 chamberlains, the town clerk, and 15 common councillors;¹⁹ the high steward and recorder, although not listed, were probably regarded as councillors, and the charter of 1664 certainly included them in a council of 25, which was otherwise constructed as in 1605.²⁰ A few early 17th-century council lists contained as many as 24 names, excluding the high steward and recorder.²¹

In the 16th century the wider community participated regularly in town government. The ordinary freeman voted not only in mayoral elections, a right maintained until 1886, but also for common councillors.²² In 1504 a group of 40 named persons, presumably the whole freeman body, was associated with the aldermen and constables in a grant of corporate property to the mayor.²³ In the 1530s the common council and 'other more of the town' or 'all the commons' attended the accounting day.²⁴ In 1550 a rule concerning mayoral elections was made at a 'convocation of all the inhabitants'.²⁵ Bylaws of 1581 were approved by 35 freemen besides the councillors, and freemen also witnessed the dis-

⁹⁷ Boro. Mun. 82, f. 17v.; 76/2, Feb. 1685; 86, s.a. 1713.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 76/1, *passim*; below, Parl. Rep.

⁹⁹ Boro. Mun. 76/2, July 1687.

¹ e.g. *ibid.* 86, Sept. 1703, Mar. 1705, Oct. 1706.

² Ibid. 88, pp. 178, 414; 89, p. 78: agreement re Clifden, 1797, but for later presentation see *ibid.* 93, pp. 365-7.

³ Ibid. 88, p. 479.

⁴ e.g. *ibid.* 89, pp. 27, 49, 180, 210, 270, 313.

⁵ Except where stated otherwise this para. is based on *Oxf. Chron.* 15, 22 Dec. 1866; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490], pp. v-xi, 124-30, H.C. (1880), xxxi; *ibid.* [C. 2490-I], pp. 247-70, 851-60, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

⁶ Boro. Mun. 90, p. 218.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 77, 378.

⁸ For tickets see e.g. *ibid.* 94, s.a. 1854-5; 95, s.a. 1885.

⁹ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1427-1516, 125-7.

¹⁰ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 18 sqq.

¹¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1441-5, 123, 163; New Coll. Arch., Reg. Evid. ii, pp. 25-6.

¹² Boro. Mun. 83/1, *passim*.

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 102-3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 104.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 82, f. 4, where another number, possibly 16, was erased.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* f. 14; *ibid.* 89, pp. 365 sqq.; 90, p. 51.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 82, ff. 12-15.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 96, ff. 9 sqq. For a list of 1616 see *ibid.* 78/3, endpapers.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 82, f. 4.

²¹ Balliol Mun., F. 8. 62.

²² Boro. Mun. 81, f. [3 and v.].

²³ *Ibid.* 83/1, p. 105.

franchisement of Alderman George Whitton in that year.²⁶ In 1598 the controversial replacement of a town clerk was made at a 'general court day'.²⁷

Even so the council steadily increased its powers at the expense of those of the mayor and freemen. In 1550 ordinances were made by 'the twelve',²⁸ possibly an attempted inner council of the kind developed in other towns in that period. In 1575 it was agreed that the mayor should be fined if compounder freemen were admitted without the council's consent,²⁹ and new orders in 1580 reduced the mayor's financial independence and his control of the nomination and dismissal of councillors: future nominations were to be open to any councillor and a list presented to the freemen for final election; dismissals were to be by act of council.³⁰ In 1581 a new order for mayoral elections empowered the council to nominate two candidates from among the aldermen before joining the freemen in the deciding vote.³¹ George Whitton's complaints that the 1581 election was unconstitutional and the mayoralty restricted to two or three unsuitable persons³² probably related to the new rule; despite his protests over inhabitants' rights Whitton probably had no intention of extending the franchise to non-freemen. The new rule, however, enabled the council to avoid nominating Whitton's favoured candidate and so negated his alleged majority among the 'poorer, meaner' voters. In 1591 the new rule was among those 'disallowed' without explanation,³³ but the council continued to control nomination, usually putting up two candidates,³⁴ although in 1788 there were three.³⁵ By contrast the order granting freemen the final choice of common councillors, confirmed in 1591, was soon ignored and elections were confined to the council.³⁶

The council controlled most aspects of town life, and attendance at its meetings was obligatory under threat of fines or dismissal.³⁷ The council's powers defined in the charter of 1664 included the power to make bylaws and levy taxes, and to elect the whole range of officers, even constables and tithingmen who in practice were usually chosen in courts leet. Some of the charter's provisions were probably innovative, reflecting the Crown's desire for political safeguards: thus the recorder was included in the council's quorum for many purposes, while the power to nominate councillors or remove certain officers was restricted to the mayor, aldermen, and recorder.³⁸

Council meetings were held irregularly at the mayor's summons; in some years in the 1650s

there was a meeting in most months,³⁹ and in the later 17th century frequently 10 a year but sometimes far fewer. Recorded attendances were usually between 10 and 15, and the quorum rule was often ignored. By the 1820s there were usually between 5 and 8 meetings a year attended by 15 or fewer councillors.⁴⁰ Repeated orders setting fines for non-attendance had little effect.⁴¹ After the disruption of council business in the 1830s, when the quorum rule was invoked,⁴² meetings were held quarterly.⁴³ From 1838 temporary sub-committees were sometimes appointed, and in 1877 a permanent estates committee was formed.⁴⁴

Until the later 17th century, when men began to be excluded on grounds of politics and religion, the council was recruited from the most successful freemen. It provided, in its social and ceremonial role, a reflection of the councillors' status. Precedency was carefully regulated, as in 1581 and 1608 when councillors were listed in the order in which they should sit and be called.⁴⁵ On Sundays and holy days the mayor processed to church behind the macebearer in the company of gowned councillors; within the church the placing of councillors and their wives was dictated by council seniority.⁴⁶ Dignity was insisted upon, and besides repeated orders about gowns there were fines set for 'unfitting words' by councillors or insults offered to the mayor and aldermen.⁴⁷ Much corporate entertainment was reserved for councillors, and ordinary freemen were excluded.⁴⁸

In the corporation, as in a medieval guild, there was a theoretical *cursum honorum* through which men progressed by office-serving from the rank of ordinary freeman to that of councillor and, given wealth or longevity, to the aldermanic bench. In 1580 it was ordered that chamberlains should be chosen from common councillors who had first served as tithingman, churchwarden, and constable, but those offices could be compounded for and a fine of £1 exonerated a man from all three.⁴⁹ Successful freemen, particularly outsiders who were admitted as compounders or through marriage, tended to move quickly to a conciliar rank appropriate to their wealth and age: thus John Crossley, admitted as a compounder in 1555, became chamberlain in 1557 and mayor in 1558,⁵⁰ and John Shewsmith, after marriage to a widow, became a councillor within a month of his admission in 1652.⁵¹

From the later 17th century the council became less representative of the resident freemen. Non-resident councillors became common, and

²⁶ Ibid. 82, f. 12 and v.

²⁷ Ibid. 83/1, p. 86.

²⁸ Ibid. p. 105.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 109.

³⁰ Ibid. 82, ff. 1-4.

³¹ Ibid. f. 11.

³² P.R.O., STAC 5/W 77/7.

³³ Boro. Mun. 82, ff. 11-12.

³⁴ Cf. ibid. 78/1, Sept. 1591; 91, Sept. 1723; 88, pp. 171.

³⁵ Ibid. 14/3/2.

³⁶ e.g. ibid. 83/1, p. 92: election of councillors, 1612.

³⁷ Ibid. 82, ff. 6v., 10-11, 12v.; 83/1, p. 94.

³⁸ Ibid. 83/4.

³⁹ Ibid. 83/1, pp. 5-9, 94-9.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 76/1-2; 86-9: council mins. 1661-1844.

⁴¹ Ibid. 88, p. 378; 89, pp. 352, 459, 464.

⁴² Above, Boro. to 1886.

⁴³ Boro. Mun. 89, pp. 389, 410; 90: council mins. 1844-78; 101: council mins. 1878-86.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 89, pp. 389, 414-15; 90, p. 403; 101, *passim*.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 82, ff. 13, 15v.

⁴⁶ Ibid. ff. 6, 8, 11; ibid. 83/1, p. 109.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 82, ff. 8v.-9, 11v.; 87, Mar. 1727/8.

⁴⁸ Above, Intro.

⁴⁹ Boro. Mun. 82, f. 10v.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 83/1, p. 106; 81 [f. 5v.].

⁵¹ Ibid. 83/1, pp. 97-8.

the introduction of peers such as Edward Henry Lee, earl of Lichfield, and James Bertie, Lord Norreys, became an accepted method by which patrons controlled the parliamentary seat. Prominent resident councillors such as Richard Hinton and Robert Hix in 1690 stood aside from town government presumably for political reasons.⁵² In 1674 it was agreed that no outsider should be chosen councillor until there were 17 residents in place and the repetition of that order in 1731⁵³ marked a belated reaction to Sarah, duchess of Marlborough's political management of the council. In 1727, while the council awaited her nominations for vacancies, there was only one surviving alderman and the corporation was in danger of collapse through inability to fulfil the conditions of its charter.⁵⁴ Even when the Marlboroughs' control was secure there were rarely more than 17 resident councillors, and in the 1790s the non-residents included the duke, the marquis of Blandford, and several other Spencers.⁵⁵ Participation by non-residents was so rare that when two Spencers attended an aldermanic election in 1814 there was an effusive vote of thanks.⁵⁶ Non-residence remained an issue with the council's critics, but there were still six non-residents in the 1870s.⁵⁷

The office of mayor, successor to that of bailiff of Woodstock, was established before 1338.⁵⁸ Few mayors were mentioned before incorporation in 1453,⁵⁹ and until the 17th century the succession was not fully recorded.⁶⁰ By the 16th century mayors were chosen from the aldermen by the majority vote of freemen on the Monday before St. Matthew's day (21 Sept.), and were sworn in on the first Monday after Michaelmas.⁶¹ Fines for refusal to serve were £2 13s. 4d. in 1550 and £10 in 1581.⁶² The oath was to be taken before the high steward or his deputy, or before the retiring mayor.⁶³ In the early 17th century the mayor was sworn in at the first portmoot after Michaelmas, usually by the senior alderman.⁶⁴ The charter of 1664 directed the oath to be taken before the recorder or the retiring mayor, which remained the usual practice.⁶⁵ The oath used in the 16th and 17th centuries⁶⁶ included commitments to keep good rule and order, administer justice equitably, avoid corruption and so 'bring the people to quietness by indifferency from time to time'. A revised oath used in the mid 18th century placed greater emphasis on prosecuting offenders and maintaining the town's liberties, and made no reference to corruption.⁶⁷

The choice of a mayor from the small group of aldermen, which was evidently the practice from incorporation, meant that men commonly served the office many times. In the later 15th century Robert Austen and John Careless each served at least seven times, and ten recorded mayoralties of John Baron (or Barnes) were scattered over the period 1514–47. William Cornwell and John Fletcher each served at least seven times in the 16th century, and Thomas Painter (d. 1711) was mayor first in 1663 and for the fourteenth time in 1704. G. H. Bobart (d. 1791) and Dr. William Mavor (d. 1837), who was also rector, each served ten times. Service for two years in succession was common, and seems to have been standard practice in the later 16th century and early 17th.⁶⁸ The death of mayors in office caused uncertainties but usually a new election was held.⁶⁹ The appointment of an alderman as deputy mayor, which occurred in 1640, was allowed by the charter of 1664.⁷⁰

The electoral legislation of 1580 provided for annual contests but mayors were commonly elected unopposed, presumably because it was convenient for aldermen to agree on a rota. Contests were provoked by political interference in the early 18th century, and in the mid 19th were turned into party struggles.⁷¹ Some elections raised personal issues and allowed freemen voters to express grievances, albeit to little effect: in 1766 in 'the warmest contest ever remembered' Thomas Grantham was defeated but served the following year; in 1768 G. H. Bobart, lampooned as 'mad, cruel, partial', was elected for the third of his ten mayoralties.⁷² Such contests chiefly attracted resident voters and in a three-cornered contest in 1788 only 57 votes were cast.⁷³ In the mid 19th century the 'refreshment freemen' were apparently allowed to nominate a mayoral candidate, and on one occasion ignored the council's guidance.⁷⁴

The mayor's large powers derived from the borough's charters and the deference owed to him under the freeman's oath and backed by sanctions. As chief magistrate, clerk of the market, and the focus of the corporation's social and ceremonial life the mayor was paramount in his year of office. Without him the council could not meet nor the accounts be audited. He could imprison men for many offences without bail, dispense charitable funds, order casual poor-relief, and even control seating arrangements in the church.⁷⁵ Until the later 16th century he could admit freemen without consultation and

⁵² Ibid. 76/1–2, *passim*.

⁵³ Ibid. 82, f. 23v.; 87, Sept. 1731.

⁵⁴ B.L. Add. MS. 61437, f. 66; below, Parl. Rep.

⁵⁵ O.R.O., CH. IV/13–20: lists of the duke's agent, Thos. Walker, town clerk.

⁵⁶ Boro. Mun. 89, pp. 235–6.

⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 460; 90, pp. 119, 274–5; Berks. R.O., D/EL 1 B2; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490–I], p. 257, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

⁵⁸ Balliol Coll. Mun., F. 8. 4.

⁵⁹ Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 15 n.; New Coll. Arch., Reg. Evid. ii. 23–7; Magd. Coll. Mun., Woodstock deeds, no. 1.

⁶⁰ Many early mayors are recorded in Boro. Mun. 82; 83/1. Mayors and other officers from 1661 are listed in *ibid.* 149, printed in part in Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 425–8. There are other printed and MS. lists in Boro. Mun. (uncat.).

⁶¹ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 105; 82, f. 1.

⁶² Ibid. 83/1, p. 105; 82, f. 11v.

⁶³ Ibid. 82, f. 1.

⁶⁴ For an exception, *ibid.* 78/2, Oct. 1608.

⁶⁵ Boro. Mun. 83/4; e.g. 87, Sept. 1734.

⁶⁶ Cf. *ibid.* 33/2/3; 76/1, ff. 5v–6.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 88, prelim. papers.

⁶⁸ e.g. *ibid.* 77/2, Oct. 1627.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 83/1, p. 91; cf. *ibid.* 78/2, Jan. 1611; 77/2, May 1629; 96, f. 38; *ibid.* 57/2.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 79, f. 157; 83 4.

⁷¹ Below, Parl. Rep.

⁷² *Oxf. Jnl.* 15 Sept. 1766; B.L. Add. MS. 61680, ff. 114–15.

⁷³ Boro. Mun. 14/3/2.

⁷⁴ Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 134; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490–I], p. 270, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

⁷⁵ Boro. Mun. 82, ff. 6, 7v., 9v., 11v., 14; 79, *passim*.

could nominate and dismiss councillors.⁷⁶ His powers were confirmed by the charter of 1664, which also expressly quit him from jury service outside the borough and empowered him to search for concealed grain and sell it on the open market.⁷⁷

The curtailment of mayoral power in the later 16th century was probably provoked by the behaviour of George Whitton, mayor 1571–3, who allegedly enriched himself at the town's expense and withheld corporate funds; Whitton, however, claimed that the mayoralty had cost him at least £100, partly because of his lawsuit on the town's behalf against Sir Thomas Peniston.⁷⁸ Mayors were not then accountable to the council, but paid the annual farm directly to the Crown out of the variable profits of felons' goods, waifs and strays, market rents, the wool beam, and other issues. In 1580 it was agreed that those profits and the farm should be on the chamberlains' account, leaving the mayor with portmoot profits, his customary share of admission and other fees, and a new annual fee of £10;⁷⁹ he was to provide feasts at the Lady Day and Michaelmas leets, the chamberlains contributing the wine.⁸⁰ In 1641 the mayor's allowance was stopped and the leet dinners paid for from the chest.⁸¹ By the early 18th century the mayor was apparently providing the feasts from the profits of weighing cheese, but from 1732 was instead given an allowance of 12 gn.⁸² As a condition of corporation leases he also received poultry and joints of meat at Michaelmas as a contribution to the feast.⁸³ The mayor's allowance was increased in stages to £40 in 1807, when the residual small fees were deflected to the chest.⁸⁴ At that time the mayor customarily entertained the corporation and local gentry on taking up office.⁸⁵ In 1839 his allowance was reduced to £20 but in 1845 it was agreed, on condition that he continued his inaugural feast, to add the £20 usually reserved for 'dressing' a buck given by the high steward.⁸⁶ In 1854 the mayor's allowance was stopped and the corporation paid for dressing the buck on election day.⁸⁷

In the 15th century there were five aldermen, including the mayor, and occasionally six.⁸⁸ A maximum of six, agreed in 1580, was reduced to five in 1583, although there were six aldermen in 1586 until John Phillips was dismissed for failure to attend meetings.⁸⁹ Under the rules of 1580 aldermen were chosen for life by the council from councillors who had served as

chamberlain.⁹⁰ The charter of 1664 allowed aldermen to be chosen from the inhabitants but they were always elected from the council. From 1664 aldermen were magistrates *ex officio*, whereas earlier they had usually been named individually in commissions of the peace.⁹¹ There was a fine for refusal to serve;⁹² in 1678 William Metcalfe, a nonconformist unwilling to take the necessary oaths, paid £10, and fines were levied in 1742 and 1797.⁹³ Aldermen could be removed by act of council but after the troubles of the 1580s dismissals were rare;⁹⁴ resignations were forced in 1662 and 1690 because of political pressure and in 1843 because the council deemed an alderman unfit for the magistracy.⁹⁵

The serjeant-at-mace was given prominence in the charter of 1453 as one of two officers to be chosen annually by the commonalty.⁹⁶ Serjeants were so elected but in practice served for long periods. Thomas Heathen, serjeant 1618–42, was succeeded by his son Thomas (d. 1695);⁹⁷ Thomas Norris, serjeant 1738–72, was followed by James Prior, 1772–1809.⁹⁸ The serjeant was an officer of the court, and in the 15th century was usually named after the mayor and aldermen as witness to conveyances in the portmoot.⁹⁹ He was responsible for serving summonses, making arrests, and maintaining the prison and punitive instruments;¹ he was the macebearer on ceremonial occasions. His income came from small fees for summonses and other court business, and by 1580 he had the profits of stallage in the two summer fairs.² From 1700 the serjeant benefited from a cheap lease of the corporation's house next to the town hall, the Woodstock Arms.³ In the 1830s he received small fees, a wage of £1 10s., and 3 gn. more instead of a feast once given to him by the chamberlains;⁴ his uniform was always provided by the corporation.⁵ From 1838 the salary was £5 and the office survived the closure of the borough court.⁶

In the early 16th century two chamberlains were elected annually on St. Catherine's day (25 Nov.) after the presentation of accounts.⁷ In 1580 it was ordered that chamberlains should be councillors who had served the minor offices and should serve no more than two consecutive years.⁸ In the 17th century a senior or 'town's chamberlain' was elected by the council and a junior chamberlain was nominated by the mayor.⁹ The charter of 1664 stipulated only that

⁷⁶ Ibid. 83/1, p. 109; 82, f. 2v.

⁷⁷ Ibid. 83/4.

⁷⁸ P.R.O., STAC 5/W 77/7. For the suit, which concerned the use of Woodstock mill, see *ibid.* E 178/1824.

⁷⁹ Boro. Mun. 82, ff. 2v.–3.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 79, ff. 8, 97v., and *passim*.

⁸¹ Ibid. ff. 161v., 162v.

⁸² Ibid. 87, Dec. 1732.

⁸³ Ibid. 85, *passim*.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 88, p. 97; 89, pp. 79, 87, 89; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* (1835), App. I, p. 141.

⁸⁵ e.g. *Oxf. Jnl.* 4 Oct. 1806; *Oxf. Herald*, 30 Sept. 1809.

⁸⁶ Boro. Mun. 89, p. 425; 90, p. 10.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 90, p. 109; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490], p. 124, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

⁸⁸ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 40.

⁸⁹ Ibid. 82, ff. 1v., 14.

⁹⁰ Ibid. f. 4v.

⁹¹ Ibid. 83/4; below, Admin. of Justice.

⁹² Boro. Mun. 82, f. 4v.; 83/1, p. 105.

⁹³ Ibid. 76/1, s.a. 1678–9; 87, Aug. 1742; 89, p. 78.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 82, ff. 12v., 13v.–14.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 76/1, ff. 4, 6v.; 76/2, s.a. 1690; 89, pp. 443, 480.

⁹⁶ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1427–1516, 125–7.

⁹⁷ Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 45, 167v.; 76/2, July 1695.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 87, Sept. 1734; 88, pp. 320, 322; 89, p. 187.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 83/1, *passim*.

¹ e.g. *ibid.* 82, f. 5; 81, s.a. 1611; 76/2, Dec. 1698.

² Ibid. 82, f. 5; above, Econ., Mkts. and Fairs.

³ Above, Bldgs. no. 56.

⁴ *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* (1835), App. I, p. 142; cf. Boro. Mun. 89, pp. 94, 325.

⁵ e.g. Boro. Mun. 76/1, Aug. 1670; 86, Dec. 1712.

⁶ Ibid. 89, pp. 397, 458; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490], p. 125, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

⁷ Boro. Mun. 82, f. 6; 83/1, p. 102.

⁸ Ibid. 82, ff. 6, 10v.

⁹ e.g. *ibid.* 79, f. 134v.; 81, Dec. 1645; 76/1, s.a. 1669.

the two chamberlains should be resident councillors.¹⁰ In the 19th century it was still usual for the junior chamberlain to serve a second year as the senior. There were no fees for the office but from 1867 a paid assistant was appointed.¹¹

The earliest recorded town clerk was William Vincent, mentioned in 1498 and presumably the man referred to by the mayor as 'my clerk' in 1499.¹² Thomas Nowers, gentleman, who signed entries in the town's ledger in the early 16th century, was evidently town clerk but, perhaps because of his status, was placed on council lists with the aldermen and was sometimes called steward.¹³ In the 1580s the clerk was placed in seniority among the common councillors but in the 17th century was again listed above them.¹⁴

In 1589 the clerk was ordered to bring in the mayor's book 'fair written' each year at Michaelmas, and to keep the records in the town hall in a chest of two keys, one held by the mayor.¹⁵ Edulph Dingley, clerk from 1594, complained in 1598 of wrongful dismissal and forcible eviction from the town clerk's house by the mayor, aided by Cromwell Lee, the high steward's brother, and George Whitton, a borough magistrate; the corporation alleged that both office and house were held at will. Dingley was disfranchised and the clerkship granted for life to Thomas Rawlins at a general court day,¹⁶ whereas later clerks were chosen in council. The town clerk's house may have been part of the former chantry house in front of the church, which Rawlins rebuilt and where his son-in-law and successor Edmund Hiorne, town clerk from 1607, provided a town office which was used until 1679.¹⁷

Hiorne, an assiduous clerk to both the corporation and the royal manor,¹⁸ became a borough magistrate and a substantial property owner.¹⁹ In 1642 he was reprimanded by parliament for his zeal in the royalist cause and by December 1645 had been replaced as clerk by John Williams.²⁰ Although resident and active on the council during the Interregnum²¹ he did not replace Williams until 1662, and resigned the following year in favour of George Ryves, his granddaughter's husband; he died in 1669.²²

The charter of 1664 confirmed the town clerk as clerk of the peace and allowed the appointment of a deputy.²³ From 1663 until 1767, except for the period 1677–81, the clerkship was

held by members of the Ryves family,²⁴ of whom the most notable was Edward (d. 1767), who became a wealthy landowner.²⁵ He and his successors, Thomas Walker (d. 1804), Henry North (resigned 1829, d. 1831), his son Henry (d. 1881), and R. B. B. Hawkins (d. 1894)²⁶ were dominant figures in the corporation, as well as being among the town's wealthiest inhabitants. Edward Ryves, the Norths, and Hawkins all lived in large houses in Park Street, and Walker, the duke's agent and town clerk of Oxford, lived at Hensington House.

In the 16th century the town clerk was supported by a variety of fees²⁷ and in the early 17th century was paid a salary, usually £1 6s. 8d.²⁸ In 1662 Edmund Hiorne reckoned that the clerk's income was less than £6.²⁹ In the 19th century the clerk's annual fee was raised in stages from c. £3 to £21,³⁰ but most of his income came from the clerkship to the magistrates, which was separated from the town clerkship in 1857.³¹

In common with many other boroughs Woodstock from the later 16th century acquired the services of a high steward, usually an influential local figure whose duties included taking the mayor's oath and delivering a speech at the Michaelmas election.³² John Cupper of Glympton, steward in 1580, was succeeded before 1584 by the prominent courtier Sir Henry Lee of Ditchley (d. 1611).³³ Lee seems to have been active in Woodstock affairs,³⁴ and an understeward, one Alcock, was accused by Whitton of being the 'chief stirrer' of disputes within the corporation.³⁵ High stewards, chosen in council, were always borough justices. Lee's successors were Sir Thomas Spencer (1612–22), Philip Herbert, earl of Pembroke (1622–50), Lt.-Gen. Charles Fleetwood (1655–60), Sir Thomas Spencer (1660–85), and Edward Henry Lee, earl of Lichfield (1685–92);³⁶ the Spencers of Yarnton were the town's nearest resident magnates, while the rest were stewards of the royal manor and park. In 1692 the earl of Lichfield was ousted from the high stewardship in favour of John Lovelace, Lord Lovelace, on the grounds that he refused to take the statutory oaths.³⁷ There was a vacancy after Lovelace's death in 1693 until John, duke of Marlborough, was appointed in 1705. Francis, earl of Godolphin (d. 1766), husband of Henrietta, *suo jure*

¹⁰ Ibid. 83/4.

¹¹ Ibid. 90, pp. 254–5.

¹² Ibid. 83/1, pp. 35, 115; New Coll. Arch., Reg. Evid. ii, p. 31.

¹³ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 56, 59–60, 65, 102, 114.

¹⁴ Ibid. 82, ff. 13, 15 and v.

¹⁵ Ibid. f. 14v.

¹⁶ P.R.O., STAC 5/D 36/12; Boro. Mun. 82, f. 14v.; 83/1, pp. 86, 100.

¹⁷ Above, Bldgs. no. 39.

¹⁸ Cf. Boro. Mun. 77/2; 78/2–3; Blenheim Mun., B/M/208.

¹⁹ Boro. Mun. 31/14. For his property see O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 33/2/28.

²⁰ Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 86; Boro. Mun. 81, s.a. 1645.

²¹ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 6.

²² Ibid. 76/1, ff. 4v., 6; 97, p. 46; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d. 884, f. 94: burial reg. transcript. For the connexion with Ryves see O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 33/2/28.

²³ Boro. Mun. 83/4.

²⁴ For changes of clerks see *ibid.* 97, pp. 52, 56; 87, June

1719; 88, pp. 62, 71, 244.

²⁵ e.g. above, Eynsham, Other Estates; copy of will, O.R.O., N.W.B., V/7.

²⁶ Boro. Mun. 89, pp. 139, 339, 344–5; 101, pp. 18–20. For Hawkins see *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490–I], pp. 247 sqq., H.C. (1880), xxxi.

²⁷ e.g. Boro. Mun. 82, f. 3 and v.

²⁸ Cf. *ibid.* 83/1, p. 91; 79, ff. 31, 176v., 190v.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 76/1, f. 6.

³⁰ *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* (1835), App. I, p. 142; Boro. Mun. 89, p. 408; 101, pp. 21–4; 95, s.a. 1885–6.

³¹ *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490], pp. 124–5, H.C. (1880), xxxi; *ibid.* [C. 2490–I], pp. 247–8, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

³² Boro. Mun. 82, ff. 1, 11.

³³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1547–80, 652; Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 84.

³⁴ e.g. Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 84.

³⁵ P.R.O., STAC 5/W 77/7.

³⁶ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 9, 92; 79, f. 62v. and *passim* (for Herbert); 82, f. 18; 76/2, Mar. 1685.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 76/2, Aug., Sept. 1692; below, Blenheim, Pk. to 1705.

duchess of Marlborough, was appointed high steward belatedly in 1728 and the office was held by successive dukes of Marlborough.³⁸

The office benefited both high steward and corporation, offering parliamentary patronage to one, political support and financial aid to the other. In the 17th century the corporation regularly treated its stewards to cakes, sugar, and cheese, usually receiving venison in return.³⁹ Sir Thomas Spencer (d. 1622) gave a charity, and his grandson paid for the defence of the charter of 1664. Lord Lovelace promised much and gave little⁴⁰ but from the Marlboroughs, not solely because of their high stewardship, the corporation gained large benefits.⁴¹

The town's earliest known recorder, Sir Lawrence Tanfield of Burford, M.P. for Woodstock from 1584, was recorder by 1598 and later chief baron of the Exchequer.⁴² Many later recorders represented the borough in parliament, including the distinguished parliamentarians Sir James Whitelocke (recorder 1606–21), William Lenthall (1622–60), and Sir Thomas Littleton (1695–1709).⁴³ The recorder's fee of £3 6s. 8d. in 1606 remained unchanged.⁴⁴ In the early 17th century recorders visited regularly, chiefly for law days, licensing sessions, or royal visits; they were sometimes paid a special fee for legal advice.⁴⁵ When Woodstock church was damaged by rebel prisoners in 1648 William Lenthall, unable to promise redress from the public purse, offered his recorder's fee for several years.⁴⁶ The charter of 1664 enlarged the recorder's powers, including him in the council's quorum for the issue of bylaws, the levy of taxes, or the dismissal of councillors.⁴⁷ Deputy recorders, allowed by the charter, included Richard Croke, who represented Lenthall throughout the Interregnum,⁴⁸ and Henry Beeston, resident deputy from 1695 until becoming recorder in 1709.⁴⁹ During the 18th century the recorder's duties decreased and in 1802 Francis Burton resigned only because poor eyesight prevented him attending the leet dinner.⁵⁰ James Blackstone (recorder 1802–31), living at Hensington House as the duke's agent, usually attended the general sessions.⁵¹ The duke's attempt to control the appointment of his successor provoked a constitutional crisis and there was no recorder until 1838; even so the duke recommended the next

and last recorder of the old corporation in 1858.⁵² The office, without duties or fee, was revived briefly in 1912.⁵³

Two constables and four tithingmen were appointed annually, usually at the October view of frankpledge⁵⁴ but sometimes in council.⁵⁵ Constables were mentioned in 1460⁵⁶ and the office was presumably of greater antiquity. Constables made presentments at the leet and collected the estreats,⁵⁷ and they and the tithingmen, with watchmen appointed for fairs and other special occasions, provided the town's policing.⁵⁸ The constables were responsible for the town's armour⁵⁹ and the supply of trained soldiers.⁶⁰ Service as constable and tithingman was part of a freeman's career, and refusal to serve was met by fines or imprisonment.⁶¹ Constables' levies, usually two a year and raising c. £14 a year in the late 17th century,⁶² were used to pay dues to the high constable of Wootton hundred and to the county for musters, maimed soldiers, and a house of correction.⁶³ The council, which approved the constable's accounts, in 1636 made good a shortfall by a levy on those present.⁶⁴ In the 1870s the corporation still appointed a constable annually, with no salary but a fee of 1s. from each licensee at the brewster sessions.⁶⁵

In the 15th century a crier received small fees for proclamations in the portmoot.⁶⁶ In 1608 the office, combined with that of clerk of Woodstock chapel, was granted for life; in the later 17th century it was still held with that of parish clerk and sexton.⁶⁷ The corporation also paid a beadle of beggars and provided him with red and blue livery: his duties included whipping vagrants, impounding strays, and minimal scavenging, and in 1654 he was charged also with keeping dogs out of the church and children out of the churchyard in service time.⁶⁸ A bellman was appointed in the early 18th century to ring the curfew bell and scavenge in Park Street,⁶⁹ and a separate scavenger for the central streets was appointed from 1715. From 1737 a beadle took over the duties of scavenger and bellman⁷⁰ and from the later 18th century the combined office of crier and beadle carried a fee of £5 4s. and a small payment instead of the traditional dinner from the chamberlains.⁷¹ From 1838 the crier was paid £4 and provided with a uniform.⁷²

³⁸ Boro. Mun. 86, Feb. 1705; 88, p. 219; 89, pp. 253, 434; 90, p. 135; 101, pp. 55–7.

³⁹ Ibid. 79, *passim*.

⁴⁰ Below, Municipal Bldgs.; Char.

⁴¹ Above, Intro.

⁴² Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 86; *D.N.B.*

⁴³ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 88; 79, f. 63; 76/2, July 1695; *D.N.B.*

⁴⁴ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 88; 95, s.a. 1828–9.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 79, ff. 14v., 153v., and *passim*.

⁴⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 456, f. 190.

⁴⁷ Boro. Mun. 83/4.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 79, ff. 198v., 200v.; 83/1, p. 97–8.

⁴⁹ Cf. *ibid.* 76/2, July 1695, Jan. 1695/6, May 1696; 86, Jan. 1709/10.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 89, p. 120.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 121; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.*, App. I, p. 141; above, Bladon, Intro.

⁵² Boro. Mun. 89, pp. 365–6, 384–6; 90, p. 148; above, Boro. to 1886.

⁵³ *Oxf. Times*, 26 Oct. 1912.

⁵⁴ Boro. Mun. 88, *passim*.

⁵⁵ e.g. *ibid.* 86, Oct. 1714, Oct. 1715; 87, Sept. 1731.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 83/1, p. 17.

⁵⁷ e.g. *ibid.* 96, ff. 49–51; 78/2, Oct. 1608.

⁵⁸ e.g. *ibid.* 78/2–3, *passim*. For watchmen see *ibid.* 78/2, Aug. 1608, July 1611.

⁵⁹ e.g. *ibid.* 81, s.a. 1607 and endpapers.

⁶⁰ e.g. *ibid.* 79, f. 99; 76/1, f. 10.

⁶¹ Ibid. 82, f. 10v.; 77/2, Oct. 1626.

⁶² Ibid. 81, s.a. 1601; 76/2, endpapers.

⁶³ e.g. *ibid.* 79, ff. 54v., 64v., 74, 137v.; 96, f. 8.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 81, s.a. 1601; 79, f. 132v.

⁶⁵ *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490], p. 126, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

⁶⁶ e.g. New Coll. Arch., Reg. Evid. ii, p. 31.

⁶⁷ Boro. Mun. 81, Sept. 1608; 76/1, Jan. 1671/2.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 79, ff. 114, 120v., 130, 132v.; 83/1, p. 93.

⁶⁹ e.g. *ibid.* 86, May 1712, Mar. 1715.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 87, Apr. 1737.

⁷¹ Ibid. 88, p. 339; 89, pp. 94, 187; 95, s.a. 1828–9.

⁷² Ibid. 89, pp. 386, 397; 95, s.a. 1886.

Overseers of the poor, surveyors of the highways, and ale-tasters are treated elsewhere.⁷³

Finance and property. In 1517–18 the two chamberlains accounted for an income of only 55s., including 22s. surplus from the previous year; the 26s. from rents and 7s. from admission fees was spent on repairs to corporate property, street cleaning, and punitive instruments.⁷⁴ For most of the 16th century only the chamberlains' annual surplus and outstanding debts were recorded⁷⁵ but income evidently increased, particularly after the acquisition of former chantry property in 1565. Even so extraordinary expenses, such as for parliamentary bills and establishing the wool market in the 1570s and the licence to acquire property in 1599,⁷⁶ could not be met without loans, usually from councillors, and in the later 16th century the borough's debt was between £60 and £80.⁷⁷

From 1580, when the chamberlains took over many of the mayor's financial responsibilities,⁷⁸ most borough revenue was accounted for by the chamberlains. Between 1608 and 1640 annual income was usually between £50 and £60, of which almost half came from rents;⁷⁹ large increases of income to c. £80 or more in 1612, 1632, 1636, and 1640 reflected the incidence of fines for the renewal of corporation leases. During the Civil War the accounts were disrupted, but from 1646 the chamberlains' income was much larger, usually £95 or more, chiefly because of an increase in the rental to c. £45. Other regular sources of income in the earlier 17th century were admission fees, yielding between £1 and £10 a year, tolls and stallage (£8–£10), and small sums from amercements, felons' goods, waifs, the use of the common seal, and sales of timber from corporation land. The income included c. £13 a year from the school endowment which was paid directly to the schoolmaster, and until 1612 the profits of Whitsun ales (£6–£9), which were passed to the churchwardens; by the 1640s the chamberlains were handling other substantial charitable funds. No regular corporate income was raised by taxation, and rates such as those for the constables were regarded as a parochial concern.⁸⁰ Loans were raised for emergencies: in 1603 sums between 10s. and £3 were owed to 21 townsmen, in 1616 a chamberlain provided a loan of £24 at the high rate of 10 per cent, and in 1639 an alderman was owed £48.⁸¹

The fixed outgoings, besides the schoolmaster's salary and other charity payments, were the fees of mayor, recorder, and town clerk and the two fee farm rents (£25 in all);⁸² repairs to corporate property, to streets and bridges, and contributions to church repair were regular items, and in 1612 repairs to the almshouse

accounted for a third of total expenditure. Regular gifts to high stewards, recorders, and influential neighbours, corporate dinners and other celebrations, and the entertainment of visiting dignitaries and preachers cost a few pounds each year; during royal visits gratuities to royal officers sometimes cost as much as £8. Legal charges, including the care and transport of prisoners, were regular items, and small sums were spent on the poor and for watchmen during fairs.

For the period 1650–1738 only summary accounts survive.⁸³ At first the income was usually £100–£120, but in 1664–5 £248 was raised and spent, probably in connexion with the borough charter. Thereafter totals varied from just less than £100 to over £300 in 1722 and 1723. When high income was matched by high expenditure it probably, as later, reflected the passage through the accounts of large capital sums such as the corporation's loan charities; in the early 1720s, however, expenditure remained at the usual level of £100–£140, and it seems likely that the high income derived from the fees of honorary freemen. Admission fees perhaps account for the less spectacular increases in income to c. £200 in 1678–9 during the Exclusion crisis and in 1713–14 when there were contested parliamentary elections.⁸⁴

Between 1738 and 1832 annual income ranged from as little as £120 to £435 in 1793–4 and an exceptional £600 in 1829–30.⁸⁵ The chamberlains' regular income rose to £200–£300 as the rent roll increased from c. £85 in 1740 to over £130 in 1830.⁸⁶ High annual income was usually caused by the temporary acquisition of capital sums, as in 1744–7 when the chamberlains were handling many charitable donations and carrying over a large surplus each year. High figures in 1764–5 reflected the admission of 8 honorary freemen for 10 gn. each, in 1790–1 the acquisition of a loan, and in other years the receipt of renewal fines for leases. In 1829–30 income was inflated by the return of charity loans worth £240 and the sale of £200 stock. Years of low income reveal the limitations of the chamberlains' resources: in 1738 the income of c. £120 comprised largely rent income (c. £75), renewal fines (£12), and small sums for admissions, market tolls, and cheese weighing. Tolls and stallage were later let more profitably⁸⁷ but in 1795–6 the normal rent income was supplemented only by a few admissions and £10 from the shambles. In a more typical year, 1828–9, the income of £310 comprised rents (£134), admission fees and associated charges (£65 10s.), renewal fines (£62), and timber sales (£20), while the rest was charity income.

Although the 1664 charter empowered the corporation to raise taxes for public purposes

⁷³ Below, Par. Govt. and Poor Relief; Public Health and Services; above, Econ., Mkts. and Fairs.

⁷⁴ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 102.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 81, *passim*.

⁷⁶ Ibid. f. [1] and Jan. 1598/9. A loan for the wool market is mentioned in P.R.O., STAC 5/W 77/7.

⁷⁷ Boro. Mun. 81, s.a. 1584–5.

⁷⁸ Above, Council and Officers.

⁷⁹ This and the following para. are based on Boro. Mun. 79: chamberlains' accts. 1609–50.

⁸⁰ For constables, above, Council and Officers.

⁸¹ Boro. Mun. 81, s.a. 1603, 1616, 1639.

⁸² For fee farm rents, above, Boro. to 1886.

⁸³ Boro. Mun. 81.

⁸⁴ Below, Parl. Rep.

⁸⁵ This and the following two paras. are based on Boro. Mun. 93: accts. 1738–1832.

⁸⁶ For annual rentals 1652–1832 see *ibid.* 7–8, 11–12. There are discrepancies, largely caused by arrears, between rent rolls and recorded rent income.

⁸⁷ Above, Econ., Mkts. and Fairs.

there was no attempt to do so, and extraordinary expenses were usually met by loans. In the later 17th century the corporation regularly borrowed to pay off existing debts,⁸⁸ and even small undertakings such as rebuilding the Woodstock Arms in 1700 required a loan of £40.⁸⁹ The corporation also regularly lent capital, mostly charitable funds, including £200 to the rector in the 1720s.⁹⁰ Between 1747 and 1757 the corporation began to buy national lottery tickets in the vain hope of financing a new town hall.⁹¹ Loans from councillors continued to be raised in the later 18th century, and from the 1780s the corporation began to invest in government stock and later in the Oxford Canal Company.⁹² Lack of funds rendered the corporation unwilling or unable to finance the major improvements to the town in the 17th and 18th centuries: a private company installed a water supply in the 1690s, the Marlboroughs paid for paving the streets in 1713 and rebuilding the town hall and shambles in 1766, and the workhouse of 1778 was bought with funds provided by the borough's M.P. The corporation provided a small pest house in 1720, contributed towards a fire engine in 1746–7, and by raising loans was able to participate in the building work of 1766 and the church restoration in 1782–3.⁹³

The chamberlains' regular expenditure was similar in range to that of the early 17th century, but the mayor's fee increased and more minor officers were paid, raising the wage bill, excluding the schoolmaster, to *c.* £30 in 1782 and *c.* £58 by 1830.⁹⁴ Church and poor rates levied on corporate property cost sometimes £30 a year in the early 19th century; other new commitments from *c.* 1770 included annual payments for street lighting and a subscription to the Radcliffe Infirmary. Corporate entertainment of visitors decreased but the chamberlains continued to contribute to some public festivities.

After the breakdown of corporate government in the 1830s accounting was reorganized and the grammar school and some other charity accounts separated.⁹⁵ Admission fees became rare after parliamentary reform in 1832 and the chamberlains' regular income derived mostly from rents, which yielded £160 in 1840–1 and *c.* £220 in 1886; the remainder came from timber sales, profits from a public weighbridge, hire charges for the town hall, and interest on investments, which in 1856 comprised £500 stock. Loans from councillors continued, notably to finance the purchase of property in 1865,⁹⁶ and from the 1860s money was raised on mortgage. The chamberlains were in debt in 1879 and a private loan was raised, and in 1882 the loan was repaid and repairs to the town hall financed by

mortgaging the meadows.⁹⁷ Regular expenditure was on salaries, repairs, and the one surviving fee farm rent, and new items included, from 1853, payments to the gas company for street lighting, and in the 1880s payments for watering the streets. Extraordinary expenditure included £100 to a subscription for repaving the streets in 1851–2, £100 for church restoration in 1877, £50 and smaller sums to the National school from 1853, £50 towards the curate's salary in 1871, £32 for fire hydrants in 1861, and small contributions to the police station in 1861⁹⁸ and the workhouse chapel in 1863. In the mid 19th century the corporation was supplementing the duke's annual gift of a buck to provide a venison feast,⁹⁹ but after 1855 little was spent on corporate entertainment.

The property which provided the bulk of the corporation's income was mostly acquired in the 15th and 16th centuries. In 1453, when it acquired the valuable meadows north of the town, the corporation probably possessed little besides its ancient guild hall;¹ the 15th-century rents in its earliest ledger book were mostly from chantry property technically belonging to the churchwardens.² In 1504 the corporation granted away a house and land in Old Woodstock,³ but in the earlier 16th century was receiving rent from a shop 'under the guild hall' and from Spittle House close in Old Woodstock, presumably former hospital land.⁴ The corporation also benefited from the ancient annual quitrents imposed on the town's burgages at its foundation, and was owner of the waste, which included the streets and common land: by the mid 16th century it was receiving rents for an encroachment on the common at Town's End and from Butt close, taken from the Common or Back Green.⁵ In 1551 it acquired a former chantry house north of the church to make an almshouse, and in the same year sold another house perhaps recently acquired.⁶ Shortly afterwards the corporation owned at least two other houses in the town.⁷ In 1565 the queen granted to the corporation the residue of the Woodstock property of the former St. Mary's chantry, comprising 4 shops, 13 houses, and rents worth 15s. 8d.⁸ In 1578 the corporation was granted a house in Park Street and an attached close, later the site of the rectory house, together with land at Hampton Poyle.⁹ By 1598 the corporation received *c.* £32 a year, of which £21 10s. was reserved rent on corporation leases, including four houses, Butt close, the meadows, and the woolbeam; £6 6s. came from the separately listed chantry property of 1565, together with 15s. from the 'chantry quitrents' granted in that year; the ancient quitrents yielded 26s. 6d., and

⁸⁸ e.g. Boro. Mun. 76/1, Apr. 1669, Aug. 1673, Oct. 1676.

⁸⁹ Ibid. 86, s.a. 1700.

⁹⁰ Ibid. 87, Dec. 1723, June 1726.

⁹¹ Ibid. 88, pp. 9, 17, 45, 115.

⁹² Ibid. pp. 445, 477; 89, pp. 18, 33, 93, 143, 156.

⁹³ Below, Public Health and Services; Municipal Bldgs.; Church.

⁹⁴ Fixed outgoings in 1782 are listed in Boro. Mun. 93, p. 275.

⁹⁵ Para. based on *ibid.* 94: accts. 1833–58; 95: accts. 1828–86 (duplicating pt. of *ibid.* 94).

⁹⁶ Cf. *ibid.* 90, p. 239; 95, s.a. 1864–5.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 90, pp. 258–9, 299; 101, pp. 2–4, 35–9.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 90, p. 181.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 89, pp. 465, 476, 488; 90, p. 109.

¹ Below, Municipal Bldgs. ² Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 4.

³ Balliol Coll. Mun. F. 8. 60–3.

⁴ Boro. Mun. 81, f. [3 and v.].

⁵ Ibid. s.a. 1554, 1566, and endpapers.

⁶ Below, Char.; Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 70–1.

⁷ Boro. Mun. 81, endpapers.

⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1563–6, p. 440.

⁹ Boro. Mun. 34/2/1–2; below, Church.

the rest came from miscellaneous additions to the rental, including encroachments and the Hampton Poyle estate.¹⁰

By 1598 the freehold of much of the corporation's estate had been granted away, leaving it with residual rents which were later of little value. Of the chantry property of 1565 much was granted to leading townsmen in 1569 on condition of rebuilding, the corporation reserving a rent.¹¹ The corporation complained of losing another house to George Whitton in 1567, and in 1618 it granted three houses to Edmund Hiorne, town clerk, again reserving only the traditional rents.¹² Other chantry property may already have been sold,¹³ for by 1618 the only such property certainly still in hand was the site of the later King's Arms hotel and of a house and wool barn later incorporated in the Woodstock Arms.¹⁴ The corporation's other houses in 1618, besides those given for the grammar school,¹⁵ were a house near the park gate, sold with the rectory site in 1686,¹⁶ the site of nos. 70-4 Oxford Street, apparently sold in the 17th century, and four buildings constructed c. 1600 on waste leased from the corporation.¹⁷

Rentals continued to include charity property and miscellaneous rents for the wool beam and tolls and stallage;¹⁸ totals, not always strictly comparable, changed little in the early 17th century but, chiefly through increases in meadow rents, rose to £65 by 1652, c. £85 in the 1730s, and over £110 in the late 18th century and early 19th. The former chantry rents and quitrents were merged with ancient quitrents unless derived from corporation leases. Except for the meadows the council's policy was to grant long leases with low reserved rents which changed little from the 16th century until the 19th, but were backed by substantial renewal fines not reflected by rental totals. By the later 17th century leases were usually for 40 years, renewable at 14-year intervals, a practice confirmed by the council in 1711.¹⁹ By then, in addition to the reserved rent, leases included obligations to supply in kind various contributions to the mayor's Michaelmas feast. A lease of ground for a cockpit in 1715 stipulated that councillors should have free entry.²⁰ Rack renting began to replace traditional leases in the late 18th century, at first for new rents such as the shambles stalls and cottages in Common Acre and Brook Hill; by 1828 the traditional reserved

rents were only £12 while rack rents, including the meadows, yielded over £110. Quitrents by then yielded over £9 because of additions for encroachments.

The chief additions to the corporation estate after 1618 were the Woodstock Arms acquired in 1699 and the pest house of 1720;²¹ major leased encroachments included, on the Common Green, parts of the grounds and outbuildings of Woodstock House extended in stages from the mid 17th century, and the cockpit site established in 1715.²² There were encroachments for gardens and cottages on Hoggrove Hill from the mid 17th century,²³ on the site of Glyme Cottage (no. 120 Oxford Street) in the 1750s,²⁴ on the later Union Street from the 1760s, and at Brook Hill in the early 19th century.²⁵ The house later the Queen's Own seems to have been sold c. 1818.²⁶ The whole corporation estate was surveyed and the rents reviewed in 1828.²⁷

Rack renting raised income to £160 in 1840, excluding the charity estates, but there were few entry fines.²⁸ In 1865, having extended its chartered right to hold lands in mortmain, the corporation bought the rear part of nos. 2-8 Park Street for £650.²⁹ Although the acquisition increased the rental to over £210 the corporation was criticized by Liberal opponents for favouring the lessee, an alderman, and for similar laxity in other property dealings.³⁰ The corporation estate remained largely intact until the Second World War, except for the sale of the Woodstock House grounds in 1890-1³¹ and the redemption of ancient quitrents in 1936.³² Most of the corporation's houses, notably the King's Arms, the Woodstock Arms, and the former cockpit and pest house, were sold in 1943-4, and the former White Hart in 1968.³³ Of its 'historic' property the corporation after 1974 retained only the town hall, the meadows, nos. 2-8 Park Street, and nos. 2-4 Market Street, the site of its medieval guild hall and later shambles, which had been let as houses and shops from 1870.³⁴

The corporation meadows were granted by the Crown in 1453 as a lake or marsh called le Pool, comprising c. 17 a. on the south bank of the river Glyme; the fee farm rent of £2 13s. 4d. suggests that the land was by then fertile meadow,³⁵ but the site may earlier have been that of a royal fishpond outside the park mentioned in 1279.³⁶ In 1519 the tenants of the Common Pool were compensated for herbage

¹⁰ Boro. Mun. 96, f. 87.

¹¹ Above, Bldgs. *passim*.

¹² P.R.O., STAC 5/W 77/7; Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 80; above, Bldgs. nos. 30-1, 39, 48.

¹³ Rentals do not clearly distinguish between the corporation's freehold and its residual rents until the 18th cent.: e.g. Boro. Mun. 7/11.

¹⁴ Above, Bldgs. nos. 18, 56.

¹⁵ Ibid. no. 1; below, Educ.

¹⁶ Below, Church.

¹⁷ Above, Bldgs. nos. 8, 10, 14, 28, 57.

¹⁸ Boro. Mun. 96, ff. 4-7: rental 1602; 79, ff. 19-23v., 33-34v.: 1609-18; 7/1-18: 1652-1752; 8/1-10: 1756-70; 11/1-34: 1773-1808; 12/1-23: 1809-28.

¹⁹ Ibid. 86, Mar. 1710/11. For the enrolled leases 1709-1847, *ibid.* 85, and for loose leases, *ibid.* 23; 58.

²⁰ Ibid. 85, pp. 15-17.

²¹ Above, Bldgs. no. 56; below, Public Health.

²² Above, Bldgs. nos. 34-5.

²³ e.g. Boro. Mun. 7/1: Mrs. Glover's rent; *ibid.* 100, ff. 6, 24-5.

²⁴ Ibid. 85, pp. 76-7; *ibid.* pt. 2, pp. 22-5, 207-11; 100, f. 26: plan 1829.

²⁵ Ibid. 88, pp. 210, 214; 100, ff. 16, 29.

²⁶ Above, Bldgs. no. 14.

²⁷ Ibid. 89, pp. 338, 341; 100, plans of 1828-30; 12/23: rental 1828.

²⁸ Ibid. 143-6: rentals 1838-1951.

²⁹ Ibid. 148; above, Bldgs. no. 28.

³⁰ *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490], pp. 127-8, H.C. (1880), xxxi; *ibid.* [C. 2490-I], p. 858, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

³¹ Boro. Mun. 102, pp. 140, 156; Blenheim Mun., box 139.

³² Boro. Mun. 112, p. 250; *ibid.* file 23D.

³³ Ibid. 114, pp. 314, 328-9; 115, p. 49; 137, p. 101.

³⁴ Below, Municipal Bldgs. For the retention of 'historic' property, below, Reformed Boro.

³⁵ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1427-1516, 125-7.

³⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 839.

damaged by horses of the king's servants.³⁷ In the mid 16th century the meadows yielded £7 6s. 8d., and by 1598 were let in four portions for £13 6s. 8d.³⁸ In the 17th century long leases of between 10 and 21 years were customary.³⁹ In 1640 the rent on two leases was raised sharply⁴⁰ and in 1652 the meadows yielded over £36.⁴¹ The rent was unchanged until 1736,⁴² when the meadows were redivided and let in seven divisions for £41 10s.⁴³ In 1759 councillors drew lots for the meadow leases, and councillors continued to monopolize leases until the 1860s when public auctions began.⁴⁴ Meadow rents were as high as £87 in 1813 but were usually between £70 and £80 until the 1860s.⁴⁵ A rise to over £100 was followed by enforced reductions after serious flooding in the 1870s and 1880s.⁴⁶ The rent fell to only £50 by 1930,⁴⁷ excluding the rent of the gas works site which occupied a small area on the southern edge of the meadows from 1854.⁴⁸ By the early 20th century the eastern end of the meadows was used as a rubbish tip,⁴⁹ and in the 1970s that part and the gas works site were built over.⁵⁰

In the 17th century and 18th the corporation, sometimes aided by contributions from meadow lessees,⁵¹ regularly maintained the 'bays' or sluices in the meadows, repaired the river banks, and cleansed the river, the ditches, and the corporation brook;⁵² the last, also called the back brook, was the watercourse running round the north-east, east, and south sides of the meadows from the Glyme near Bradshawe's (later Badger's) ford to Woodstock mill.⁵³ In 1756 the duke of Marlborough was permitted to insert a pipe beneath the corporation ditch near Bradshawe's ford to drain water from his land on the north bank into the meadow drains; the lease of land for the meadow pipe was regularly renewed at 1s. a year.⁵⁴ In 1852 the duke was reminded of his obligation under the first lease to maintain the river bank on the north side of the meadows and also the middle ditch.⁵⁵ The duke may have acknowledged the obligation, for in 1864 he was asked as a matter of course to cleanse the middle ditch,⁵⁶ while the corporation then and later seems to have restricted its responsibilities to

the corporation brook.⁵⁷ The floods of the 1870s and 1880s were blamed on the duke's culverts, the regulation of the mill weirs, and the riparian owners of the Glyme above the meadows, who were the duke and Balliol College.⁵⁸ In the mid 20th century the meadows were neglected, and became marshy and overgrown with brushwood and poplars.⁵⁹

The corporation's Hampton Poyle estate was granted in 1578 by Thomas Ridge of Woodstock, innholder, as 15 yards of lot meadow.⁶⁰ In the 17th century the meadow was usually let on long leases to senior councillors, but in the 1630s the hay was sometimes sold by the year.⁶¹ In 1739 the corporation acquired c. 3 a. of land at Islip formerly owned by Alderman John Brotherton of Woodstock (d. 1727) and mortgaged to the corporation from 1714.⁶² The Hampton Poyle and Islip lands were leased together to local farmers, yielding £7 a year in 1750.⁶³ At inclosure of Hampton Poyle in 1797 the corporation was allotted 4½ a., and at inclosure of Islip in 1805 c. 4 a.; the pieces lay together on the parish boundary.⁶⁴ The estate, let for between £14 and £16 in the 19th century, was sold in 1972.⁶⁵

THE REFORMED BOROUGH. The new municipal borough created in 1886 comprised the old borough and the extended built-up area, taking in c. 51 a. of Wootton parish, which included Old Woodstock, and c. 45 a. of Hensington township in Bladon parish, which included the union workhouse, Hensington House and its grounds, and a few buildings at the south-east corner of the town.⁶⁶ The corporation's attempts to consolidate the borough into a single civil parish failed, and under the Local Government Act of 1894 the parts of Wootton and Hensington taken into the borough became separate civil parishes called Old Woodstock and Hensington Within.⁶⁷ Neither had a parish meeting or vestry, but assistant overseers were appointed separately for the three parishes until 1896 when the council secured the right of appointment; thereafter two overseers and an assistant overseer were appointed for the borough.⁶⁸ Census

³⁷ Boro. Mun. 80, p. 102.

³⁸ Ibid. 81, endpapers; 96, f. 87.

³⁹ e.g. ibid. 81, Apr. 1635; 76/1, f. 2.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 79, ff. 153v., 159v.

⁴¹ Ibid. 7/1.

⁴² Ibid. 7/5. Part was probably unlet in 1684 when the meadow rent was lower: ibid. 7/3.

⁴³ Ibid. 7/11; 87, Jan. 1735/6.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 88, pp. 130-2, 346-7, 429; 89, pp. 19, 218-19, 342-3, 404-6, 484; 90, pp. 206, 218, 252, 297.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 89, 218-19; 143/1-23: rentals 1838-61.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 101, pp. 55-7, 62-4; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490], p. 126, H.C. (1880), xxxi; ibid. [C. 2490-I], p. 853-60, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

⁴⁷ Boro. Mun. 144/10-30; 145/1-22: rentals 1889-1932.

⁴⁸ Below, Public Health and Services.

⁴⁹ e.g. O.R.O., D.V. VIII/275; X/23: map and tax valuation, c. 1910.

⁵⁰ F. Bevan, 'Social conditions in Woodstock 40 years ago' (TS., 1972, in Westgate Libr.).

⁵¹ e.g. Boro. Mun. 76/1, s.a. 1675; 76/2, Mar. 1682/3.

⁵² e.g. ibid. 79, f. 30v., 46v., 49-50, 104, 108v., 114v.; 93, pp. 33-5, 76-8, 96-8, 215-21.

⁵³ Cf. ibid. 100, f. 2: plan of meadows, 1812; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490-I], p. 853, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

⁵⁴ Boro. Mun. 88, pp. 99-100; e.g. 85, pp. 60-2, 103-6.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 90, pp. 83, 93-4, 96. Proposals for lease included both commitments, but the lease omitted ref. to river bank: cf. ibid. 88, p. 99; 85, pp. 60-2. For the changing divisions cf. Blenheim Mun., map of 1719 in wooden chest; Boro. Mun. 100, f. 2; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 edn.).

⁵⁶ Boro. Mun. 90, p. 219.

⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 245.

⁵⁸ Ibid. pp. 383-4; 101, pp. 42-4, 51-3; 102, p. 87; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490], p. 126, H.C. (1880), xxxi; ibid. [C. 2490-I], pp. 267, 853-60, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

⁵⁹ County Mus., P.R.N. 5333 includes surveys and proposals for land use.

⁶⁰ Boro. Mun. 34/2/1.

⁶¹ e.g. ibid. 7/2-3; 79, ff. 104, 113, 118v., 124, 133v.; 81, s.a. 1613, 1619, 1636.

⁶² Ibid. 34/1/1-9.

⁶³ Ibid. 7/4 sqq.: rentals 1733-52.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 34/1/10, 14; 34/2/2.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 143-4, *passim*; 141, June 1972.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 83/6; 83/9; *Census*, 1891-1901; cf. O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876, 1899 edns.).

⁶⁷ Boro. Mun. 102, pp. 24, 35, 137, 144; O.R.O., RO 682, 216.

⁶⁸ Boro. Mun. 107, p. 300-1, 347; 110, p. 252; ibid. file 3A.

figures were recorded separately for Old Woodstock and Hensington Within until 1951. Applications by the council in the 1930s and 1940s to extend the borough were refused, and its boundaries were unchanged in 1974.⁶⁹

The council comprised the mayor, elected annually, 4 aldermen, of whom two retired every three years, and 12 councillors, of whom a third retired annually; the councillors were elected by resident ratepayers, who were registered on a burgess roll. Statutory officers comprised a town clerk, a borough treasurer, and three auditors, other salaried officers being appointed as required; from 1923 Barclays Bank acted as borough treasurer.⁷⁰ All powers, responsibilities, and property vested in the guardians of Woodstock union as the rural sanitary authority and in Wootton district highway board were transferred to the new corporation; its work as urban sanitary authority was financed and administered separately from its other business until 1920, when accounts and minutes were merged.⁷¹ The corporation's responsibility for the town hall and other corporate property was exercised by an estates committee; a serjeant-at-mace and hall keeper was appointed from 1886. The corporation administered the public library from 1895 until it was taken over by the county council in 1947, regularly issued licences for petroleum storage and for theatres, and until 1902 enforced the provisions of the Elementary Education Acts through a school attendance officer and a committee comprising seven council members.⁷² In 1896, under the 1894 Local Government Act, the corporation acquired the churchwardens' and overseers' powers to appeal against the county and poor rates.⁷³ Although having no direct responsibility for public transport the corporation negotiated with the G.W.R. in the 1880s and later with the Regional Transport Commission to secure improvements in local services, and in 1889 approved the Woodstock Railway Co.'s plans for the station.⁷⁴ In the earlier 20th century the council co-operated informally with the St. John's Ambulance Brigade to provide ambulances.⁷⁵

As urban sanitary authority the corporation was responsible for water supply, drainage, sanitation, sewage disposal, highway and street maintenance, public lighting, and public health. Bylaws relating to public health and other matters were drafted by committee and enforced by the corporation, which could prosecute and fine offenders.⁷⁶ Under an agreement of 1873 the borough shared the services of a medical officer of health jointly appointed every three years by a large group of local councils.⁷⁷ In 1886 the

corporation appointed a veterinary inspector for the borough under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act of 1878.⁷⁸ The borough surveyor acted as sanitary inspector, inspector of dairies and milkshops, toll collector, rate collector, and rent collector for corporate property; as toll collector he administered the market.⁷⁹ The transfer to the corporation from Woodstock burial board of responsibility for the cemetery, apparently considered in 1886, was not effected until 1895 under the 1894 Local Government Act.⁸⁰

From 1886 a public works committee of seven council members acted on the reports of the medical officer, the borough surveyor, and an inspector of nuisances, and dealt with planning matters, street cleaning, drainage, and repair, precautions against infectious diseases, and regulation of markets and fairs, including fixing tolls and maintaining the public weighbridge; it also negotiated with the Blenheim Estate to provide an adequate water supply, served notices to abate nuisances, and hired a borough scavenger.⁸¹ Since no isolation hospital was available the corporation, as sanitary authority, found suitable buildings when required, sometimes by negotiation with the duke; by 1924 there was an arrangement with Abingdon joint hospital board. The council's residual responsibility for health provision was removed in 1948.⁸²

Responsibility for highways was retained by the corporation under the 1888 Local Government Act; it received annual grants from the county council, which took over the highways in 1910, leaving the corporation responsible for parish roads, for cleaning main roads, and erecting road signs.⁸³ A lighting committee established in 1886 negotiated supplies with private gas and electricity companies, and the corporation remained responsible for most borough lighting until 1974.⁸⁴ Following the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1919 a housing committee was formed to provide council houses which were mostly financed by government loans. From 1928 planning decisions were transferred to the Chipping Norton district and Woodstock joint regional planning committee.⁸⁵ In 1938 the council briefly took over responsibility for fire fighting from a volunteer brigade, setting up a joint committee with Chipping Norton rural district council, but from 1941 responsibility passed to others.⁸⁶ In 1974 the council retained some responsibility for sewers and minor roads, sanitation, housing, slum clearance, and local planning; its officers included a town clerk, rating officer, treasurer,

⁶⁹ Ibid. 115, pp. 236–42, 301–7, 329; *Census*, 1971.

⁷⁰ Mun. Corp. Act, 1882, 45 & 46 Vic. c. 50; Boro. Mun. 83, 6; 102, pp. 15–17, 32; 105, pp. 78–9.

⁷¹ Boro. Mun. 83, 9; 102–11, *passim*.

⁷² Ibid. 102, pp. 9–12, 38, 271, 287, 298; 103–11, *passim*; 115, p. 279; 116, p. 80.

⁷³ Ibid. 107, pp. 300–1, 347.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 102, p. 67; 107, p. 97; 115, p. 57.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 151, s.a. 1911; 105, pp. 49–50, 218; 114, p. 266.

⁷⁶ Ibid. 102, pp. 10, 54; 107, pp. 4–7, 242; 45 & 46 Vic. c. 50, s. 23.

⁷⁷ Boro. Mun. 107, pp. 12, 317, 325.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 102, pp. 21, 23.

⁷⁹ Ibid. pp. 16–17; 107, pp. 12–13.

⁸⁰ O.R.O., Misc. Budd XIV/6; Boro. Mun. 107, pp. 278–81.

⁸¹ Boro. Mun. 107, pp. 4–5, 15, 49–50, 93.

⁸² Ibid. pp. 201, 223, 348; 110, p. 175; 114, p. 257; *ibid.* file 34B.

⁸³ Ibid. 107, pp. 94, 100, 106; 105, pp. 2–3; 108, pp. 232, 381; 110, p. 296; 112, p. 342; 115, p. 96; 151.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 107–42, *passim*.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 110, pp. 20, 96–7, 201–2, 226, 351; 111, pp. 1, 21; *Social Services in Oxf. District*, ed. A. F. C. Bourdillon, ii. 428–9, 440–4.

⁸⁶ Boro. Mun. 116, pp. 116–17; below, Public Health and Services.

surveyor, public health inspector, and medical officer of health, and two auditors.⁸⁷

Before the integration of the corporation's finances in 1929 a separate borough fund comprised rents from corporate property, hire charges for the town hall, fees for petroleum licences, and until 1915 sales of copies of the burgess roll. Profits from property sales, invested in consols, were added to the fund; the rental rose from c. £198 in 1888 to £370 in 1929, when the total borough fund was £503. The council's income as urban sanitary authority came chiefly from general district rates assessed annually by the finance committee, and collected by the overseers; other income came from markets and tolls, grants from county or central government, and occasional games licences. In 1888 the rate raised c. £286, in the 1890s usually less than £190, but by 1929 £641. Shortfalls were sometimes made up from the borough fund, leading in 1896 to accusations of illegality and incompetence in fixing the rate, which the council denied. From 1930, under the 1925 Rating and Valuation Act and the 1929 Local Government Act, a single all-purpose general rate was raised by the corporation as rating authority for the borough; the town clerk was appointed rating, valuation, and finance officer and collector.⁸⁸ Much of the borough's property was sold to repay loans and to buy land for housing in 1943–4, followed by further sales in the late 1960s and early 1970s; by 1970 income came mostly from the general rate, council house rents, and government or county council grants.⁸⁹

In 1974 Woodstock became part of West Oxfordshire district; the municipal borough and its constituent civil parishes were abolished and replaced by a successor parish which adopted town status, preserving the privilege of electing local officers of dignity. The council retained as ancient property its regalia, muniments, town hall, and the corporation meadows; on appeal it recovered as ancient property from the district council nos. 2–8 Park Street and nos. 2–4 Market Street.⁹⁰ In 1988 Woodstock had 'a mayor, town council, and town clerk, but its powers were those of a parish council; besides its ancient property it owned the community centre, a former drill hall in New Road acquired in 1970. In 1985 Hensington Without parish (493 a.) was added to Woodstock, its parish councillors joining the town council; the parish boundary at the north end of Old Woodstock

was adjusted to include a row of houses at Hill Rise, formerly in Wootton parish.⁹¹

MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS. The medieval guild hall, on the site of nos. 2–4 Market Street, was perhaps built as a free-standing court house in the town's original large market place, but when first mentioned in the 15th century was evidently flanked by other buildings;⁹² in the early 16th century the corporation was letting a shop 'under' the guild hall.⁹³ In the 17th century the hall was two-storeyed with an upper and lower (or nether) hall, and a small prison with an entrance porch;⁹⁴ a clock and bell probably surmounted the building.⁹⁵ In 1678–9 the town clerk's office was moved from a house in front of the church into the town hall,⁹⁶ and by 1686 the hall also accommodated the fire engine.⁹⁷

In 1713 Sir John Vanbrugh and Henry Joynes discussed plans for rebuilding the hall,⁹⁸ and Philip Wharton, duke of Wharton, promised £600 for a rebuilding c. 1722.⁹⁹ Nothing was done until 1757 when the hall 'very ancient and much in decay'¹ was demolished and the corporation's records were moved across the road to Mrs. Brotherton's parlour (no. 6 Market Place), which the council rented for meetings for several years.² It was alleged later that councillors had been let down, having 'flattered themselves' that their M.P.s would pay for a new hall,³ but the death in 1758 of the third duke of Marlborough may have contributed to the setback. In 1764 it was still intended to rebuild a new hall on the site of the old, possibly extending southwards if the adjacent house (later no. 4 Market Place) could be purchased: the duke was to be asked to approve the estimate.⁴ An undated plan of a hall and council chamber above an arcaded ground floor (60 ft. × 30 ft.), open on the north and west, is probably of that period.⁵ In 1765, however, the duke approved a more ambitious plan for a larger hall on the site of the market cross, which was then demolished.⁶

The new hall, designed by Sir William Chambers, was begun in March 1766 and was in use for meetings in 1767.⁷ It comprised a hall and council chamber on the first floor, and an arcaded ground floor with, at the east end, a small lock-up with a stone staircase on the north and, probably from the outset, a fire-engine house on the south.⁸ The materials were stone from Cornbury Park, Stonesfield estates, and imported timber from London; the principal mason was John Hooper, the supervisor George Austen, the

⁸⁷ Ibid. 142; *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1974).

⁸⁸ Boro. Mun. 151; 102, p. 300; 110, pp. 302, 313; 106, p. 30.

⁸⁹ Ibid. file 23D; *ibid.* 114, pp. 314, 328–9, 357; 115, pp. 4–5, 49; 137, p. 101; 141, 27 June 1972, app. 1; unref. cash bk. 1966–70.

⁹⁰ Ibid. council mins. 1974–5; file re property transfer.

⁹¹ Ibid. Hensington Without par. council mins. 9 Jan. 1985; inf. from town clerk.

⁹² e.g. Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 4, 13. The site is first identifiable in 1515 when the later no. 6 Market Place was described as opposite the west end of the guild hall: *ibid.* p. 57.

⁹³ Ibid. 81, f. [3].

⁹⁴ Ibid. 79, ff. 9, 51v., 143v., 163, 198; 76/2, Dec. 1686.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 79, f. 4v.; 76/2, Feb. 1684/5; 93, pp. 21–3.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 76/1, Jan. 1677/8; above, Bldgs. no. 39.

⁹⁷ Boro. Mun. 76/2, Dec. 1686.

⁹⁸ B.L. Add. MS. 19605, f. 175.

⁹⁹ Boro. Mun. 87, Jan. 1743/4; ref. to the duke's note of hand payable to Mr. Brotherton; Wharton was at Woodstock Ho. in the 1720s and John Brotherton was mayor 1721–3.

¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 161.

² Boro. Mun. 88, pp. 109, 111, 207; 93, pp. 116–18, 122–4, 140–2.

³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 161.

⁴ Boro. Mun. 88, p. 190.

⁵ B.L. Add. MS. 61480, f. 113; R.I.B.A. drawings colln.

⁶ Boro. Mun. 88, p. 217, 219, 224; *Oxf. Jnl.* 25 Jan. 1766.

⁷ Boro. Mun. 88, p. 242, 263.

⁸ Ibid. 89, p. 417.

duke's foreman, and the building cost over £1,100.⁹

From 1857 parts of the hall were rented by the county magistrates, a savings bank, and a clothing club.¹⁰ Enclosure of the ground floor was proposed in 1868 and 1876, and the engine house may have been enlarged in 1874.¹¹ In 1895 a retiring room was built on the first floor over part of the stair.¹² In 1898 the ground floor was enclosed to create a council chamber or mayor's parlour and a library: the alteration, to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee, was designed by George Castle.¹³ In 1924 the hall was reroofed with grey slate.¹⁴ In 1934 the engine house was converted into a caretaker's office, later used by the town clerk.¹⁵ A mezzanine was formed above the lock-up in the 1960s. The arms of the 4th duke of Marlborough on the west front were added in 1768,¹⁶ and the borough arms above the west door are of 1898. The drinking fountain on the south front was given by the 7th duke in recognition of the town's assistance during the great fire at Blenheim in 1861.¹⁷

In the early 17th century the High Cross in Market Place was a roofed structure used as a market house: in 1616 the chamberlains paid for releading the cross, painting the posts and rails, and repairing the dial, probably the sundial which surmounted the cross in the 18th century.¹⁸ In 1674 the council agreed to demolish the cross and build a new market house, to be paid for by John, Lord Lovelace,¹⁹ but the cross survived in 1687 when its materials formed part of the corporation's proposed contribution towards another planned market house.²⁰ In 1695 the contractors for the town's new water supply commissioned John Hoare, a Woodstock carpenter, to demolish the cross and build a cistern raised on piers to form a market house. Although by 1697 a cistern had been provided in Market Place and the area around the market house repaved,²¹ there seems to have been a change of plan: the cross and market house finally demolished in 1766 comprised a tall cylindrical stone pillar surrounded by a roofed structure which neither supported a cistern nor conformed in other details to the specification of 1695.²² It appears to be of the 17th century or earlier, so the extent of Hoare's rebuilding and the location of his cistern remain uncertain.

In the early 17th century the corporation was maintaining a roofed bench in Market Place called, perhaps in imitation of a similar structure in Oxford, Penniless Bench.²³ In 1766 the bench was demolished with the market cross and the materials given to Joseph Chapman of Woodstock, who was commissioned for £150 to build a shambles or market house on the site of the former town hall.²⁴ The building was completed and let to the town's butchers in 1766.²⁵ It was a single-storeyed stone building with an open arcade on the north and west, surmounted by an ornate cupola with a clock and weather vane.²⁶ In 1870 the corporation let the site to Thomas Ward, who demolished the building and built the surviving brick pair of shops, which bear a plaque with his initials.²⁷ The cellar, round arched and lined with limestone rubble, is the full length of and slightly wider than the later building; it was probably the cellar of the medieval guild hall but retains no identifiable early features.

SEALS AND INSIGNIA OF THE BOROUGH. A seal used by the mayor in 1338 has not been identified.²⁸ The charter of 1453 granted the corporation the right to a common seal.²⁹ The earliest seal, used in 1461, was 5 cm. in diameter and bore the borough's arms, crest, and supporters, and the legend, black letter, *SIGILLUM COMMUNE COMMUNITATIS VILLE DOMINI REGIS DE WODSTOK*; a surviving bronze or latten matrix³⁰, if the original, was recut around the perimeter after 1672.³¹ In 1777 the corporation also possessed a 'seal of office of the borough' and a silver seal.³² The first was probably the surviving steel matrix (4 cm. in diameter and bearing the borough arms and motto) which was in use by 1730.³³ The silver seal was presumably the surviving matrix of silver alloy (also 4 cm. and with a more ornate depiction of the arms and motto). A steel seal engraved for the mayor by Messrs. Lock and Sons in 1793-4 has not been traced.³⁴

The borough arms, depicted on the earliest seal, recorded by the heralds in the 16th century, and certified in slightly altered form in 1949³⁵ illustrate the town's name and setting: wood is invoked by the oak tree crest and the supporting woodwoses, stock by the tree stump, and the

⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 129.

¹⁰ Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 138, 140; 101, pp. 48-9.

¹¹ Ibid. 90, pp. 265, 268, 294, 364-7.

¹² Ibid. file 125.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid. 105, p. 110.

¹⁵ Ibid. plan and specification, 1934.

¹⁶ Blenheim Mun., box 129.

¹⁷ Boro. Mun. file 34.

¹⁸ Ibid. 79, ff. 3, 40v.; below, plate facing p. 461.

¹⁹ Boro. Mun. 76/1, Apr. 1674.

²⁰ Ibid. 76/2, July 1687.

²¹ Blenheim Mun., box 129; Boro. Mun. 76/2, Apr. 1695, Aug. 1697; *ibid.* 7-12: rentals 1733-1828, referring to 1s. rent for the cistern in Market Place; below, Public Health and Services.

²² Plate facing p. 461.

²³ Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 3-4, 108v., 189v., 194; *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 333-4.

²⁴ Boro. Mun. 88, pp. 219, 224-5.

²⁵ Ibid. pp. 226-31, 235, 238, 261.

²⁶ Ibid. pp. 392, 426; 93, pp. 176-83, 238-45; 100, f. 3: plan of ground floor; B.L. Add. MS. 36377, f. 187-8, and see above, plate facing p. 349.

²⁷ Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 279, 289; 101, p. 86.

²⁸ Balliol Coll. Mun., F.8.4. The mayor sealed on behalf of one party to an agreement, but the seal, depicting a bird with webbed feet, may be that of the other party, Joseph the fisher.

²⁹ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1427-1516, 125-7.

³⁰ Boro. Mun. 83/2.

³¹ Cf. *ibid.* 23/2/2. The County Museum is thanked for advice on the materials of surviving seals.

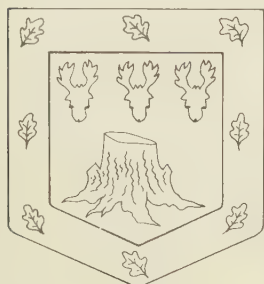
³² Ibid. 88, p. 391.

³³ Ibid. 68/1/1A.

³⁴ Ibid. 93, pp. 331-5.

³⁵ Cf. *Oxon. Visit.* (Harl. Soc. v), 195, 255; *Coat of Arms*, iii. 137. The tree stump is changed from gold to silver.

park by the stags' heads and border of oak leaves, sometimes depicted as oak trees.³⁶ The motto, *Ramosa Cornua Cervi* (the branching horns of the stag), is from Virgil.³⁷



BOROUGH OF WOODSTOCK.
*Gules the stump of a tree
couped and eradicated argent,
in chief three stags' heads caboshed of the same, all within a
bordure of the last charged
with eight oak leaves vert*

The borough's 'great mace', damaged during a royal visit in 1633,³⁸ was altered in 1655; the mayor, George Gregory, contributed £6 and the commonalty £5.³⁹ The mace acquired its surviving form at the Restoration. It is silver gilt, 101.5 cm. long, with an arched crown, orb, and cross, and the arms and initials of Charles II; inscriptions record that it was made during the mayoralty of George Gregory in 1655, altered during that of Thomas Glover in 1660, and repaired and regilded during that of Gamaliel Bobart in 1775.

A mayor's gold chain and enamelled badge with the borough arms were presented by the 9th duke of Marlborough in 1897 to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee.⁴⁰ A mayoress's chain was purchased in 1937, and a deputy mayor's badge presented by Alderman C. W. Banbury in 1959 to commemorate the visit of Queen Elizabeth II. In 1929 the duke presented the corporation with a set of pewter plates, displayed in the council chamber; inscriptions record the names of aldermen and councillors.⁴¹

In the town hall is a long, apparently medieval, oak chest with later iron fastenings. It seems likely to be the chest used to store the borough records, accessible only in the presence of named keykeepers, who in 1588 were the mayor and town clerk.⁴² Also preserved are five long staves, bearing the borough arms and various dates from 1718 to 1844; their number suggests that they may have been carried by aldermen. There are also short staffs carried by the four tithingmen.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. The grant of wide jurisdiction to the mayor and commonalty in 1453⁴³ probably confirmed established practice. The borough court or portmoot, meeting on

Mondays, was recorded from the 13th century;⁴⁴ town officers forfeited felons' goods after allowing an escape in 1402, and their responsibility for a prison suggests that they may by then have had criminal jurisdiction.⁴⁵

By the mid 13th century 'general' portmoots were held shortly after Michaelmas, and business included land transfers and annual payments of the king's quitrents.⁴⁶ General portmoots were probably the same as the later law days or views of frankpledge held near Lady Day and Michaelmas. The name portmoot was later applied only to regular sessions of the borough court, which in the 15th century were held fortnightly on Mondays in the presence of the mayor, aldermen, constables, serjeant-at-mace, and other townsmen.⁴⁷ An action of trespass was noted in 1509,⁴⁸ but most recorded business before the 1580s concerned land transfers. A ledger opened in 1461 to register possessions of Woodstock chapel was used also, at the corporation's behest, to record 'any man's livelihood within and without the town',⁴⁹ evidently by enrolling conveyances in the portmoot. Enrolment may have been a new departure, since some transactions were recorded retrospectively,⁵⁰ but transfer of burgages and authentication of deeds in the portmoot were long established. In 1259 a Woodstock house was granted in free alms at a general portmoot before the bailiff of Woodstock and other townsmen.⁵¹ Numerous early 15th-century burgage transfers were witnessed by the mayor and leading townsmen, presumably in the portmoot.⁵²

In the 1460s conveyance by proclamation in the portmoot was said to be customary: the grantee in open court claimed the burgage, asking that the grant be recorded and proclaimed on three successive court days, after which, if no counterclaim prevailed, the court confirmed and enrolled the transfer and issued the grantee with a record of the court proceedings under the corporate seal.⁵³ A common variant was for the grantee, instead of making an oral claim, to produce a deed for thrice proclamation.⁵⁴ The documents issued to grantees varied from simple Latin memoranda to proclamatory English recitals of the whole transaction.⁵⁵ By the later 16th century the document was usually called a final concord and was sometimes indented.⁵⁶ In 1499 a conveyance by proclamation cost 7s. 9d., of which 4s. was for the use of the corporate seal, the rest for the mayor, town clerk, and crier. By the 1630s costs

³⁶ Cf. L. Jewitt and W. St. John Hope, *Corpn. Plate and Insignia*, ii. 261–2; J. Edmundson, *Complete Body of Heraldry*, i. s.v. Woodstock.

³⁷ *Eclogues*, vii, c. 30.

³⁸ Boro. Mun. 79, f. 121.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 83/1, p. 8.

⁴⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1899).

⁴¹ Boro. Mun. files 37 B, E.

⁴² *Ibid.* 82, f. 14v. For later keykeepers, *ibid.* 86, Mar. 1714, Jan. 1715, July 1716.

⁴³ Above, Boro. to 1886.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., SC 6/962/4, 12; Magd. Coll. Mun., MS. cclxxv, ff. 73v., 74v.

⁴⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1401–5, 123, 163.

⁴⁶ Magd. Coll. Mun., MS. cclxxv, ff. 73v., 74v.; *ibid.*

Woodstock deeds, no. 4: mid 13th-cent., not 1310 as in Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 40 n.

⁴⁷ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 16 sqq.

⁴⁸ New Coll. Arch., Reg. Evid. ii, pp. 31–2.

⁴⁹ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 17–18.

⁵¹ Magd. Coll. Mun., MS. cclxxv, f. 73v.

⁵² New Coll. Arch., Reg. Evid. ii, pp. 22–7.

⁵³ Boro. Mun. 83/1, *passim*, espec. p. 80, stating procedure in 1567.

⁵⁴ New Coll. Arch., Reg. Evid. ii, pp. 27–9; Boro. Mun. 83/2: earliest known record of proclamation under corporate seal (1461).

⁵⁵ Cf. Boro. Mun. 72/2/1–3; 83/2.

⁵⁶ e.g. *ibid.* 27/1/2; 31/10; 77/1, Sept. 1591.

had risen to 42s. because of higher officers' fees and the duplication of indented documents.⁵⁷

By charter the court had return of writs, and actions initiated by writ of right were recorded from the early 16th century; final concords enrolled apparently without proclamation in the later 16th century may have been initiated by such writs, as were several later common recoveries.⁵⁸ Deeds were sometimes enrolled in the portmoot without recourse to proclamation,⁵⁹ and wills and livery of seisin were also recorded.⁶⁰ The court was also used to witness leases.⁶¹ A few final concords were issued in the later 17th century but land transactions in the portmoot ceased in the early 18th.⁶²

Court records from the 1580s⁶³ show that the portmoot's business was wide ranging and its procedure swift and flexible. It continued to meet fortnightly and there were usually over 20 courts a year. The regular officers, besides the mayor, were the town clerk, serjeant, and crier. The recorder frequently attended and advised on procedure;⁶⁴ the presence of William Lenthall at a court in 1633 seems to have enabled the clearance of a backlog of debt actions amounting to over £260.⁶⁵ It seems unlikely that the high steward attended portmoots, although regularly named in the rubric of court rolls. The lesser officers sometimes acted as attorneys and the court also registered professional attorneys, notably Simon Jeames (d. 1632), the town's schoolmaster.⁶⁶

The commonest actions were those of debt and trespass on the case. Most debts and damages in the portmoot were small and the recovery in 1584 of as much as £84 was exceptional; in 1580 it was agreed that actions between freemen for less than 5s. should be settled out of court by the mayor or any alderman.⁶⁷ Twelve-man juries of freemen, frequently councillors, heard depositions and assessed damages,⁶⁸ but many actions were settled by agreement or arbitration; typical arbiters were a magistrate and the town clerk, with the mayor as umpire, and parties bound themselves in large sums to abide by the decision.⁶⁹ The court also heard actions of dower, in one case ruling in detail on the subdivision of a house where a widow claimed her third.⁷⁰ Much of the court's business concerned the internal affairs of the corporation, notably

the swearing of freemen, the enrolment of apprentices, the registering of guardians of free-men's sons; a few bylaws were made in the portmoot.⁷¹

In the 16th and 17th centuries the court was popular not only with freemen, who were obliged to use it for actions against other freemen,⁷² but also with outsiders: in some actions both parties were foreigners and in 1589 the court was preferred to others for an arbitration over crops in Souldern field.⁷³ Actions were removed to central courts by writs such as *habeas corpus* and *certiorari*,⁷⁴ and to the vice-chancellor's court in Oxford by the 'half seal' of the university.⁷⁵

Despite an attempt in 1656–7 to limit its cognizance of pleas to sums of £10 or less⁷⁶ actions for larger debts were entered in the later 17th century.⁷⁷ The charter of 1664 confirmed the Monday court as a court of record called le Portsmouth, stipulating that the mayor or recorder should be of the quorum.⁷⁸ As the court's business declined in the later 17th century meetings became less frequent and by the late 18th century were monthly; there were few actions and by the 1820s all were settled out of court, but local tradesmen still found the portmoot useful for recovering small debts.⁷⁹ The total sued for in 1835–7 was c. £47, and all actions were for debts below £10.⁸⁰ The last recorded portmoot was in 1847 when an hereditary freeman was sworn.⁸¹ A county court for small debts was held monthly in the town hall in the later 19th century.⁸²

By the 16th century views of frankpledge were held twice yearly, shortly after Lady Day and Michaelmas,⁸³ and all male inhabitants aged 12 and above owed suit.⁸⁴ The view, sometimes called a court leet, was usually combined with general sessions of the peace,⁸⁵ and although business was intermingled in the record townsmen were aware of a distinction: in 1621, for example, they held the view without sessions when a magistrate of the quorum refused to attend.⁸⁶ The two law days,⁸⁷ as convenient gatherings of townsmen, were sometimes used to issue bylaws, as in 1611 when a market regulation was agreed by the jury with the mayor's consent and 1625 when fines of 5s. were set for leaving rubbish in the streets.⁸⁸ The

⁵⁷ New Coll. Arch., Reg. Evid. ii, p. 31; Boro. Mun. 77/2, Mar. 1632/3.

⁵⁸ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 61, 80–1; 78/2, May 1608; 78/3, May 1614.

⁵⁹ e.g. *ibid.* 83/1, pp. 43, 61, 66–7.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 74, 77–8; 77/1, Apr. 1593; 72/2/6.

⁶¹ e.g. *ibid.* 77/1, July 1590.

⁶² *Ibid.* 72/2/7; 91 (ct. rolls 1691–1727).

⁶³ For portmoot rec. 1588–1847 see *ibid.* 77/1–2; 78/1–3; 84; 87–8; 91–2. A fragment for 1581 is in *ibid.* 96, ff. 2v–3v. For fair copy of rolls 1593–5 see Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 47.

⁶⁴ e.g. Boro. Mun. 77/2, endpapers (1606); 78/2 Nov. 1611; 78/3, Aug. 1615.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 77/2, Dec. 1633.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 78/3, Feb. 1617; 77/2, May 1632.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 77/1, endpapers; 82, ff. 4v–5.

⁶⁸ e.g. *ibid.* 78/1, Jan. 1792.

⁶⁹ e.g. *ibid.* 78/1, Oct. 1589.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 78/2, Dec. 1611.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 78/3, Aug. 1618; 77/2, Mar. 1629/30; 83/1, p. 111.

⁷² e.g. *ibid.* 83/1, p. 111.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 78/1, Dec. 1589, Sept. 1594.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 78/3, May 1614, Feb. 1617.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 78/2, Aug. 1612; 31/16: example of 'half seal'.

⁷⁶ Above, Boro. to 1886.

⁷⁷ Boro. Mun. 84, *passim*; 94, f. 88.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 83/4.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 92, *passim*; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* H.C. 116, App. I, p. 143 (1835), xxiii.

⁸⁰ Boro. Cts. H.C. 338–IV, pp. 90–1 (1839), xliii; *Cts. of Request*, H.C. 619, pp. 130–1 (1840), xli.

⁸¹ Boro. Mun. 92.

⁸² *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883).

⁸³ The chief rec., intermixed with those of other cts. are in *ibid.* 96, f. 2 and v. (c. 1581), ff. 49–54 (1674–5), f. 83 (1774); 80 (1604–7); 78/2–3 (1607–22); 77/2 (1622–35); 84 (1666–75); 91 (1691–1727); 87–9 (1728–1843).

⁸⁴ For lists of suitors see *ibid.* 96, *passim* (1612–1748); 78/2, Sept. 1608; 33/2/10 (1798); 33/3/4 (1808); 21/1/5 (1815). For age limit see *ibid.* 96, ff. 85–6.

⁸⁵ Occasionally it was combined with a portmoot: e.g. *ibid.* 83/1, p. 76.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 78/3, Apr. 1621.

⁸⁷ A phrase used in 1536: *ibid.* 81, Apr. 1536.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 78/2, Apr. 1611; 77/2, Oct. 1625.

business of the leet proper included the fining of non-suitors and presentments by the homage (usually 16 men) of nuisances, encroachments, and breaches of the assize of bread and of ale; in the later 17th century a few presentments concerned unlawful settlement, unlicensed meeting houses, and failure to attend church.⁸⁹ Most presentments were supplied by officers of the court, who were fined in 1674–5, for example, for failure to bring in their lists.⁹⁰ The usual officers were 2 constables, 4 tithingmen, and 2 ale-tasters (later called clerks of the market) appointed annually at the October leet;⁹¹ in the early 17th century and intermittently in the 18th and 19th centuries 2 surveyors of the highways were also appointed at the leet. A list of estreats or fines arising from presentments was handed to the constable who delivered the proceeds to the chamberlains; in 1608 the estreats were over £9, but collection was frequently neglected.⁹² The corporation and its officers were sometimes presented, as in 1634 when the chamberlains were ordered to repair the bridge in Hollow Way and in 1828 when the corporation was fined £50 for neglecting the causeway towards Old Woodstock.⁹³ From the late 17th century the leet was held only once a year in October but it survived until the mid 19th century, and as late as the 1870s its revival was contemplated as a means of controlling nuisances.⁹⁴

The mayor was coroner within the borough; the verdict of a coroner's jury was recorded in 1612, and the mayor's right to act as coroner, challenged by *quo warranto* in 1613 and disputed again in 1735, was presumably upheld since Woodstock retained a separate coroner in the 19th century.⁹⁵ In the Middle Ages the county justices held sessions of the peace at Woodstock⁹⁶ and in the 17th century sat there regularly, chiefly for county administrative business such as taxation, impressment, and food shortages, but in 1625 for a quarter sessions, perhaps because of plague in Oxford; an unidentified 'justice's seat' in or near the borough was used by justices in eyre in the 1630s.⁹⁷ Even so there is no evidence of interference with the chartered privileges of the borough justices, who exercised criminal jurisdiction in the two annual general sessions and in regular petty sessions; their powers, conferred in 1453 and further defined in 1664, were those of county justices except for the prosecution of felonies involving loss of life or limb.⁹⁸ A commission of the peace of 1612 named the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and a former recorder, Laurence Tanfield, by then Lord Chief Baron of

the Exchequer, together with the mayor, the recorder, one alderman (Thomas Browne), and a resident lawyer, Jerome Kyte; two were a quorum and the mayor was keeper of the rolls.⁹⁹ In practice most magistrate's work at that period was dealt with by the mayor and Thomas Browne.¹ Commissions of the 1620s included more privy councillors and county magnates, the high steward, two former recorders (Tanfield and Sir James Whitelocke), the mayor, the recorder, all the aldermen, the town clerk, Jerome Kyte, and Francis Gregory, a local gentleman; the aldermen were not of the quorum.² Under the charter of 1664, in force until 1886, the mayor, aldermen, high steward, and recorder were magistrates *ex officio*, and any two might commit prisoners to the county gaol; for sessions the quorum of two was to include the recorder, and the town clerk was confirmed as clerk of the peace.³ In 1685 the government's anxiety to control boroughs and the magistracy was reflected in a new commission adding magnates such as the earl of Abingdon and political nominees such as Sir Littleton Osbaldeston, Nicholas Baynton, and John Cary.⁴

By the early 17th century all except petty crimes were referred to the county magistrates after depositions had been taken in Woodstock.⁵ Most referred cases were thefts, particularly of livestock, detected regularly in the town's markets and fairs; many of the accused were from distant counties, and the borough magistrates checked their testimony with fellow magistrates as far away as Herefordshire and Kent.⁶ In 1625 an alleged seditious speech in a Woodstock alehouse was referred to the Oxford sessions and brought to the government's notice.⁷ In the early 17th century the mayor was expected to attend the Lent and Summer assizes in Oxford, but was usually represented by the town clerk.⁸

In petty sessions the mayor and one or two justices dealt summarily with minor offenders and bound others to appear at the borough's general sessions: a man from Broad Campden (Glos.) involved in an affray at Woodstock fair in 1611 was obliged to return months later or forfeit his bond.⁹ The commonest offences were breaches of the peace, mostly associated with the town's inns and alehouses where illegal gaming and late-night drinking were rife. Most offenders were fined and some of the fines given to the poor: an Oxford bookseller convicted of disorderly drinking was ordered to give 3s. 6d. to the poor to pray for him to 'amend the course of his life'.¹⁰ In the early 17th century the justices

⁸⁹ e.g. *ibid.* 96, ff. 49, 54; Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 99.

⁹⁰ *Boro. Mun.* 96, f. 49.

⁹¹ In the early 18th cent. constables were sometimes appointed in council: cf. *ibid.* 86, Oct. 1714, Oct. 1715; 87, Sept. 1731.

⁹² *Ibid.* 78/2, Apr., Oct. 1608; 77/2, Nov. 1630; 79, ff. 1, 7, 41v.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 77/2, Apr. 1634; 89, s.a. 1828.

⁹⁴ Cf. Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 135; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490], p. 126, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

⁹⁵ *Boro. Mun.* 78/2, Apr. 1612; 79, f. 26v.; 87, July 1735; *Returns of Coroners*, H.C. 209, p. 24 (1840), xli.

⁹⁶ *Oxon. Sessions* (O.R.S. liii), 33–4.

⁹⁷ *Boro. Mun.* 79, ff. 76v., 137v., and *passim*.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 83/3–4.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 31/14.

¹ e.g. *ibid.* 78/2, s.a. 1610.

² *Ibid.* 31/14; 79, ff. 60v., 77v.; P.R.O., C 181/3, ff. 48v.–49, 188.

³ *Boro. Mun.* 83/4.

⁴ *Ibid.* 74/5; 76/2, Apr. 1685; below, *Parl. Rep.*

⁵ *Boro. Mun.* 78/2–3 (ct. bks. 1607–22); 77/2 (1622–35).

⁶ *Ibid.* 78/2, Sept. 1609, Dec. 1611.

⁷ *Ibid.* 77/2, Sept. 1625; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1625–6, 104; Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 64–5.

⁸ e.g. *Boro. Mun.* 79, ff. 29v., 60, 64v.

⁹ *Ibid.* 78/2, July, Oct. 1611.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 77/2, Sept. 1627.

dealt with paternity suits, taking bonds from the alleged fathers and imposing and regulating alimony payments; a maintenance order was issued by the magistrates in 1738.¹¹ Woodstock attracted many travelling poor, often with forged passports, some acknowledging that they wandered the country from fair to fair. Most were whipped and sent home with passports, and from the 1620s the justices sent some to the house of correction at Witney.¹² Whipping was a common punishment for minor pilfering, and ducking of women, common in the early 17th century, was still ordered by magistrates in the 1670s.¹³ Imprisonment, usually for three days, was ordered for offences such as unlicensed victualling, and men were regularly incarcerated until they found sureties. Felons' goods, the mayor's perquisite until transferred to the chamberlains in 1580,¹⁴ continued to provide windfalls which helped to meet the cost of transporting prisoners to Oxford;¹⁵ in 1612 the profits from a confiscated dagger were used to pay for treating the victim's wound.¹⁶

In the early 17th century the magistrates licensed innkeepers and victuallers twice yearly near Easter and Michaelmas.¹⁷ Between 20 and 30 licensees entered recognizances with sureties to obey the licensing laws;¹⁸ a distinction, sometimes disputed,¹⁹ was made between ancient inns, of which there were five or six, and ordinary alehouses. Suppression of alehouses for unruly conduct and harbouring undesirable visitors was common, but even the town's leaders seem to have objected to the statutory restrictions: the mayor's assurance to the privy council in 1623 that all needless alehouses had been suppressed²⁰ conflicts with the number of licences issued in such a small community; in 1608 an alderman greeted a rule dictating 9 o'clock closure with the boast that at his inn (the Bull) there would be piping and dancing 'at 1 o'clock hereafter'.²¹ In the early 17th century separate licensing sessions were held at the beginning of Lent to bind victuallers and butchers to observe the statutory restrictions on the dressing and eating of flesh;²² juries presented offenders who, again, included senior councillors.²³

Records of general and petty sessions from the later 17th century relate chiefly to the twice yearly victuallers' recognizances, and even the annual general sessions seem to have dealt with few offenders.²⁴ By the later 18th century licens-

ing sessions were held annually between September and December, and by then there were usually *c.* 15 victuallers.²⁵ In the 1830s, when general sessions ceased because of the lack of a recorder, it was noted that no 'trials' had been held for 50 years, but the court's business had probably been confined to licensing and minor offences for much longer than that.²⁶ The borough magistrates continued to act in monthly petty sessions until the reform of the corporation in 1886, and although county magistrates were acknowledged to have concurrent jurisdiction within the borough they did not exercise it. Liberal opponents of the corporation criticized the borough magistracy, particularly over licensing matters; there was a scandal in 1875 when police raided a council meeting held in the King's Arms after closing time.²⁷ After 1886 Woodstock formed part of Wootton South petty sessional division, and the mayor and ex-mayor were county magistrates.²⁸

There was a 'place of execution of felons', presumably a gallows, outside the southern entrance to the town in 1583.²⁹ In the 16th and 17th centuries the corporation maintained a prison called the little house, probably the same as the prison at the guild hall mentioned in 1610³⁰ and that at the serjeant's house mentioned in 1631.³¹ Thomas Heathen, the serjeant, lived next to the guild hall on the site of the later Woodstock Arms, and his house, later acquired by the corporation, included a cellar 'under the town hall'.³² In 1686 the prison was beneath the town hall.³³ The charter of 1664 confirmed the corporation's right to a prison in the serjeant's keepership,³⁴ and successive serjeants occupied the Woodstock Arms site. The new town hall of 1766 incorporated a dungeon for short-term imprisonment, which was used until the county police station was opened in 1863.³⁵

In the 17th century the corporation also maintained a stone-slatted cage;³⁶ in 1619 'rogues' escaped from it during a royal visit, and it was still in use in the 1760s.³⁷ A cucking stool, mentioned in 1519 and in the 17th century,³⁸ may have been at Town's End pool, near the junction of Rectory Lane and the Oxford road. Stocks were mentioned in 1519, and stocks, a pillory, and a whipping post stood in Market Place near the High Cross in the early 17th century.³⁹ In 1768 it was agreed to move the stocks and pillory to Horse Fair,⁴⁰ at that date the eastern section of High Street. In 1779 a

¹¹ e.g. *ibid.* 78/3, Apr. 1615, Oct. 1617, Oct. 1619; 96, f. 68.

¹² e.g. *ibid.* July 1626; Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 65.

¹³ Boro. Mun. 84, Apr. 1675.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 82, f. 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 79, ff. 38, 43v., and *passim*; 81, s.a. 1602, 1608, 1611.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 78/2, Oct. 1612.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 80 (recogs. 1604-7); 78/2-3 (1608-22); 77/2 (1622-35). For a full rec. of a licensing session see *ibid.* 78/2, Sept. 1608.

¹⁸ For conditions see espec. *ibid.* 77/2, s.a. 1619.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Feb. 1625, Feb. 1626, Apr. 1635.

²⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1619-23, 532.

²¹ Boro. Mun. 78/2, Apr. 1608.

²² e.g. *ibid.* 80, Mar. 1605/6; 78/2-3; 77/2.

²³ e.g. *ibid.* 78/2, Mar. 1610.

²⁴ e.g. *ibid.* 84 (1666-75); 91 (1693-1727); 87 (1728-47).

²⁵ *Ibid.* 88-9, *passim*.

²⁶ *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* H.C. 116, App. I, p. 143 (1835),

xxiii.

²⁷ *Ibid.* [C. 2490], 124-5, 129-30, H.C. (1880), xxxi; *ibid.* [C. 2490-I], 247-8, 260, H.C. (1880), xxxi; R. Rhodes James, *Lord Randolph Churchill*, 55.

²⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1887 and later edns.).

²⁹ P.R.O., E 134/25 Eliz. I/Hil. 4.

³⁰ e.g. *ibid.* E 178/1824; Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 9, 53-4, 73v., 130, 163v., 183.

³¹ Boro. Mun. 77/2, Sept. 1631.

³² *Ibid.* 19/3/3, 27/2/1-3; above, Bldgs. no. 56.

³³ Boro. Mun. 76/2, 8 Dec. 1686.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 83/4.

³⁵ *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* H.C. 116, App. I, p. 143 (1835), xxiii; *ibid.* [C. 2490], p. 124, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

³⁶ Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 42v., 163.

³⁷ *Ibid.* f. 51; 88, p. 177.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 83/1, p. 102; 79, ff. 3, 59, 126.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 83/1, p. 102; 78/2, Apr. 1611, Sept. 1612.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 88, p. 270.

whipping post was removed from in front of Mr. Bobart's house (later nos. 2-8 Park Street).⁴¹ The stocks, long preserved in the town hall, were re-erected in 1958 in Park Street.⁴²

PARISH GOVERNMENT AND POOR RELIEF. Woodstock chapelry, which was coextensive with the borough, had a separate vestry which in the 17th century annually appointed two churchwardens who maintained the church and its services out of church rates and the profits of Whitsun ales.⁴³ In the 15th and 16th centuries the corporation audited the churchwardens' accounts and supervised their election.⁴⁴ By the 18th century it was customary for one warden to be chosen by the rector or his curate, the other by the townspeople, and there were disputes over elections in 1722 and in the 1840s.⁴⁵ The vestry acquired responsibility for poor relief in the 17th century and retained it until 1835; it was responsible for fire fighting and played some part in street repair in the 18th century and 19th. After the cessation of courts leet the vestry appointed surveyors of the highways and constables until 1886.⁴⁶

In the early 17th century the borough chamberlains, besides providing for the poor from charitable funds, made occasional direct payments for clothes, medicine, shrouds, bastard children, and the travelling poor.⁴⁷ Fines levied in the town's courts were sometimes devoted to poor relief.⁴⁸ In 1612 the chamberlains gave cash to the 'collectors for the poor', and in 1633 two collectors were appointed at the corporation's audit day.⁴⁹ In 1639, however, collectors for the poor were appointed in the vestry, and from 1655 the vestry annually elected two overseers of the poor.⁵⁰ An assertion that Bladon's vestry was responsible for poor relief in the borough until 1694 was incorrect, probably misinterpreting an attempt in that year to secure ecclesiastical separation for Woodstock.⁵¹ Woodstock's vestry was supervising overseers' accounts by the 1680s and probably long before. Expenditure in the later 17th century ranged from £18 to £32 a year.⁵² In 1677 the council was considering schemes to employ the poor in silk winding or cloth and blanket weaving.⁵³

By the 18th century the corporation's involvement with poor relief was confined to the disposal of charity; of poor relief through the vestry little was recorded until the 1770s besides instances of medical aid and rent supplementation,

some settlement problems, and a proposed arrangement in 1736 to place paupers in Kidlington's workhouse.⁵⁴ In 1776 the overseers spent £166 and in 1783-5 raised an average of £180 a year. Total expenditure, including the constables' payments to the county, rose to £330 in 1803, and by 1813 had more than doubled to £727; except for unaccountable sharp falls in 1816 and 1826 it was usually between £480 and £650 until it rose steeply from 1828 to a peak of £1,020 in 1834.⁵⁵

A cost per head of population of 4s. 6d. in 1803 was very low for the area, and although rising to 10s. in 1813-15 and sometimes 12s. in the 1820s costs remained comparatively low.⁵⁶ Usually there was plentiful employment in gloving and on the Blenheim estate. The poor benefited from the town's many endowed charities and from the generosity of the Marlborough family: the duchess clothed 40 men and 40 women during an election campaign in 1731 and in a time of distress in 1767 Woodstock shared in 100 gn. given to the demesne towns. The 4th duke (1758-1817) made annual distributions of meat and bread, and from 1785 of 20 gn. at New Year; 70 families received bread and meat in 1770 and 142 people dripping in 1807.⁵⁷ Self-help was also promoted and the town's four friendly societies had 294 members in 1803 and 260 or more in 1813-15.⁵⁸ The glove industry suffered a recession in the 1820s but the rise in poor rates was blamed on the reduced circumstances of the Marlborough household after the death in 1817 of the 4th duke, who had employed between 80 and 100 servants in the palace and more on the estate and had dispensed 'indiscriminate charity'; certainly there was an immediate rise in poor relief expenditure after his death.⁵⁹

In 1765 the corporation asked the duke to contribute to a projected workhouse on a site in Back Acre (later Union Street), and there is reference to a possible workhouse in 1767 but none was reported in 1777.⁶⁰ A sum of £80 given in 1771 for a workhouse or other purposes by the borough's M.P. John Skinner was finally used in 1778 to provide a workhouse next to the corporation's almshouses in Hollow Way, the site of the later Olivet chapel. The house, bought by the corporation for £63 and rebuilt by the local builder John Chapman, comprised a cellared house with four rooms on the ground

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 409; above, Bldgs. no. 28.

⁴² Boro. Mun., file 69.

⁴³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12: chwdns' bk. 1613-1865; below, Church.

⁴⁴ e.g. Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 3-4; 82, ff. 6, 10v.

⁴⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, pp. 137-8, 514.

⁴⁶ Ibid. c 13: vestry mins. 1830-63; ibid. b 11: vestry mins. 1866-1930. For fire fighting and street repair, below, Public Health and Services.

⁴⁷ Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 54, 63v., 69v., and *passim*.

⁴⁸ e.g. ibid. 78/2, Mar. 1608; 77/2, Sept. 1627.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 79, ff. 17, 133.

⁵⁰ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, pp. 33, 51, and *passim*.

⁵¹ *Rep. Com. Parl. Bdries*. H.C. 141, pp. 195-7 (1831-2), xxxix; Boro. Mun. 76/2, Dec. 1694.

⁵² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, pp. 78 sqq.; Boro. Mun. 76/2, endpapers: overseers' accts. 1685.

⁵³ Boro. Mun. 76/1, Jan., Feb. 1676/7.

⁵⁴ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, pp. 180, 200, 205, 241, 278; above, Kidlington, Local Govt.

⁵⁵ *Poor Abstract*, 1777, 439; ibid. 1804, 406-7; ibid. 1818, 360-1; *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 556, p. 139 (1822), v; ibid. H.C. 334, p. 174 (1825), iv; ibid. H.C. 83, p. 162 (1830-1), xi; ibid. H.C. 444, p. 157 (1835), xlvii.

⁵⁶ Rates derived from above figures and *Census*, 1801-31.

⁵⁷ Boro. Mun. 87, Sept. 1731; Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 24 Jan. 1767, 10 Jan. 1778, 6 Jan. 1781, and *passim*; Blenheim Mun., Treasury box XXIII/77/4, acct. bk. 1781-97; ibid. misc. fam. papers, box 10; B.L. Add. MS. 61680, ff. 118, 121.

⁵⁸ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406-7; 1818, 360-1.

⁵⁹ *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* H.C. 116, App. I, p. 143-4 (1835), xxiii, which also gives figures for overseers' expenditure on poor relief only.

⁶⁰ Boro. Mun. 88, pp. 217-18, 250; *Poor Abstract*, 1777, 439.

floor and two large dormitories above.⁶¹ In 1779 John Rusher of Eynsham agreed a four-year contract for the workhouse at £140 a year, extended in 1783 for two years at £180.⁶² James Johnson, farmer of the poor by 1790,⁶³ was dismissed in 1795 for ill-treating inmates, and a management committee took over until the workhouse was again farmed c. 1800. In 1796 the committee borrowed £120 to meet heavy expenditure in that year on furnishing the workhouse and clothing the poor.⁶⁴ In 1800 the master, presumably on a contract, was allowed an extra £70 in recognition of his good conduct and an unforeseen rise in prices; by contrast the master in 1804 was charged with inhumanity.⁶⁵ In 1803 £5 10s. was spent on materials to employ the workhouse poor, whose labour yielded the substantial sum of £56.⁶⁶ A contract of 1811 forbade immoderate labour or corporal punishment, and provided the master with £270 to manage the workhouse, pay all medical expenses except for smallpox, deal with settlement, removal, and bastardy, and pay out-relief at rates fixed by the vestry's supervisory committee.⁶⁷ In the early 19th century numbers in the workhouse were small, only 20 in 1803 and 11 in 1813–15, while there were 28 able-bodied adults receiving regular out-relief in 1803 and 18 in 1815.⁶⁸ From 1817 the vestry employed an assistant overseer at £20 a year.⁶⁹

In 1831 the vestry resumed direct management of the poor and appointed a workhouse manager whose salary was raised from £20 to £40 in 1832; in 1834 the manager was paid £30 and a resident matron £5. In 1834–5 the vestry agreed to pay for two families to emigrate to America.⁷⁰ In 1835 Woodstock was made the centre of a poor law union. Expenditure on poor relief fell from £967 in 1834–5 to £694 in 1835–6.⁷¹ The old workhouse was sold in 1837 and the poor moved to the union workhouse in Hensington.⁷² Thereafter the town's poor were the concern of the board of guardians, the vestry merely appointing overseers.⁷³

The corporation continued to contribute to a coal fund, financed by subscription. In 1800 the council agreed to store coal in the town hall or shambles cellars before it was resold to the poor at low prices; in 1842 a coal magazine was established. In 1828 the corporation agreed to

control the fund, and certainly did so from 1840 until 1867; in 1842 the borough's M.P. gave £20 for coal and promised an annual donation while he remained in office.⁷⁴ In 1841 the corporation gave £10 to an emergency committee for poor relief in Bladon parish, evidently the soup committee disbanded in 1843.⁷⁵

PUBLIC HEALTH AND PUBLIC SERVICES. In the 16th and 17th centuries the corporation paid carters and labourers to cleanse the streets and provided public dunghills on common land;⁷⁶ the court leet and its officers controlled nuisances such as piling rubbish, casting out fish water, washing animals in public watercourses, and allowing unringed pigs in the streets.⁷⁷ In 1661 fines were set for those failing to cart dirt from their house frontages; in 1713 the council ordered all householders to clear the street between their houses and the central gutter every Wednesday, and arranged for a weekly collection of rubbish.⁷⁸ In the early 17th century the chamberlains paid for minimal scavenging by the beadle of beggars and for cleaning gutters and the watercourse in Hollow Way;⁷⁹ later they paid for scavenging by various officers and for carting rubbish.⁸⁰ In 1872 the borough was included in Woodstock rural sanitary district, and a scavenger for the town and Old Woodstock was paid for by the corporation and Wootton parish.⁸¹ From 1876 the corporation paid regularly for the streets to be watered in summer.⁸² Lack of main drainage and the pollution of the river were causing concern in the 1870s when Woodstock was one of the least satisfactory places in the sanitary district.⁸³ Cesspits were improved and some surface drainage introduced before the corporation became the sanitary authority for the extended borough in 1886.⁸⁴ A sewerage system was discussed in the 1870s⁸⁵ but in the 1930s sewage was still drained to cesspits or to fissures in the limestone bedrock; night soil was carted by the scavenger to the corporation rubbish dump on the meadows, and later to a cesspit in Hensington.⁸⁶ Construction of main sewerage was interrupted by the Second World War and resumed in 1947.⁸⁷

During epidemics in the early 17th century the corporation erected temporary wooden pest houses, of which the materials were afterwards

⁶¹ Boro. Mun. 88, pp. 307–8, 402; 93, p. 239; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, p. 332; Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 274–5; *Oxf. Herald*, 18 Nov. 1837.

⁶² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, pp. 332, 352.

⁶³ Boro. Mun. 89, p. 19.

⁶⁴ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, pp. 388, 396, 398, 403, 413.

⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 413; O.R.O., QR. East. 1804.

⁶⁶ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406–7.

⁶⁷ O.R.O. (uncat.), temp. no. CCE 444.

⁶⁸ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406–7; 1818, 360–1.

⁶⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, p. 447.

⁷⁰ Ibid. c 13, ff. 8 and v., 14, 26–7, 28v., 34v.

⁷¹ 2nd Rep. *Poor Law Com.* [H.C. 595-II], App. E, pp. 298–9 (1836), xxix (2).

⁷² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 13, ff. 46v., 50–1; ibid. TG. VII/i/1–2; *Oxf. Herald*, 18 Nov. 1837. For the union workho., above, Bldgs. no. 2, and for the former workho. below, Prot. Nonconf.

⁷³ For mins. of guardians 1835–1931 see O.R.O., TG VII/i/1–30.

⁷⁴ Boro. Mun. 89, pp. 105, 336, 434–5, 442, 453, 457, 472;

90, pp. 14–15, 18, 27, 65, 258.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 89, pp. 443, 474; 94, s.a. 1841–2.

⁷⁶ e.g. ibid. 83/1, pp. 102, 111; 81, endpapers: mid 16th-cent. accts.

⁷⁷ e.g. ibid. 77/2, Oct. 1626; 76/2, Nov. 1697; 79, f. 132v.; 96, f. 9v.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 76/1, f. 3v.; 86, Nov. 1713.

⁷⁹ e.g. ibid. 79, ff. 98, 130, 136v.–137, 142, 148 and v.

⁸⁰ e.g. ibid. 93, ff. 59–61; above, Council and Officers.

⁸¹ O.R.O., Woodstock R.D.C. I/ii/1–4.

⁸² Boro. Mun. 90, p. 385; 95, *passim*.

⁸³ *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490–I], pp. 259–61, H.C. (1880), xxxi; G. W. Child, *Sanitary Condition of Oxon.* 89–90.

⁸⁴ Child, *Sanitary Condition*, 89–90; Boro. Mun. 107, *passim*.

⁸⁵ O.R.O., Woodstock R.D.C. I/ii/1, pp. 63–4.

⁸⁶ F. Bevan, 'Social conditions in Woodstock 40 years ago' (TS. 1972 in Westgate Libr.); Boro. Mun. 115, p. 251.

⁸⁷ Bevan, 'Social conditions'; Boro. Mun. 115, pp. 143–5, 239–40, 367–8; 116, pp. 7, 100–6.

sold, and in 1647 the corporation briefly rented a townsman's house for the use of the sick.⁸⁸ In 1719 the council agreed to spend up to £60 to turn a house in Back (sometimes Pest House, later Rectory) Lane into an infirmary, and by 1720 the new pest house was let rent-free to a caretaker.⁸⁹ The house was used regularly for the sick until 1765,⁹⁰ when it was let to the duke of Marlborough in exchange for the lease of a more suitable, isolated, pest house in Hensington fields.⁹¹ The reciprocal leases were renewed until 1881, when the corporation repossessed the Rectory Lane site.⁹² By 1765 the old pest house had an associated cottage to the east,⁹³ and the duke and later the corporation let the site to two tenants until the cottage was demolished c. 1937; the site was sold in 1943.⁹⁴ The old pest house, no. 23 Rectory Lane in 1987, retained its 18th-century plan of three square rooms in line on each of two floors, linked by corridors, with a staircase projection on the north.⁹⁵

Most references to a pest house between 1765 and 1881 relate to the Hensington building, which was on the eastern boundary of the township and was sometimes said to be at Campsfield. Although described as new in 1765 there was a building on the site in 1750,⁹⁶ and it may have been rebuilt as a pest house. In 1768 it was agreed that no inoculated person should be placed there without the council's consent.⁹⁷ In 1800 the duke was allowed to place families from the Blenheim estate in the pest house for inoculation, on condition that they were removed if the house was needed for townspeople, and from 1811 the duke leased part of the building for 3 gn. a year.⁹⁸ In 1827 the duke's rent was in arrears and he was asked to surrender the house, which was thereafter let to two or three tenants with the proviso that smallpox victims might be placed there when necessary; its use was considered in 1872.⁹⁹ During a smallpox outbreak in 1893 the corporation applied to recover the building from the duke, who was thanked in 1895 for providing alternative accommodation at Furze Platt in Blenheim Park; later the corporation arranged with local hospital boards to take patients with infectious diseases.¹ The pest house survived as cottages in 1987.²

A burial board formed in 1859 bought land in Hensington Road for a cemetery, of which one third was reserved for nonconformists. The bishop refused to consecrate the Anglican sec-

tion unless it had a chapel, but the board, on grounds of expense, favoured a lychgate only. A compromise was reached whereby a chapel was built at the nearby workhouse³ and made available for funerals, and the cemetery was consecrated in 1863.⁴ The corporation, which took over from the burial board in 1895, bought land from the duke of Marlborough to extend the cemetery on the north in 1900; a new cemetery in Green Lane, acquired in 1960–1, was brought into use in 1974.⁵

Although Alderman William Metcalfe left £3 in 1608 to build a conduit⁶ and in 1624 and 1682 the council was considering schemes for piped water supply⁷ the town seems to have depended on wells until the 1690s. The corporation rebuilt a public draw well and pump in Oxford Street in 1631, and in the 18th century there were two public wells in that street, one near the pool at Town's End.⁸ In 1695 the corporation agreed that William Yarnold of Oxford and John Wigson of Aylesbury should build a combined market house and cistern on the site of the cross in Market Place, pump water to it from the river Glyme, and supply subscribers at reasonable rents. By 1697 pipes were laid in the principal streets and a cistern supplied from a water wheel installed at Old Woodstock mill;⁹ the millers were to be paid £5 a year for working the machinery and collecting the rents.¹⁰ The cistern, if constructed in Market Place,¹¹ was presumably replaced in 1719 by a new cistern built on corporation land at the junction of Hoggrove Hill and Harrison's Lane.¹²

In 1697 John Wigson sold his share of the water undertaking to Fleetwood Dormer, partner in a similar venture at Oxford.¹³ Dormer later acquired Yarnold's share, and in 1739 his executors sold the water undertaking to William Derry Simmons and James Simmons, Woodstock carpenters. In 1763 W. D. Simmons's nephew George Simmons sold his half share to Joseph Chapman, and in 1782 Jane, relict of James Simmons, sold the other half to Chapman's son John, who by 1784 had acquired the whole. Under John Chapman's will of 1799 the trustees were John Bellenger and H. J. North, the town clerk; in 1805 North became sole owner and in 1808 sold to the duke of Marlborough.¹⁴ At that time there were only 43 subscribers in a town of over 200 houses. The duke planned to supply both the palace and

⁸⁸ Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 28v., 91, 95v., 181v.

⁸⁹ Ibid. 87, Oct. 1719, Sept. 1720.

⁹⁰ e.g. ibid. 87, Oct. 1731, Jan. 1735/6; 93, pp. 64–6, 122–4, 149–52.

⁹¹ Ibid. 88, p. 217; 85, pt. II, pp. 57–60; Blenheim Mun., box 136, leases of 1766.

⁹² e.g. Boro. Mun. 85, pt. II, pp. 99–103, 106–10; 89, p. 340; 101, pp. 21–4.

⁹³ Ibid. 85, pt. II, pp. 57–60.

⁹⁴ Blenheim Mun., map of Woodstock 1863 and associated survey, E/P/58; Boro. Mun. 114, pp. 328–9; 144–6; rentals 1879–1951.

⁹⁵ Cf. Boro. Mun. 100, f. 11; plan of 1830.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 88, p. 217; Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103.

⁹⁷ Boro. Mun. 88, p. 269.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 89, pp. 103, 201.

⁹⁹ Ibid. pp. 325, 335, 337, 421, 435; 90, pp. 281, 311, 313.

¹ Ibid. 102, pp. 209–10, 218, 223, 345, 348; 110, p. 175; 112, p. 45; 114, pp. 257, 346.

² County Mus., P.R.N. 322.

³ Above, Bldgs. no. 2.

⁴ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1732/1; c 1733/1; ibid. MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 13, ff. 113v.–123v.; *Oxf. Chron.* 12 Nov. 1859, 7 Nov. 1863.

⁵ Above, Reformed Boro.; Blenheim Mun., modern deeds, Woodstock, 14 Dec. 1900; inf. from the town clerk.

⁶ P.R.O., PROB 11/111, f. 20.

⁷ Boro. Mun. 79, f. 73v.; 76/2, Mar. 1682.

⁸ Ibid. 79, f. 108v.; 88, p. 69; 89, pp. 156–7.

⁹ Blenheim Mun., box 140. For Yarnold's earlier work on water supply at Newcastle-on-Tyne see J. M. Faulkner, *Hist. Oxon.* 217 n.

¹⁰ Blenheim Mun., box 138, deed of 1696.

¹¹ Above, Municipal Bldgs.

¹² Boro. Mun. 87, June 1719; ibid. 7/5 includes rent for new cistern in 1733.

¹³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 355.

¹⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 140.

town from a single engine at Woodstock mill, but two remained in use.¹⁵

The corporation decided against taking over the water supply in 1856.¹⁶ In 1861, after a serious fire at Blenheim Palace, the duke revised and expanded the system, providing a drinking fountain at the town hall, stand pipes for cottagers, and fire hydrants, of which some were bought by the corporation.¹⁷ It was probably then that the duke built a turbine driven pumping station at the lower end of Blenheim lake and reservoirs at High Lodge, from which both town and estate were supplied until the 1930s.¹⁸ In 1874 the Blenheim water system was in difficulties, but the corporation declined to take charge of the town's supply, despite pressure from the vestry and the duke's offer to repair the mill works and let them at a nominal rent.¹⁹ An extension of the water supply into Old Woodstock was proposed in 1886 and it may have been then that the pumps at Woodstock mill were repaired; they remained in use until the 1930s.²⁰ The redundant water tower on Hoggrove Hill, derelict in 1889, was converted into a stable and hayloft in 1891.²¹ In 1896 the duke was supplying water to 180 houses in the town and there were public taps for which subscribers had keys; wells continued in use but in 1905 were mostly said to be polluted.²² In 1934 Woodstock was linked with the Oxford water supply from the Swinford pumping station on the river Thames at Eynsham.²³

By the 17th century two surveyors of the highways were appointed each year at the view of frankpledge²⁴ and small levies were raised for their ordinary expenses;²⁵ from the mid 19th century surveyors were appointed in the vestry.²⁶ The chamberlains paid directly for some street repairs in the 17th century, notably on the Hollow Way, the wooden bridge over it, and the causeway and footpath leading to Old Woodstock.²⁷ In 1622 part of High Street and Market Place was repaved and new stone central drainage channels inserted; large quantities of stone from the park and elsewhere were used, and gravel was donated by a local landowner.²⁸ The causeway was heavily repaired with stone from the park in 1637.²⁹ In 1675 a man was made a freeman in return for paving the market place.³⁰

In 1713 the central area was repaved at the

duke of Marlborough's expense.³¹ In the 18th century the trustees of the Woodstock–Rollright turnpike, sometimes with the corporation's help, repaired the main road through the town,³² and later they formally accepted responsibility not only for Oxford Street but also Blackhall (later Brown's) Lane, Market Street, High Street, and Hensington Lane.³³ The corporation continued to maintain the wooden bridge over the turnpike until it was removed, probably when Hollow Way was filled in and widened in 1780.³⁴ The corporation also maintained the causeway but by the early 19th century was disputing its responsibility, which was taken over by the county in 1839.³⁵

In the 18th century the corporation regularly provided small sums for streets and pavements,³⁶ and in 1770 laid out a new road at Common Acre, later Union Street, where it was constructing cottages.³⁷ The extent of its involvement varied: in the early 19th century its street committee seems to have supervised the surveyors³⁸ but at other times the corporation looked to the vestry or the 'parish surveyor' to carry out repairs.³⁹ A plan to repave the town in 1838 may not have been carried through,⁴⁰ and in 1850 the corporation appointed a committee to undertake major repaving, promising £200 towards a subscription. The work probably included the removal of the old central gutters and the insertion of raised pavements in Yorkshire stone.⁴¹ The corporation continued to contribute to repairs and to a town surveyor,⁴² but the vestry, supervised by the Wootton district highway board, retained oversight of the streets and in 1881 spent c. £44 a year on their repair.⁴³ In 1886 the corporation became the highway authority, and although largely replaced by the county council in 1910 retained some responsibility for minor roads in 1974.⁴⁴

In 1768 the duke of Marlborough gave 12 street lamps, for which the corporation provided oil during the winter months.⁴⁵ In 1802 the corporation's newly formed street committee set up new oil lamps paid for by a subscription.⁴⁶ A scheme for gas lamps in 1838 probably failed and in 1853 the corporation spent £40 on gas lamps and posts.⁴⁷ Its expenditure for lighting rose from £40 a year in 1854 to over £60 and a lamplighter's wage by 1885–6, and £100 by

¹⁵ Ibid. shelf G 1, box 7; W. F. Mavor, *New Description of Blenheim* (1817), 19 n.

¹⁶ Boro. Mun. 90, p. 117.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 183; 95, s.a. 1860–1; *ibid.* file 34; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C. 2490], p. 129, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

¹⁸ Bevan, 'Social conditions'; *Oxf. Chron.* 15 Dec. 1866. The pumping station and reservoirs were shown in 1876: O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 7, 12 (1876 edn.).

¹⁹ *Oxf. Jnl.* 18 July, 29 Aug. 1874; Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 337, 340–4.

²⁰ Boro. Mun. 107, p. 15. For the mill works, below Old Woodstock, Econ., Mills.

²¹ Boro. Mun. 102, pp. 52, 87, 156, 166.

²² Ibid. 107, pp. 335–7; 108, p. 234.

²³ Ibid. file 48; Bevan, 'Social conditions'; O.R.O., Misc. Budd V/3.

²⁴ e.g. Boro. Mun. 78/2, Apr. 1611; 90, p. 19.

²⁵ e.g. *ibid.* 76/2, endpapers: accts. 1694–5, 1703.

²⁶ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 13, *passim*.

²⁷ e.g. Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 11v., 58v–59, 129–30, and *passim*.

²⁸ Ibid. f. 64.

²⁹ Ibid. f. 137.

³⁰ Ibid. 76/1, s.a. 1675.

³¹ Above, Development.

³² e.g. Boro. Mun. 88, pp. 349, 426.

³³ Turnpike Act, 44 Geo. III, c. 79; cf. O.R.O., Rob. II/ii/21: road maintenance contract, 1839.

³⁴ Above, Development.

³⁵ Above, Intro.

³⁶ Boro. Mun. 93, *passim*.

³⁷ Ibid. pp. 191–7; 88, pp. 210, 214.

³⁸ e.g. *ibid.* 89, pp. 126, 138–9, 147.

³⁹ e.g. *ibid.* 88, p. 331; 89, pp. 414–16; 90, p. 305.

⁴⁰ *Oxf. Chron.* 17 Feb. 1838.

⁴¹ Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 59–60, 65; *New Guide to Blenheim* (Woodstock, 1858, publ. Wm. Eccles), 88.

⁴² Ibid. pp. 181, 305, 336, 401.

⁴³ Ibid. p. 305; MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock b 11, *passim*; *Oxf. Chron.* 29 Oct. 1881.

⁴⁴ Above, Reformed Boro.

⁴⁵ Boro. Mun. 88, pp. 283, 301, 335; 93, pp. 185–9 and *passim*.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 89, pp. 126–7; 14/3/1; 33/2/11.

⁴⁷ *Oxf. Chron.* 17 Feb. 1838; Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 94, 96; 94, s.a. 1852–3.

1897.⁴⁸ Lighting was extended to Old Woodstock in 1887.⁴⁹

The Woodstock Gaslight & Coke Co., formed in 1853, built a works on land leased from the corporation for a small reserved rent.⁵⁰ After several changes of ownership the works passed to the Woodstock Power Syndicate, which tried unsuccessfully to buy the freehold in 1928–9 and 1941.⁵¹ From 1935 gas manufacture ceased but the gasholder remained in use. The Southern Gas Board was lessee from 1949. The corporation recovered the site, demolished the derelict buildings in 1962, and later sold the land for houses.⁵²

The introduction of electricity supply was discussed by the council in 1897–1900.⁵³ Electricity was installed at the union workhouse as early as 1914, but more general provision was made in the 1920s by a small local company, taken over in 1926 by the Woodstock Power Syndicate which in 1930 set up the Woodstock and District Electrical Distribution Co. Some electric street lights were installed in 1922–3 but gas remained dominant for many years.⁵⁴ In 1949 the Southern Electricity Board took over supply and gradually removed the unsightly network of overhead cables, the last of three large pylons in the town centre being demolished in 1956.⁵⁵

By 1580 all new freemen were expected to donate a leather bucket, and in the late 16th century several gave iron hooks for fire fighting.⁵⁶ The buckets, of which there were 98 in 1641, were painted with the borough arms and hung in the town hall in charge of the crier. They were regularly renewed, and stocks of buckets were sometimes given by townsmen and in 1790 by the Phoenix Fire Office.⁵⁷ The vestry kept long ladders in the church tower in 1613, and bought more ladders and hooks in 1625 for use of church and town.⁵⁸ The corporation also paid for ladders, hooks, and poles.⁵⁹ In 1681 James Bertie, Lord Norreys (later earl of Abingdon), gave a fire engine which was kept beneath the town hall.⁶⁰ In 1709 the corporation threatened fines for anyone allowing flames to issue from their chimneys.⁶¹ In 1746 a new engine was bought with a subscription of £42, to which the corporation gave £20.⁶² The chamberlains regularly paid for repairs and fire-fighting practice,⁶³

and by the later 18th century there seem to have been two engines, both in the care of John Chapman, carpenter: the corporation provided new pipes and buckets, but the vestry paid 6 gn. to Chapman, who under a renewed 12-year contract in 1777 was to maintain the engine and provide six or more fire plugs in the streets.⁶⁴ The vestry continued to pay similar wages to firemen in the 19th century.⁶⁵ The corporation in 1792 was paying a man to maintain the 'borough engines', but such payments were not recorded later; in 1842 the corporation denied any responsibility for engine repairs, but contributed to the installation of hydrants in 1861.⁶⁶

There was a fire-engine house in the town hall of 1766.⁶⁷ In 1829, when the County Fire Office promised a new engine on condition that it was suitably housed, plans were made to keep it in the town hall.⁶⁸ In 1836 the vestry had another engine house, which it was intending to replace.⁶⁹ In 1868 the churchwardens transferred the custody of the fire engine to the union overseers, who in 1870 asked to house it in the town hall since the parish engine house was derelict.⁷⁰ The Woodstock Volunteer Fire Brigade, formed in 1872–3, took over the town hall engine house probably in 1874.⁷¹ The corporation made small annual contributions to the brigade and in 1894 ceased to charge for the engine house.⁷² A subscription was raised for a motor fire engine in 1924.⁷³ The Volunteer Fire Brigade ceased in 1938 and until the National Fire Service was created in 1941 the brigade was controlled by a joint committee of the corporation and Chipping Norton rural district council.⁷⁴ In 1934 the fire station was removed from the town hall to no. 43 Oxford Street, a corporation property transferred to the county council when it became responsible for the fire service in 1948. The station was enlarged in 1962 by the purchase of a cottage on the north (no. 45).⁷⁵ In 1970 a new fire station was opened on the former workhouse site at Hensington,⁷⁶ and the former fire station became a house and shop.

The early policing of the town was carried out by constables, tithingmen, and watchmen supervised by the court leet and the council.⁷⁷ The county constabulary, formed in 1857, at first rented a station at no. 84 Oxford Street, moving in 1859 to no. 10 Oxford Street, part of the

⁴⁸ Boro. Mun. 94–5, *passim*; 108, p. 1.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 102, pp. 7, 11, 30, 48.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 143–4, *passim*; *Oxf. Chron.* 3 Sept., 15 Oct. 1853.

⁵¹ Ibid. 105, pp. 236–7; *ibid.* file 123 and modern corresp. files; O.R.O., Gas VIII/i–v; recs. of Woodstock Power Syndicate 1926–49.

⁵² Bevan, 'Social conditions'; Boro. Mun. modern corresp. files.

⁵³ Boro. Mun. 107, p. 367; 108, pp. 1, 9, 21, 82; *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1900 and later edns.).

⁵⁴ *Electrical Review*, 15 Jan. 1915; Boro. Mun. 105, pp. 14–15, 34, 123; 110, pp. 85, 108; *ibid.* file 23; O.R.O., Gas VIII/i–v; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1924 and later edns.).

⁵⁵ Boro. Mun. file 145; O.R.O., Misc. Budd V/2.

⁵⁶ Boro. Mun. 82, f. 5; 83/1, pp. 107–8.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 79, ff. 62, 71v., 86v., 160; 76/2, Feb. 1695; 86, Sept. 1710; 89, p. 28.

⁵⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, pp. 1, 12, 16.

⁵⁹ e.g. Boro. Mun. 81, s.a. 1581; 79, f. 58v.; 76/2, Nov. 1688, Sept. 1697.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 76/2, Oct. 1681, Dec. 1686;

⁶¹ Ibid. 86, Dec. 1709.

⁶² Ibid. 87, Sept. 1746; 93, pp. 59–61.

⁶³ e.g. *ibid.* 93, pp. 27–30, 59–61, 169–75.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 191–7; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, p.

324.

⁶⁵ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, p. 435; c 13, f. 46.

⁶⁶ Boro. Mun. 89, pp. 46, 459; 95, s.a. 1860–1.

⁶⁷ e.g. *ibid.* 89, p. 41.

⁶⁸ Ibid. pp. 338, 345–6.

⁶⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 13, f. 39v.

⁷⁰ Boro. Mun. 90, p. 294; *Oxf. Chron.* 25 Apr. 1868.

⁷¹ Ibid. pp. 346–7; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock b 11, s.a. 1872, 1874; Magd. Coll. Mun. 246/8: fire brigade's annual rep. (1880).

⁷² e.g. Boro. Mun. 102, pp. 56, 247–8.

⁷³ Ibid. 105, p. 124.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 116, pp. 116–17; *ibid.* file 12B.

⁷⁵ Ibid. plan and specification of 1934; O.R.O., CCE 960.

⁷⁶ O.R.O., CCE 444.

⁷⁷ Above, Council and Officers.

grammar school estate, which the corporation repaired in 1860–1.⁷⁸ In 1863 a new county police station was built on land bought from the duke of Marlborough in Rectory Lane. It was designed by William Wilkinson and included a lock-up and accommodation for an inspector, 2 married, and 2 single men; the force comprised an inspector and 7 men.⁷⁹ The station remained in use until 1975 when a new station was opened in Hensington road on the former workhouse site; the old station, renamed Bowley House, was taken over by the local authority and converted to apartments.⁸⁰

A proposal to establish a free reading room in the town hall in 1876 was not carried through,⁸¹ but when the Woodstock Literary Institute was closed in 1894 the corporation bought the books and fittings and appointed a librarian.⁸² A free library was set up in the north-west part of the rebuilt ground floor of the town hall in 1898, with fittings given by John Banbury and his sisters in honour of their father, G. G. Banbury, a former mayor (d. 1911).⁸³ In the 1930s the library was at no. 2 Oxford Street but was again in the town hall by 1945.⁸⁴ The county council took over the library in 1947, and in 1985 it was moved to a new building on Hensington Road.⁸⁵

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.

Woodstock sent two representatives to parliament in 1302 and two others in 1305;⁸⁶ all seem to have been residents and two were members of the prominent Bennet family.⁸⁷ The borough charter of 1453 freed Woodstock from the burden of representation⁸⁸ but in 1553 the borough again provided two M.P.s. Returns were usually made by the mayor and commonalty, implying that the franchise, as in mayoral elections, extended beyond the council to the freeman body.⁸⁹ An election restricted to councillors in 1609 may have been exceptional because of the death of a sitting member,⁹⁰ and the rejection by parliament of the freemen's choice when there was a double return in 1640 may not have constituted a challenge to their right to vote.⁹¹ In the early 18th century, however, it was alleged that parliament in 1640 had decided that the franchise lay with the council, and 'ancient men' claimed that freemen never voted until the Restoration; their memory may recall only a temporary loss of rights during the Interregnum.⁹²

Certainly freemen's rights were accepted after the Restoration except when the short-lived charter of 1688 limited the franchise to the council.⁹³ A council ordinance of 1660 that non-resident freemen should pay £2 13s. 4d. to 'have their voice' was not invoked thereafter, and attempts in 1713 to exclude non-residents from voting failed.⁹⁴ Until 1832 the franchise extended to all freemen.

In the 16th and 17th centuries stewards of the royal manor and park strongly influenced the borough's representation. In the mid 16th century the seat was controlled by Sir Leonard Chamberlain (d. 1561), steward of the manor and M.P. for the county, and in 1553 and in the two parliaments of 1554 a Chamberlain of Shirburn was elected with colleagues who were also non-resident.⁹⁵ Woodstock was not represented in the later Marian parliaments, nor, perhaps because the Chamberlains were recusants, in 1559 and 1562. When Woodstock returned M.P.s in 1571 its right was investigated and allowed.⁹⁶ After the death of Francis Chamberlain in 1570 his successors as steward, Thomas Peniston and from 1573 Sir Henry Lee (d. 1611), continued to control the seat; both were related to Sir Francis Knollys (d. 1596),⁹⁷ and Woodstock was evidently treated as part of a network of county patronage. In 1571 Peniston shared the representation with Martin Johnson, Knollys's servant; George Whitton, who replaced his cousin Peniston in 1572, was comptroller of the park; Lawrence Tanfield, M.P. from 1584, was married to Lee's niece, and Sir Henry Unton and Sir Francis Stonor, M.P.s in 1584 and 1586, were presumably nominees of Knollys or Lee.⁹⁸ Whitton's election perhaps owed less to his park office than to his own influence as alderman; while mayor in 1571–3 he fought a costly action against Peniston, and later quarrelled with both Lee and his fellow councillors. He was disfranchised in 1581 and later became M.P. for Brackley (Northants.).⁹⁹

Sir Henry Lee became the borough's high steward before 1580¹ and Woodstock was content thereafter to elect non-resident M.P.s, probably his nominees. Tanfield maintained close ties with the town as its recorder, the first of several eminent lawyers to combine the two offices.² Sir Thomas Spencer of Yarnton, M.P. from 1604,³ declined to stand after succeeding Lee as high steward in 1612, being replaced in

⁷⁸ *Rep. Insp. of Constabulary*, H.C. 20, p. 18 (1857–8), xlvii; H.C. 17, p. 32 (1859), xxii; H.C. 30, p. 29 (1860), lvii; County Mus., P.R.N. 13245; Boro. Mun. 143/23–4: rentals 1861–2; 90, pp. 170, 181.

⁷⁹ Blenheim Mun., E/P/58 and associated map (1863); *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1864); Pevsner, *Oxon.* 857.

⁸⁰ *Thames View*, no. 60: copy in Westgate Libr.; *Oxf. Mail*, 29 Aug. 1975; inf. from West Oxon. district council.

⁸¹ Boro. Mun. 90, p. 382.

⁸² *Ibid.* 102, pp. 271, 287, 323; file 125. For Institute, above, Intro.

⁸³ Boro. Mun. file 125; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1903).

⁸⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1939 and later edns.).

⁸⁵ Boro. Mun. 116, p. 80; Oxon. C.C., mins. of L.M.A. ctee.

⁸⁶ For lists and biogs. of M.P.s see Williams, *Parl. Hist. Oxon.*, corrected by *Hist. Parl., Commons*, *passim*.

⁸⁷ For Adam Bennet, above, Econ.

⁸⁸ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1427–1516, 125–7.

⁸⁹ Above, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886.

⁹⁰ Boro. Mun. 78/2, Jan. 1609.

⁹¹ Below.

⁹² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, ff. 86, 90–1.

⁹³ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1687–9, p. 229.

⁹⁴ Boro. Mun. 82, f. 17v.

⁹⁵ *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1509–85, i. 170, 616–17. For stewards and pk. officers, below, Blenheim, Woodstock Manor; *ibid.* Pk. to 1705.

⁹⁶ *Procs. in Parls. of Eliz. I*, ed. T. E. Hartley, i. 199–200; *C.J.* i. 83.

⁹⁷ *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1558–1603, ii. 409–14, 447–8; iii. 197.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* i. 227–8.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* iii. 614; above, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886.

¹ Above, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886.

² *Ibid.*

³ Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 288–9.

1614 by Sir Philip Cary, Tanfield's son-in-law, brother of Henry, Lord Falkland of Great Tew.⁴ James Whitelocke, recorder from 1606 and M.P. from 1609, was re-elected in 1614 'notwithstanding the town were hardly pressed for another' by the steward of Woodstock manor, Philip Herbert, earl of Montgomery.⁵ Whitelocke, whose contentious views on the royal prerogative may have provoked Herbert's opposition, was evidently popular in Woodstock and gave up the seat only when he became a high court judge. Herbert became high steward of the borough in 1622 and thereafter controlled the seat until the Civil War. William Lenthall,⁶ who succeeded Whitelocke as recorder in 1622 and as M.P. in 1624 did not stand in 1625, perhaps because he was unacceptable to Herbert. His replacement, Sir Gerard Fleetwood, held office under Herbert in Woodstock park,⁷ and Edmund Taverner, who replaced Cary in 1636, was Herbert's secretary. In 1628 Sir Gerard was replaced by his nephew Sir Miles Fleetwood (d. 1641) and for the Short Parliament of 1640 the M.P.s were Sir Miles's son Sir William Fleetwood, by then ranger of the park, and William Lenthall.⁸

A disputed election for the Long Parliament perhaps reflected Herbert's disagreements with the king. In October 1640 the mayor and commonalty reported the election of William Lenthall and Lord Pembroke's son William Herbert (replaced by Sir Robert Pye when he decided to sit elsewhere); an unorthodox return of Sir William Fleetwood and Benjamin Merrick, a Woodstock resident, signed a few days earlier by c. 45 freemen, was rejected by parliament in January 1641.⁹ Lenthall was by then Speaker; Pye was evicted in Pride's Purge in 1648.¹⁰

No member for Woodstock was summoned to the Barebones Parliament, but in 1654 the borough, given representation by one member,¹¹ chose Lt.-Gen. Charles Fleetwood, owner of Woodstock manor and park since 1652; although brother of the royalist Sir William he was Cromwell's son-in-law and by 1655, as major-general, commanded seven counties including Oxfordshire.¹² In 1656 he was replaced as M.P. by William Packer, his deputy as major-general in Oxfordshire. In 1659 Woodstock again had two members, Fleetwood's protégé, Jerome Sankey, and his nephew Miles Fleetwood (d. 1688).¹³

For the Convention Parliament Woodstock returned the royalists Sir Thomas Spencer of Yarnton (d. 1685) and Edward Atkyns of Hens-

ington, a borough magistrate since 1656, recorder 1660–2, and Spencer's relative by marriage.¹⁴ In 1661 Atkyns gave way to Sir William Fleetwood, who was again resident in the park as ranger and became a supporter of the court party. Spencer became high steward of Woodstock in 1661, was one of the commissioners charged with purging the corporation in 1662, and at his own cost defended the borough's charter of 1664 against a challenge in 1667 from Fleetwood and Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon; Clarendon, briefly steward of Woodstock manor, may have been seeking influence in the borough.¹⁵

From the 1670s Spencer's influence was challenged by John Lovelace, Lord Lovelace (d. 1693), steward of the manor 1670–9 and a leading Whig.¹⁶ Lovelace, inserted into the Woodstock council soon after his father acquired the stewardship in 1668, established an annual horse race in the park,¹⁷ offered gifts to the corporation,¹⁸ and infiltrated the electorate with non-resident political adherents; Thomas Howard, elected on Fleetwood's death in 1674, although not apparently a Whig was evidently an associate of Lovelace, who had secured his admission to the freedom in 1673.¹⁹ The number of freemen rose from c. 90 in 1662 to probably over 200 in 1681, chiefly because of the Exclusion crisis when more than 60 honorary freemen were admitted.²⁰ Intent on keeping the borough 'solely at his devotion',²¹ Lovelace even secured the admission of Titus Oates, who visited the races in 1679 and stayed to preach sermons.²² Spencer outmatched Lovelace in the matter of honorary freemen, introducing as many as 24 at a single meeting, but did not seek election himself in 1679, perhaps because of his recusant connexions.²³ The M.P.s chosen at both elections in that year, although apparently acceptable to Lovelace, seem to have been moderates, and neither voted for the Exclusion Bill: Sir Littleton Osbaldeston of Chadlington, a lawyer sometimes resident in Woodstock and a councillor since 1662, later adhered to the court party, and Nicholas Baynton, resident at Chaucer's House from the 1670s, was like Lovelace a successful racehorse owner.²⁴

From the mid 1670s Lovelace's unpopularity at court threatened his position in Woodstock manor and park, from which he was evicted in 1679 in favour of the king's son-in-law Edward Henry Lee, earl of Lichfield.²⁵ The earl was a minor until 1684; and his interest in Woodstock was looked after by Osbaldeston, his deputy

⁴ *D.N.B.*; *Liber Famelicus of Sir J. Whitelocke* (Camd. Soc. [1st ser.], lxx), 41.

⁵ *Liber Famelicus*, 16, 19, 40.

⁶ *D.N.B.*

⁷ Cf. below, Blenheim, Pk. to 1705; Williams, *Parl. Hist. Oxon.*, 199, where it is stated erroneously that he was ranger from 1611.

⁸ For Sir Miles see M. F. Keeler, *Long Parl.* 178–9, and for Sir Wm., *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1660–90, ii. 331.

⁹ P.R.O., C 219/43/1, nos. 107–10; Keeler, *Long Parl.* 60. For Merrick, above, Bldgs. no. 34.

¹⁰ Keeler, *Long Parl.* 317.

¹¹ *Acts and Ords. of Interr.* ed. Frith and Rait, ii. 815.

¹² *D.N.B.*

¹³ Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* ii, col. 750; *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1660–90, ii. 330–1.

¹⁴ Boro. Mun. 82, ff. 16v.–18; 76/1, f. 9v.

¹⁵ Above, Local Govt., Boro. to 1868; below, Blenheim, Woodstock Manor.

¹⁶ *D.N.B.*; *Hist. Parl. Commons*, 1660–90, ii. 765.

¹⁷ Above, Intro.

¹⁸ Above, Local Govt., Municipal Bldgs.; below, Char.

¹⁹ Boro. Mun. 76/1, Feb. 1672/3; cf. *Complete Peerage*, xii (1), 470 n.; *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1660–90, ii. 605.

²⁰ Boro. Mun. 76/1–2, *passim*.

²¹ *Letters of H. Prideaux* (Camd. Soc. 2nd ser. xv), 97–8.

²² *Wood's Life and Times*, ii (O.H.S. xxi), 465.

²³ Boro. Mun. 76/2, Sept. 1680; below, Yarnton, Nonconf.

²⁴ For Osbaldeston and Baynton's residence, above, Bldgs. nos. 29, 32.

²⁵ Below, Blenheim, Woodstock Manor.

from 1679,²⁶ and the lawyer John Cary of Wilcote, who moved into the town in 1675 and became a councillor and magistrate.²⁷ The earl was an ally of Sir Thomas Spencer and in September 1680 paid for lavish entertainment when Spencer's adherents were elected honorary freemen.²⁸ The earl was closely related to the Berties, who were emerging as the dominant Tory influence in Oxfordshire.²⁹ In 1680-1 James Bertie, Lord Norreys, later earl of Abingdon, rapidly built up his interest in Woodstock with Spencer's help,³⁰ and in 1681 secured the election of his brother Henry, Osbaldeston perhaps agreeing to stand down. Lovelace temporarily withdrew his horse races to Oxford and by 1681 his influence, despite entertaining 'the rag tag of Woodstock', was slight.³¹ Tory control was reflected in loyal addresses, in the election as councillors and magistrates of Lord Norreys and the earl of Lichfield, and of Lichfield as high steward in 1685.³² Osbaldeston was returned with Richard Bertie in 1685.

The earl of Abingdon's waning popularity at court³³ left the borough defenceless against *quo warranto* proceedings in 1688, but the new charter was quickly rescinded.³⁴ Lovelace's influence at Woodstock was restored by the Revolution, but there was an alliance of interests, perhaps helped by Henry Bertie's rescue of Lovelace from prison during the invasion.³⁵ Of the M.P.s confirmed by the general election in January 1689 Sir John Doyley, an honorary freeman from 1681,³⁶ was an associate of the Berties, and Sir Thomas Littleton, kinsman of Littleton Osbaldeston, was presumably approved by Lovelace. In 1692 Lovelace was elected high steward after securing Lichfield's dismissal for refusing the statutory oaths, but Lichfield continued to influence the seat through John Cary, favouring Littleton, a moderate court Whig and Speaker 1698-1700.³⁷ Both Lovelace and Thomas Wharton, Lord Wharton, who took over the Whig interest in Woodstock after Lovelace's death in 1693, found it expedient to share the patronage with the earl of Abingdon.³⁸ Berties were chosen at all elections to 1705, and in 1702, when the 2nd earl replaced Wharton as lord lieutenant, Tory influence prevailed. The Berties, who in 1695 had acceded only reluctantly to Sir Thomas Littleton's retention of a Woodstock seat,³⁹ secured the election of two Tories in 1702; the renewal of conflict over patronage is reflected in the numbers of honorary freemen introduced in the period 1701-4.⁴⁰

The grant of Blenheim to the duke of Marl-

borough in 1705 immediately challenged Abingdon's interest,⁴¹ but the Marlborough family's 'natural right to the chief influence there'⁴² was recognized only after a prolonged and expensive struggle. In 1705 the duke's man, General William Cadogan defeated one of Abingdon's candidates and in 1708 the two Tory candidates lost to Cadogan and Sir Thomas Wheate of Glympton, a Bertie ally turned to the Marlborough interest.⁴³ In 1710 Cadogan and Wheate's tenure seemed unassailable until Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, stopped all work at Blenheim shortly before the election; in panic Wheate marshalled non-resident support and some workmen were hastily paid, but the Tories failed to produce a candidate. In 1713, with the Marlboroughs in exile and the Blenheim debt a local grievance, Abingdon's challenge was averted only by a large outlay on debts and street paving. At a byelection on Wheate's death in 1721 his son Sir Thomas (d. 1746), described by the duchess as 'contemptible, an idiot, and a beggar',⁴⁴ almost defeated her candidate Samuel Crisp despite the 'usual' Tory mismanagement.⁴⁵ Abingdon then seized his opportunity by joining forces with Wheate, who was also supported by George, earl of Lichfield. In 1722 Crisp and William Clayton, who had succeeded Cadogan in the Marlborough interest in 1716, were easily defeated by Wheate and Abingdon's candidate, Samuel Trotman. In 1727 the duchess was reconciled with the earl in order to extinguish Wheate's influence and secure the unopposed election, with Trotman, of her grandson William Godolphin, marquess of Blandford. The alliance perhaps continued,⁴⁶ for the choice in 1734 of James Dawkins, a rich Jacobite, to share the representation with the duchess's grandson John Spencer was probably by agreement, since Dawkins threatened to inconvenience the earl at Oxford.⁴⁷ Later in 1734 the duchess contrived to avoid a byelection; apparently Sir Robert Walpole, aided by a mayor intent on a contest, had built up a significant interest, particularly among freemen living in London.⁴⁸

The duchess interfered throughout in the management of Woodstock, frequently causing ill feeling. During the duke's life much was entrusted to agents, notably Samuel Travers, surveyor-general of Crown Lands, and William Diston, a flamboyant Chadlington landowner. Sir John Vanbrugh lost his government post through being involved in the electoral campaign of 1713.⁴⁹ In the same campaign

²⁶ Blenheim Mun., B/M/210-11, *passim*.

²⁷ Above, Bldgs. no. 48; Boro. Mun. 74/5; 76/1, s.a. 1676. Some Cary corresp. is in P.R.O., C 104/109.

²⁸ P.R.O., C 104/109, bills of 1680; Boro. Mun. 76/2, Sept. 1680.

²⁹ *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1660-90, i. 357-60.

³⁰ Boro. Mun. 76/1, Feb. 1679/80, sqq.

³¹ *Letters of Prideaux*, 97-8, 105.

³² Boro. Mun. 76/2, *passim*.

³³ He was dismissed from the lord lieutenancy in 1687: *Complete Peerage*, i. 45 and n.

³⁴ Above, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886.

³⁵ *Hist. Parl. Commons*, 1660-90, i. 643.

³⁶ Boro. Mun. 76/2, Feb. 1680/1.

³⁷ *Ibid.* Aug., Sept. 1692; e.g. P.R.O., C 104/109.

³⁸ P.R.O., C 104/109.

³⁹ B.L. Add. MS. 18675, ff. 42-3; ref. kindly supplied by Dr. E. G. Cruickshanks.

⁴⁰ Boro. Mun. 86, Sept. 1703; 87, Jan. 1721/2, reciting precedents.

⁴¹ Account to 1740 based on Frances Harris, 'Election eering of Sarah, duchess of Marlborough', *Parl. Hist.* ii. 71-92.

⁴² B.L. Add. MS. 61437, f. 66.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 18675, ff. 42-3; P.R.O., C 104/109, letter of Sir T. Littleton, 24 Sept. 1695.

⁴⁴ Bodl. G. A. Oxon. a 110, f. 15.

⁴⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com.* 29, *Portland*, vii, p. 305.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Parl. Hist.* ii. 82, which interprets B.L. Add. MS. 61468, f. 184 as marking a permanent breach in 1728.

⁴⁷ *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1715-54, i. 305.

⁴⁸ Cf. *ibid.* 303-5, which misdates Walpole's intrusion.

⁴⁹ *Hist. King's Works*, ed. H. M. Colvin, v. 37; *Complete Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. G. Webb, iv. 53-5; L. Whistler, *Imagination of Vanbrugh*, 127-30; K. Downes, *Sir John Vanbrugh*, 356-8.

Henry Joynes, comptroller of the Blenheim works, permitted £1,325 given by the Marlboroughs to settle freemen's bills to pass through his accounts as if government funds, so that the Marlboroughs might gain favour in Woodstock without acknowledging responsibility for the Blenheim debt. Joynes denied buying votes, but found that paying creditors 'has the same effect'.⁵⁰ In the 1720s the master masons William Townesend and Bartholomew Peisley were expected to produce political support. Much reliance was placed on the town clerks George and Edward Ryves, and the rectors intervened on behalf of their patron: Sir Robert Cocks in 1721 preached a sermon reminding townspeople of their duty to the Marlboroughs,⁵¹ and in 1727 William Baker, former rector and councillor, travelled to Woodstock as bishop of Norwich to vote at an important council election.⁵²

The Marlboroughs infiltrated the corporation with honorary freemen, including, in 1705, Cadogan, Travers, Vanbrugh, the duke's secretary Adam Cardonnel, and the gardener Henry Wise.⁵³ Non-resident freemen qualified by patrimony or apprenticeship were also registered in large numbers, and at the election of 1713 there were 337 votes, implying an electorate of 170 or more.⁵⁴ Although both sides had employed similar tactics,⁵⁵ the defeated candidates petitioned and the Tory Commons ordered a new election at which the Marlborough candidates were returned: the right of all freemen to vote was confirmed.⁵⁶ In the byelection of 1721 there were at least 254 voters and although Wheate petitioned he soon withdrew.⁵⁷ Shortly afterwards the earl of Abingdon secured the admission of over 50 freemen, mostly local country gentlemen;⁵⁸ in 1722 c. 190 voted⁵⁹ and the defeated Marlborough candidates' petition was unsuccessful.⁶⁰ In 1724 the electorate was at least 362, of whom only 105 were residents; 443 votes were cast in 1727.⁶¹

The Marlboroughs also secured council places for their supporters, including in 1709 Francis, Lord Rialton, later earl of Godolphin, in 1715 William Diston, and in 1716 Cadogan.⁶² In 1727–8 the duchess's success in packing the council with non-residents caused general distaste, and even her manager tried to prevent further infiltration.⁶³ The mayor's support in election years was regarded as essential, since he controlled council meetings and was returning officer; Abingdon's success in 1722 was attrib-

uted to his capture of the mayoralty for John Brotherton.⁶⁴

The Marlboroughs did not own much property in the borough until the later 18th century but commanded votes as employers and purchasers. As early as 1705 a notice in the park threatened workmen with dismissal unless they voted in a mayoral election for the Marlborough candidate.⁶⁵ In 1713 employment at Blenheim and in paving the town was restricted to supporters,⁶⁶ and in 1722 the duchess proposed to avoid the use of masons 'inclined to vote with our enemies'.⁶⁷ In 1708 gentlemen who had 'so violently espoused the Lord Abingdon's cause' were expressly excluded from a distribution of venison,⁶⁸ and the duchess's reprisals after a reverse in 1721 included banning 'enemies' from the park, denying them the traditional right to gather firewood, and turning away visitors who were staying at inns owned by political opponents; 'examples' were to be made of hostile councillors, notably Brotherton and William Simmons, lessee of the waterworks.⁶⁹

Such methods encouraged strife and venality; opponents became embittered, while dependents saw political contests as an opportunity to secure repayment of debts or to press for other advantages. Diston, who attributed his success as political manager to his ownership of the town's cockpit and to his office of park bailiff, from whom freemen solicited venison,⁷⁰ negotiated for councillors' votes with offers of money and employment. He noted that the townsmen's poverty encouraged them to 'keep up two parties': leading councillors included William Hatley, 'a beggar', anxious to trade his vote for a settlement of his debts, John Appletree, mayor in 1727, assuring the duchess of continued support while making play of his imminent arrest for debt, and John Tasker, 'poor and drunk'.⁷¹

Costs grew with the size of the electorate: in 1721 the duchess was said to have paid between 16 and 20 gn. a vote, and in the relatively trouble-free election of 1727 she spent c. £450 in the town 'besides the charge and hire of the freemen from London', entertainment at her own house, and 'at least 120 bucks'.⁷² In addition there were timely gifts to the town as a whole: in 1713 the Marlboroughs spent nearly £1,000 on paving the streets,⁷³ and in 1731 the duchess clothed 80 poor townsmen.⁷⁴ Despite all efforts the Marlborough interest remained brittle. In 1722 the duchess's candidates seem to

⁵⁰ B.L. Add. MSS. 19603, ff. 24 sqq.; 19609, f. 136; 19615, ff. 171 sqq. For the debt, below, Blenheim, Blenheim Palace.

⁵¹ B.L. Add. MS. 61468, ff. 168 sqq. for text of sermon.

⁵² Ibid. ff. 71–3; Boro. Mun. 87, Jan. 1727/8.

⁵³ Boro. Mun. 86, Mar., Oct. 1705.

⁵⁴ *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1660–90, i. 358.

⁵⁵ e.g. Boro. Mun. 86, s.a. 1712–13; B.L. Add. MS. 19609, ff. 137, 141.

⁵⁶ *C.J.* xvii. 479, 498–500.

⁵⁷ *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1715–54, i. 304; *C.J.* xix. 665, 683–4.

⁵⁸ Boro. Mun. 87, Jan. 1721/2.

⁵⁹ For slightly differing figures cf. *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1715–54, i. 305; B.L. Add. MS. 61468, ff. 200–1.

⁶⁰ *C.J.* xx. 21.

⁶¹ B.L. Add. MS. 61468, ff. 202–5; *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1715–54, 303.

⁶² Boro. Mun. 86–7.

⁶³ Ibid. 87, Jan. 1728; B.L. Add. MS. 61468, ff. 71 sqq., especially ff. 96–7, 143; cf. above, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886.

⁶⁴ *C.J.* xx. 21.

⁶⁵ Bodl. MS. Rawl. D 742, f. 18v.

⁶⁶ B.L. Add. MS. 19615, ff. 179–80; D. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 135.

⁶⁷ *Birmingham and Midland Inst. Trans.* xii. 6.

⁶⁸ B.L. Add. MS. 61353, f. 5.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 61468, ff. 15–18v.

⁷⁰ Ibid. ff. 96–7.

⁷¹ Ibid. ff. 71–3, 84, 86, 90, 92, 140–2.

⁷² *Hist. MSS. Com.* 29, *Portland*, vii, p. 305; B.L. Add. MS. 61468, f. 183.

⁷³ Above, Development.

⁷⁴ Boro. Mun. 87, Sept. 1731.

have won no support from local gentry, among whom the earl of Abingdon's interest was strong, and most of the leading councillors voted against her.⁷⁵ In 1734 the duchess feared that the few gentlemen among her voters lived too far away to be relied upon in winter, that the 'little people' in London dependent on the Crown would be against her, and that the military men who feared Walpole's displeasure would at best abstain.⁷⁶

After the death of the earl of Abingdon in 1743 and of the duchess in 1744 Woodstock became the Marlboroughs' unchallenged 'pocket borough'. The 4th duke (d. 1817), who controlled several other seats,⁷⁷ in 1767 demanded the council's unanimous approval of his nominee and referred confidently to 'the trust I wish you to repose in him'.⁷⁸ His agent Thomas Walker, also town clerk, kept the freeman body small and the council compliant:⁷⁹ there were only c. 120 freemen in the later 18th century, and the two candidates in 1784 together incurred only £366 in expenses.⁸⁰ The Marlboroughs paid for a new town hall and the restoration of the church and John Skinner, M.P. 1771-7, contributed towards a workhouse.⁸¹ The duke usually recommended relatives and friends with legal, political, or court appointments, mostly supporting the government of the day. From 1784 until 1820 one seat was reserved for the duke's friend Sir Henry Watkin Dashwood of Kirtlington, a ruined man who needed the protection of a parliamentary seat.⁸² The most eminent member was William Eden, later Lord Auckland, M.P. 1774-84, whose two sons also represented Woodstock in the early 19th century.

After slight opposition to the duke in 1802 when an unknown Irish nabob, William Camac (? Carnac), attracted a few votes,⁸³ there was a serious contest in 1806; the duke's agent, James Blackstone, also recorder, summoned favourable voters from London to support William Eden, junior, against Arthur Annesley of Bletchington, formerly M.P. for Oxford. Annesley eventually received only 44 votes in a total of 224, but caused concern because of the high proportion of non-resident voters, thought likely to be more independent of the duke, and the opposition of prominent residents.⁸⁴ George Eden, M.P. 1810-12, was the duke's godson and nominee, but did not share his political views; his father, Lord Auckland, described the seat as expensive and precarious,⁸⁵ but Eden was keen to recover it in 1813 after an unsuccessful switch to Oxford, at the duke's behest, and he paid half the

cost of his election. By then Blackstone was attempting to limit treating, allowing each Woodstock freemen only 2s. 6d. for food and 8s. for drink, and grudgingly extending the allowance for London freemen to 5s. and 10s.⁸⁶

In the time of the impecunious 5th duke (1817-40) Woodstock's political life was transformed. The reduction of the Blenheim household and the duke's difficulty in financing political management encouraged local opposition, although a former M.P.'s claim that the duke could hardly command ten votes was implausible.⁸⁷ Opposition was stimulated by the duke's personal and political quarrels with his eldest son George, marquess of Blandford, an ultra Tory but also a Reformer.⁸⁸ For the first time political issues, notably Catholic emancipation and the franchise, became prominent in campaigns. The town and corporation became divided, not always on clear cut lines, between Tory and Whig, conformist and dissenter, supporters of the duke and of Lord Blandford; there were others, calling themselves Independents, whose chief stance was opposition to the Blenheim interest.⁸⁹ In 1826, in 'the most shameful scenes ever remembered in Woodstock', a street riot involved the duke's three sons: Lord Blandford was injured and Lord Charles Spencer Churchill, fighting stripped to the waist, was beaten back into the campaign headquarters, the Bear.⁹⁰ For much of the 1830s corporate government was suspended because of resistance to the duke's nomination of a recorder.⁹¹ When council meetings were resumed elections to the mayoralty and even minor offices were sometimes contested on party lines, with candidates standing openly for the Conservative 'Blues' or the Radical 'Pinks'.⁹²

In 1820 the duke asked Lord Liverpool to recommend 'any eminent commercial person',⁹³ and the Tory Sir John Gladstone, a Liverpool merchant, was returned unopposed with a rich Whig, James Langston of Sarsden. Lord Blandford withdrew when he could find no politically congenial colleague.⁹⁴ Apparently Gladstone and Langston were approached to provide £2,500 each to meet the duke's local debts; Langston may have paid but Gladstone denied any promise and handed over to his agent, the town clerk Henry North, only £877, of which £100 was North's fee and the rest presumably for entertainment.⁹⁵ In 1826 Lord Blandford and his cousin Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Lord Ashley, unexpectedly defeated Langston in a four-cornered contest probably decided by their opposition to Catholic emancipation. Immedi-

⁷⁵ B.L. Add. MS. 61468, ff. 200-1.

⁷⁶ Quoted fully in *Parl. Hist.* ii. 86.

⁷⁷ *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1754-90, i. 356-8, 414-5.

⁷⁸ B.L. Add. MS. 61672, f. 125.

⁷⁹ Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, misc. box 2, letter of 14 June 1770.

⁸⁰ Ibid. abstract of bills, Apr. 1784; cf. *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1754-90, i. 324, which cites a higher figure.

⁸¹ Above, Local Govt., Municipal Bldgs., Par. Govt.; below, Church.

⁸² *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1790-1820, iii. 569-70.

⁸³ Ibid. ii. 323. For the Carnac fam. see Burke, *Peerage* (1878).

⁸⁴ *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1790-1820, ii. 324-5; iii. 70.

⁸⁵ Hist. MSS. Com. 30, *Fortescue*, x, p. 164.

⁸⁶ B.L. Add. MS. 61674, ff. 118 sqq.

⁸⁷ 5 *Parl. Deb.* 3rd ser. 377.

⁸⁸ *Hist. Parl., Commons*, 1790-1820, v. 244.

⁸⁹ C. Freeman, 'Mr. Harrison refused to sign: political tensions in Woodstock 1838-52' (Oxf. Univ. External Studies Dissertation, 1987).

⁹⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 169.

⁹¹ Above, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886.

⁹² e.g. *Oxf. Herald* 9 June 1838; *Oxf. Chron.* 22 Sept. 1838.

⁹³ B.L. Add. MS. 38458, ff. 286, 325.

⁹⁴ *Oxf. Herald*, 4 Mar. 1820.

⁹⁵ Clwyd R.O., Glynne-Gladstone MSS. 340, 369.

ately afterwards Langston defeated the duke's candidate at Oxford, ending the Marlborough influence there.⁹⁶

By 1830 Woodstock had *c.* 170 voters of whom over 100 were non-resident.⁹⁷ Lord Blandford, by then an advocate of parliamentary reform,⁹⁸ and his brother Lord Charles Spencer Churchill, a moderate Whig, were elected unopposed in 1830. Blandford stood down before the election of May 1831 and the Tory William Murray, Viscount Stormont, who may have paid for his seat,⁹⁹ was elected with Lord Charles on a platform of opposition to reform.¹ They were unexpectedly challenged by a London journalist, J. S. Buckingham, who claimed that under the borough charter the franchise ought to extend to all inhabitants; many unregistered householders supported him but he gained only 16 legitimate votes in a total of 179.² Before the election Woodstock had been scheduled for disfranchisement on the grounds of population,³ but in October 1831 Woodstock was one of six boroughs rescheduled to retain a single member on the basis of taxable houses; to achieve the required minimum of 300 qualifying voters the constituency was enlarged to *c.* 34 square miles.⁴ No evidence has been found for a later allegation that the duke saved his borough by an agreement with the government;⁵ in 1830 he had failed to obtain a place from Lord Grey by offering his support and that of his sons,⁶ and the duke and the sitting members never supported the Reform Bill;⁷ even Lord Blandford, who had proposed enlarging smaller constituencies and extending the franchise to ratepayers, declined to help Lord Grey by moving to the Upper House.⁸

The new constituency contained 317 voters; there were only 76 householders in the ancient borough, 165 in the added rural area, and 76 freemen living within 7 miles, 52 of them in the borough.⁹ In the 1850s there were *c.* 40 freemen and *c.* 360 qualified householders in the constituency but the number of freemen declined; in the 1860s the electorate fell below 300.¹⁰ After the franchise was extended in 1868 the municipal borough accounted for only a quarter of the total electorate of *c.* 1,100.¹¹

The boundary revision of 1832 strengthened the duke's influence, since he owned much of the rural part of the new constituency. Sir James Graham, trustee of the Marlborough estates, commented that Woodstock would be a safe family seat if only the duke and Lord Blandford would agree rather than try to 'screw money out of the transaction'.¹² Thus in 1832 and 1835 Lord Blandford and Lord Charles were successively elected without opposition, but family disagreement resulted in contests in 1837 and 1838. Lord Blandford successfully put up a hunting friend and former Woodstock resident, Henry Peyton, against the duke's candidate, Lord Charles.¹³ When Peyton resigned in 1838 Lord Blandford, standing as a Peelite, defeated his brother, Lord John, a Whig, by only 5 votes.¹⁴ Both elections led to petitions, against Peyton for bribery and corruption, against Lord Blandford for 'undue influence' and fraudulent registration.¹⁵ The duke invited over 200 supporters to a rabbit hunt in Blenheim Park.¹⁶ He was accused of exclusive dealing with tradesmen and intimidation of tenants,¹⁷ which included evicting from Begbroke House the banker Thomas Robinson.¹⁸ To punish political opponents he removed manorial courts from inns at Stonesfield and Bladon, where in compensation the 'Blues' organized dinners for the 'independent electors'.¹⁹

When Lord Blandford became the 6th duke in 1840 he secured the uncontested election of the lawyer Frederick Thesiger, later Lord Chelmsford.²⁰ Thereafter, the seat was held by ducal nominees, all Tories or Conservatives, but from 1865 there was a growing Liberal challenge. Antipathy to the 'thralldom' of Blenheim united a group led in the 1840s by the town clerk, the recorder, and the rector, Joseph Bowles;²¹ a hope was expressed in 1840 that under the new duke 'the old halls will resound once more with the hospitality and revelry of bygone days',²² but by 1844 there were familiar complaints of maltreatment of tenants, meanness over charities, and petty reprisals such as banning the rector from the park.²³ Similar grievances were raised in the time of the 7th duke (1857–83).²⁴ The

⁹⁶ *Oxf. Jnl.* 10 June 1826; *Oxf. Herald*, 10 June 1826; *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 249.

⁹⁷ *Rep. Com. Parl. Bdries. (Voters and Freemen)*, H.C. 112, p. 112 (1831–2), xxxvi. ⁹⁸ *Oxf. Herald*, 10 July 1830.

⁹⁹ For Stormont's expenses at Norwich see N. Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel*, 169, 171.

¹ *Oxf. Jnl.* 30 Apr. 1831.

² Bodl. MS. Eng. Misc. d 92, ff. 103–5; *ibid.* G. A. Oxon. b 202; printed election notices; *Oxf. Herald*, 7 May 1831; *Oxf. Jnl.* 30 Apr., 8 May 1831. For Buckingham, *D.N.B.*

³ 5 *Parl. Deb.* 3rd ser. 377–8.

⁴ 9 *Parl. Deb.* 3rd ser. 163; *Rep. Com. Parl. Bdries.* H.C. 141, pp. 195–7 (1831–2), xxxix.

⁵ W. Wing, *Parl. Hist. Woodstock*, 4: copy in Bodl. G. A. Oxon. 8° 220.

⁶ Durham, Prior's Kitchen, Grey MSS., duke to Ld. Grey 21 Nov. 1830, reply 24 Nov. 1830: refs. kindly supplied by Prof. M. G. Brock.

⁷ 11 *Parl. Deb.* 3rd ser. 733; 12 *Parl. Deb.* 3rd ser. 458.

⁸ *Oxf. Herald*, 23 June 1822; 22 *Parl. Deb.* N.S. 678–96; *Oxf. Jnl.* 22 July 1837.

⁹ *Registered Electors*, H.C. 189, p. 223 (1833), xxvii; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* (1835), p. 142, where the figure of 241 registered voters excludes freemen.

¹⁰ Gardner, *Dir. Oxon.* (1852); *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1854); Wing, *Parl. Hist. Woodstock*, 5; *Oxf. Jnl.* 28 Oct. 1865; Bodl.

G. A. Oxon. c 317/19: printed statistics on boro.

¹¹ *Oxf. Jnl.* 21 Nov. 1868.

¹² A. L. Rowse, *Later Churchills*, 211. The comment may relate to 1837: *Oxf. Chron.* 12 Aug. 1837.

¹³ Wing, *Parl. Hist. Woodstock*, 5; *Oxf. Jnl.* 22 July 1837. For Peyton's residence, above, Bldgs. no. 34.

¹⁴ *Oxf. Chron.* 12 May, 9, 16 June 1838; *Oxf. Herald*, 12 May 1838.

¹⁵ *C.J.* xciii. 131–2, 215, 477, 513, 581–2, 600; *Oxf. Chron.* 9, 16 June 1838.

¹⁶ *Oxf. Chron.* 24 Feb. 1838.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 8, 22 Dec. 1838; *Oxf. Jnl.* 9 Sept. 1837; 28 Apr., 12 May 1838.

¹⁸ *Oxf. Chron.* 12 May, 27 Oct. 1838; *Oxf. Herald*, 12 May 1838.

¹⁹ *Oxf. Herald* 21 Oct. 1837; *Oxf. Jnl.* 4 Nov. 1837.

²⁰ *Oxf. Jnl.* 14, 21 Mar. 1840.

²¹ *Ibid.* 27 Apr. 1844; Bodl. G. A. Oxon. 4° 119 (6); Freeman, 'Mr. Harrison refused to sign', *passim*. For Bowles, below, Church.

²² *Oxf. Jnl.* 21 Mar. 1840.

²³ *Ibid.* 27 Apr. 1844; Williams, *Parl. Hist. Oxon.*, 227.

²⁴ *Oxf. Chron.* 12 Sept., 26 Dec. 1868; *Oxf. Times*, 4 Dec. 1869; G. C. Brodrick, *Memories and Impressions*, 151; R. F. Foster, *Lord Randolph Churchill*, 14; R. R. James, *Lord Randolph Churchill*, 28, 69.

voters resented being treated as 'Blenheim spaniels',²⁵ and in 1865 the ducal candidate, Henry Barnett of Glympton Park, preferred to campaign 'on his own hook', invoking the duke's influence in the final stages since 'only a Churchill could be sure of success'.²⁶ Although in that election the duke publicly notified his tenants that they might vote as they pleased, all but 9 of the 61 who voted supported Barnett.²⁷

The town's leading Liberals included the prominent Methodist G. G. Banbury, the Baptist minister John Freer, the glove manufacturers H. K. Money and J. N. Godden, and the upholsterer John Parker.²⁸ They were noisy but ineffectual in the 1840s and 1850s.²⁹ In 1865 the Liberal candidate, Mitchell Henry, who called upon Oxford dons to canvass for him, gained 119 votes in a poll of 262; transporting rural voters accounted for half his election expenses, whereas Barnett had the benefit of the duke's horses.³⁰ In 1868 G. C. Brodrick, using academic friends to educate the enlarged electorate 'in the alphabet of the Liberal creed', lost to Barnett by only 21 votes in a poll of 938; in the town he lost by only 5 votes.³¹ Lord Randolph Churchill beat Brodrick more easily in 1874 in an 'ostentatiously seigniorial campaign' managed by Barnett and Alderman R. B. B. Hawkins; the victory owed much to fear among farmers and tradesmen of the Liberals' association with the agricultural labourers' union and Joseph Arch.³² Lord Randolph retained the seat in 1880 and 1885 against a strong Liberal challenge; in 1885 the duke announced that he would not intervene, but in the end provided carriages to carry voters to the poll.³³ The constituency was abolished under the Redistribution of Seats Act of 1885.

CHURCH. The church, of which the south doorway is of the 12th century, was presumably established when the borough was founded by Henry II. The borough was created within Bladon parish and its church remained a chapel of ease, although rarely called a chapel after the 17th century. From an early date the town was an ecclesiastical centre: Woodstock rural deanery was established by the mid 13th century, and the rectors of Bladon were often called rectors of Woodstock.³⁴ The chapel acquired a measure of independence and was unusually closely controlled by the town corporation. It had its own

burial ground by the 13th century,³⁵ and when chapel and burial ground were reconsecrated in 1336 the bishop's licence was granted not to the rector but to the vill.³⁶ In 1445 the leading burgesses joined with the chapelwardens in an agreement with Bladon parishioners over Woodstock's responsibility for repairs to Bladon church and churchyard,³⁷ presumably the lost 'composition' between Woodstock and Bladon which was several times consulted in the borough muniments.³⁸ In the 17th century the borough chamberlains and later the churchwardens were making an annual payment to the Bladon churchwardens, usually called the Bladon composition, rising from 3s. to 3s. 4d. a year;³⁹ a payment to Bladon in 1555 was probably arrears of the same composition.⁴⁰ After the mid 18th century the composition lapsed but was restored in 1807–8 when the chamberlains were persuaded to pay 68 years' arrears;⁴¹ it was paid until the mid 19th century.⁴²

From 1453, when the borough was incorporated and the rector and the chapelwardens of Woodstock were licensed to hold lands in mortmain for the maintenance of the chapel and a chaplain,⁴³ the corporation was closely involved in church administration. The proctors or chapelwardens accounted annually before the mayor, and the borough's earliest ledger, used chiefly to record conveyances in the portmoot, began as a record of the 'livelihood' or property of the chapel in 1461.⁴⁴ So close a relationship suggests the possibility that, as elsewhere, early corporate life in the borough had centred on a religious guild,⁴⁵ and that the instruments of 1453 merely confirmed and extended established arrangements. Thereafter the corporation supervised the principal endowed chantry and in the 1530s the rector and chapelwardens claimed to hold the chapel estate for the use of the mayor and commonalty.⁴⁶ After the Reformation the corporation dominated the vestry, co-ordinating townsmen's efforts to provide preaching and maintain the chapel.

Nevertheless the rectors of Bladon were expected to serve Woodstock, and they complained repeatedly of inadequate financial support from the borough. Before the Reformation there may have been an agreement between rector and townsmen over the chaplain's upkeep,⁴⁷ but no later arrangement has been traced. Urban tithes, difficult to collect, were probably commuted early: in 1591 some if not

²⁵ *Oxf. Jnl.* 15 July 1865.

²⁶ Foster, *Churchill*, 19.

²⁷ *Oxf. Jnl.* 1 July, 28 Oct. 1865.

²⁸ e.g. *Oxf. Chron.* 24 Oct. 1859, 24 June 1865; 22 Aug. 1808; *Oxf. Jnl.* 8, 15 July 1865.

²⁹ Freeman, 'Mr. Harrison refused to sign', *passim*.

³⁰ *Oxf. Jnl.* 8, 15 July 1865; *Oxf. Chron.* 30 Sept. 1865.

³¹ Brodrick, *Memoirs*, 149–50; *Oxf. Jnl.* 21 Nov. 1868; *Oxf. Chron.* 17, 24, 31 Oct., 21 Nov. 1868.

³² *Oxf. Chron.* 31 Jan., 7 Feb. 1874; Brodrick, *Memoirs*, 153; Foster, *Churchill*, 19–23; James, *Churchill*, 43; *Agric. Trade Unionism Oxon.* (O.R.S. xlviii), 11, 13–14.

³³ Foster, *Churchill*, 60, 215; James, *Churchill*, 69, 101–2, 193; O.R.O., Woodstock R.D.C. VII/i/1, ff. 92–5: newspaper cuttings 1885.

³⁴ For the rectory and rectors, above, Bladon, Church.

³⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 840.

³⁶ Lincs. R.O., Episc. Reg. v, f. 545v.

³⁷ *Ibid.* Reg. xviii, f. 65 and v.

³⁸ e.g. Boro. Mun. 81, s.a. 1611; 89, p. 124.

³⁹ e.g. *ibid.* 79, s.a. 1609–13; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, pp. 45–6; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Bladon c 6, ff. 7, 8v.

⁴⁰ Boro. Mun. 81, s.a. 1555.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 93, pp. 388–93 and *passim*.

⁴² O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Bladon b 8, f. 105; b 9, s.a. 1857; Boro. Mun. 90, p. 213; 94, *passim*.

⁴³ *Cal. Pat.* 1452–61, 51.

⁴⁴ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 3–4.

⁴⁵ Cf. Banbury: *V.C.H. Oxon.* ix. 73.

⁴⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 185.

⁴⁷ Below.

all townsmen were paying a 'rate' for all tithes.⁴⁸ In the early 19th century the rector maintained his right to tithe of gardens, although the only tithes collected were from the corporation meadows. By then the rector's income from Woodstock was only c. £25, including surplice fees and fees from endowed sermons; 'common dues' of 6d. from each family at Easter yielded c. £5 in 1811, while additional voluntary Easter offerings from leading townsmen yielded c. £6 10s.⁴⁹ The Easter dues may conceal an earlier and forgotten tithe *modus* from Woodstock, presumably distinct from the $\frac{1}{2}$ d. payments made by communicants for bread and wine in the 17th century and early 18th.⁵⁰ In 1847, when a rent charge was awarded for all tithes not extinguished by the Bladon inclosure award of 1766, the only titheable land within the borough was the corporation meadows and three small closes belonging to the duke of Marlborough.⁵¹

In 1686 Bishop Fell provided a rectory house in Woodstock at his own cost, making the corporation trustees of the freehold.⁵² The site, a house at the park gate with an attached close on the south, had been acquired by the corporation in the 16th century,⁵³ and in 1683 Fell acquired the lease, built a new house in the close, and in 1686 paid £50 to the corporation to extinguish the rent; in the 1720s the former house was the rector's brewhouse.⁵⁴ The corporation agreed to hold the freehold in trust for the rector, who was to reside rent-free but pay for repairs; if he failed to reside the house was to be let and the rent applied to poor relief.⁵⁵ The house was let for several years from 1696 to Henry Beeston, deputy recorder, for £10 a year, and was again let in 1809 when £14 rent was given to the poor.⁵⁶

The corporation and rector argued over repairs: in the early 19th century the rector, William Mavor, pointed out that the corporation had met the cost in the past,⁵⁷ but on his death in 1837 his executors were obliged to pay dilapidations. There were similar disputes later, the corporation sometimes contributing to repairs.⁵⁸ In 1862 the corporation considered using its trusteeship of the rectory house to evict an unsatisfactory rector.⁵⁹ In 1876 the patron, the duke of Marlborough, wanted to unite the rectory house with the living and make compensatory provision for poor relief,⁶⁰ but the corporation continued as trustee, treating the rectory

house as a municipal charity. Confusion arose after a Scheme of 1909 made the rector and the churchwardens of Woodstock trustees of the rectory house charity, and in 1949 the corporation's ancient trusteeship was ignored when the house was conveyed to the Church Commissioners by the Official Trustees of Charitable Lands.⁶¹ In 1982 the house was sold to a private owner and renamed the Bishop's House; a new rectory house was built at the south end of the grounds.⁶²

The old rectory house, which cost Bishop Fell £600,⁶³ was built in local stone on a cruciform plan with the hall and parlour forming the main range, a stair and study in one wing, and perhaps a kitchen in the other. Original windows with chamfered stone surrounds and several bolection-moulded fireplaces survive. In the early 18th century tower-like blocks in the style of Vanbrugh were added in the eastern angles of the cross. It was alleged in 1724 that the rectory house, while occupied by Edward Strong, principal mason in the first stage of the Blenheim building works, was one of several places where Blenheim stone had been used illicitly.⁶⁴ Strong's occupancy was probably during the rectorship of Samuel Tilly, who resigned in 1712.⁶⁵ Other, probably later 18th-century, changes included panelling the principal rooms and rebuilding the central section of the west front with larger sash windows and rusticated quoins.⁶⁶ The house, very dilapidated when William Mavor died in 1837, was extensively repaired in the 1840s.⁶⁷ Later in the 19th century, perhaps in 1877 when the rector Arthur Majendie proposed costly alterations,⁶⁸ the centre of the west front was again rebuilt and a canted bay window added to the ground floor; a similar window was added on the east side of the south-eastern tower. The house was fully restored in the 1980s.

Some recorded medieval clerks and chaplains of Woodstock may have been attached to institutions other than Woodstock chapel. Besides chapels and chantries in the royal manor house⁶⁹ there were chapels in Hensington and medieval hospitals in or near the town,⁷⁰ and by the later 15th century Woodstock chapel contained two chantries with permanent chaplains. A chapel of St. John, apparently not in the manor house, was repaired at royal expense in 1234–5;⁷¹ it may have been the town's chapel, although that

⁴⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 23, f. 46v.

⁴⁹ Boro. Mun. 4/5; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 884, ff. 132–3; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 448: terrier, 1806.

⁵⁰ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, p. 23 and *passim*; cf. Boro. Mun. 76/1, 27 Mar. 1675.

⁵¹ O.R.O., tithe map (S) 46.

⁵² Boro. Mun. 4/8–9. Copies of 1686 conveyance in *ibid.* 97, pp. 24–7; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1733/1.

⁵³ Cf. Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 106; 34/2/1–2. Identifiable in early 17th cent. as Thos. Browne's 'house at the park gate': cf. *ibid.* 76/1, f. 2v.; 76/2, deed used as binding; 79, f. 37; 81, July 1611.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 4/7–9; 76/2, 29 Jan. 1683, 8 Nov. 1683, 10 Mar. 1684; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37*, f. 12v.

⁵⁵ Boro. Mun. 4/23.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*; *ibid.* 76/2, 23 Jan. 1695/6, 10 Aug. 1699; *ibid.* 89, p. 182.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 4/5; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 226. For repairs see e.g. Boro. Mun. 87, 26 Nov. 1746; 88, pp. 421,

429.

⁵⁸ Boro. Mun. 4/11, 12, 14; 89, pp. 396–7, 406, 421; 95, s.a. 1878.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 4/19.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 4/21; 90, pp. 396–7.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 4/22–3.

⁶² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1733/1.

⁶³ Boro. Mun. 4/8.

⁶⁴ B.L. Add. MS. 19618, f. 163: the ho. 'where Dr. Cox now lives' was the rectory ho., occupied by Rob. Cocks from 1715: below.

⁶⁵ The ho. was occupied by rectors from 1712: *Secker's Visit.* 19.

⁶⁶ B.L. Add. MS. 36377, f. 209: drawing of W. front 1827.

⁶⁷ Boro. Mun. 4/2.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 90, p. 400; Bodl. MS. Dep. c 380, item a, pp. 67–8,

70.

⁶⁹ Below, Blenheim, King's Hos.

⁷⁰ Above, Bladon, Intro.; Woodstock, Intro.

⁷¹ H. M. Colvin, *King's Works*, ii. 1012–13.

probably bore its present dedication to St. Mary Magdalene by 1319 when a new fair was established at Woodstock on her feast day.⁷² By 1463 the chapel contained chapels of St. Mary the Virgin and St. Margaret,⁷³ and before the Reformation there were lights or altars of St. Mary Magdalene, St. Cross, the Holy Trinity, St. John, St. Christopher, St. Clement, and St. Roke.⁷⁴ Besides the incumbents of permanent chantries there seem to have been temporary chaplains, for c. 1498, when Thomas Bailly gave a house in Woodstock to support a chaplain for a year, the mayor strove to prevent the fee passing to David Yale, one of the chantry priests.⁷⁵

In 1520 the chapelwardens reported unfavourably on the condition of the nave and burial ground, and complained that the non-resident rector provided, even for Bladon, no curate except a friar.⁷⁶ In 1521, however, John Lyn, described as parish priest, witnessed a townsman's will.⁷⁷ In 1526 the Woodstock clergy comprised three chantry priests (of whom one was at the manor house) and a curate whose salary was £5 6s. 8d.⁷⁸ Then and in 1535 the curate's salary was not deducted from the rector's taxable income, and may have been provided by the townsmen; in 1535 reference was made to a curate's salary of £6 by composition and ancient custom.⁷⁹ In 1540, however, the rector was failing to provide a suitable curate and had served the cure himself only once in ten years; he was ordered to find a curate and to preach there four times a year.⁸⁰ In the 1540s a curate, John Coxeter, regularly witnessed wills,⁸¹ and when the chantries were suppressed in 1548 the Woodstock clergy comprised a curate and two well qualified chantry priests, of whom one had a deputy.⁸² One of the pensioned chaplains, Martin Cave, served probably as curate and schoolmaster until his death in 1571.⁸³ The curate Anthony Noble (d. 1617) may also have been schoolmaster.⁸⁴

In the early 17th century the vigorous church life of Woodstock owed much to the corporation, which contributed to repairs and the entertainment of visiting preachers.⁸⁵ In 1616, for example, preachers were entertained on 16 occasions between January and October, and only rarely were sermons given by the rector, Edward Evans, although he was probably the noted Oxford university preacher of that name.⁸⁶ On some days there were two sermons and double sermons seem to have become more frequent in the 1620s. Several endowed sermons were

founded in the early 17th century.⁸⁷ Evans's successor Thomas Browne, rector 1621–5, preached regularly and in 1623 was wined by the corporation for 15 sermons, including those at all the major feasts. Dr. John Prideaux, rector 1625–41, although resident in Oxford where he was regius professor of divinity,⁸⁸ preached regularly, as did his curate George Self. In 1637 wine was given to 24 preachers and in 1639 to over 30. Most visiting preachers were local clergy or fellows of Oxford colleges. William Laud, president of St. John's College and later archbishop of Canterbury,⁸⁹ preached many times between 1612 and 1621. Leading divines such as George Hakewill and Henry Tozer were perhaps secured because of Prideaux's Oxford connexions.⁹⁰ There is little sign that preachers were selected for particular theological views.

In 1631 weekly lectures were established with the bishop's consent, the corporation paying 1s. to the preachers for their dinners. At the first lecture the corporation entertained all 13 clergy present; the series was given before the king in the royal chapel in the park. Probably at Laud's behest lectures ceased in October 1633: lecturers had included the bishop and the rector, and, as with the visiting preachers, there was no consistent puritan influence. Lectures were revived in 1641 and flourished until disrupted by the Civil War.⁹¹

In the 17th century rectors frequently employed curates for both Bladon and Woodstock.⁹² The Woodstock curates, mostly Oxford graduates, were usually resident and sometimes long serving: George Self resided for 11 years before obtaining a living in 1641.⁹³ Thomas Jones, probably son of Thomas Jones, rector of Wootton,⁹⁴ was curate throughout the Civil War and, although the Bladon living was sequestered, served for much of the Interregnum. Some time after the royalist surrender of Woodstock in 1646 the vicar of Iffley was imprisoned at Woodstock for reading the prayer book service,⁹⁵ and in 1649 the corporation entertained Dr. Nicholas Darton, a noted Presbyterian.⁹⁶ Thomas Jones may have been replaced as curate by Thomas Widdowes, schoolmaster 1646–1653, who is said to have been also minister,⁹⁷ but Jones was recorded as minister from 1652.⁹⁸ In 1656 the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers agreed to pay £50 a year for Woodstock's minister, and in 1657 appointed Samuel Blower at £60 a year.⁹⁹ Blower, later a noted Presbyterian, was still nominally lecturer at

⁷² Above, Econ., Mkts. and Fairs.

⁷³ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 57.

⁷⁴ Ibid. pp. 28, 37; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 178, f. 111; P.R.O., PROB 11/42A, f. 11v.

⁷⁵ New Coll. Arch., Reg. of Evidences, pp. 30–1.

⁷⁶ O.A.S. Rep. (1925), 98.

⁷⁷ P.R.O., PROB 11/20 (P.C.C. 13 Maynwaring, will of Thos. Garnet).

⁷⁸ *Subsidy Dioc. Linc.* (O.H.S. lxiii), 266. Thos. Phillips was at the manor ho.: O.A.S. Rep. (1925), 100.

⁷⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 185.

⁸⁰ O.A.S. Rep. (1930), 293–4.

⁸¹ e.g. O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 179, ff. 58, 66–67v.

⁸² *Chant. Cert.* (O.R.S. i), 23, 47, 54.

⁸³ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 185, f. 75v.; *Chant. Cert.* p. xvi; O.A.S. Rep. (1912), 97–8.

⁸⁴ Boro. Mun. 22/3/3; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 47/2/26.

⁸⁵ Para. based on Boro. Mun. 79: chamberlains' accts. 1608–50.

⁸⁷ Below.

⁸⁸ *D.N.B.*

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Boro. Mun. 79; cf. *Laud's Works*, v. 330, 356.

⁹² Their names occur in vestry mins. and par. regs.: O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, *passim*; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 884: par. reg. transcripts, listing refs. to clergy on f. 128.

⁹³ *Alum. Oxon. 1500–1714*, 1332.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 830.

⁹⁵ *Walker Revised*, ed. A. G. Matthews, 152.

⁹⁶ *D.N.B.*

⁹⁷ Wood, *Athenae*, iii. 398; [T. Widdowes], *Just Devil of Woodstock* (Lond. 1660): B.L. copy.

⁹⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, p. 46 sqq.

⁹⁹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1655–6, 211; 1656–7, 278.

Woodstock at the Restoration, when he was ejected,¹ but between 1657 and 1660 Thomas Jones continued to attend the vestry as minister.²

In 1667 the curate was admonished for failing to wear a hood or say midweek prayers.³ The corporation failed in 1675 and 1694 to secure the separation of Woodstock from Bladon,⁴ but local pressure and the growth of nonconformity may have contributed to Bishop Fell's decision to provide a rectory house in the town. Fell was presumably influenced by his Christ Church colleague Humphrey Prideaux, rector 1683–6, who, though resident in Oxford, served Woodstock regularly himself and paid a curate to provide two services each Sunday.⁵ Prideaux's curate, Henry Meux (d. 1709), continued as Woodstock's curate for many years.⁶ The new rectory house, however, did not guarantee satisfactory service for Woodstock: John Hersent, rector 1686–1702, was the first of several rectors to deny that Fell's benefaction created new obligations to serve Woodstock, and when both he and the corporation refused to pay the curate's salary the earls of Abingdon, as high stewards, intervened and from 1695 until 1702 paid Meux £20 a year.⁷

Samuel Tilly, rector 1704–12, the last Crown presentee, was the earl of Abingdon's chaplain.⁸ His successors were political adherents of their patrons, the Marlboroughs. Most were active in town affairs and some were distinguished, notably William Baker, rector 1712–15, later bishop of Norwich, and Benjamin Holloway, F.R.S., rector 1736–9.⁹ Sir Robert Cocks, 1715–36, described by Hearne as a blockhead,¹⁰ preached regularly at Woodstock and was a benefactor to the town.¹¹ In 1738 there were two Sunday services there and communion c. 8 times a year for between 60 and 80 communicants; the threat of nonconformity had passed and the rector complained only of absenteeism and indifference.¹² From the later 17th century there were frequent pew disputes,¹³ and the extent of private pews was later blamed for absenteeism by the poor.¹⁴

From 1739, when Holloway resigned in favour of his son Benjamin (d. 1777), Woodstock was served for a hundred years by only four rectors. Usually they employed one or two cu-

rates, of whom several were also headmaster of the grammar school.¹⁵ One early 19th-century rector complained that the £80 which he paid his curate was more than twice his income from the chapelry.¹⁶ In 1759 there were two Sunday services and a sermon at Woodstock, with prayers on Wednesdays, Fridays, and certain saints' days, and the pattern of services was largely unchanged in 1834.¹⁷ In the 1790s six or seven communion services were held each year, and although the number of communicants varied greatly the average was c. 70.¹⁸ In 1787 the estimated Sunday congregation was 600, and probably then, as in the 1830s, the church was used by the inhabitants of Old Woodstock and Blenheim Park.¹⁹ A Sunday school was established in 1787 and supported thereafter by regular fund-raising sermons.²⁰

William Mavor, rector 1810–37 and formerly curate, was a schoolmaster, tutor to the Marlboroughs, a prolific writer of educational and guide books, and ten times mayor.²¹ As a county magistrate he was frequently mocked as 'the tool of Blenheim'.²² He complained of the high costs and low rewards of serving Woodstock, although his income from Bladon, from another living at Hurley (Berks.), and from the duke of Marlborough was probably substantial.²³ His successor Joseph Bowles, rector 1840–7, quarrelled with the duke of Marlborough, complaining that the duke's chaplain, Thomas Curme, interfered in parish visiting and that the duke frustrated his plans to establish a National school and improve church seating. The duke complained to the bishop that Bowles had circulated malicious gossip about his family's contributions to the collection plate.²⁴ Bowles greatly increased the congregation at Woodstock, but his conduct of services, particularly at Bladon, was criticized.²⁵

G. W. St. John, rector 1847–76, apparently persuaded the bishop that responsibility for serving Woodstock had passed to the corporation with the gift of former chantry land in 1565.²⁶ For most of St. John's incumbency the Marlborough family paid a curate for Woodstock,²⁷ and in the 1870s the corporation made contributions to the curate's salary.²⁸ Woodstock's status remained in doubt: it was sometimes described as a curacy attached to Bladon²⁹

¹ *D.N.B.*; *Calamy Revised*, ed. A. G. Matthews, 61–2.

² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, pp. 49, 53, 56.

³ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 302.

⁴ Boro. Mun. 76/1, 2 Apr. 1675; 76/2, 26 Dec. 1694.

⁵ *Life of Revd. Humph. Prideaux* (1748), 10, 12–13, 16.

⁶ Curate by 1683, licensed 1685: Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 884, ff. 128–9; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. e 22, p. 48. For his diary, 1692–1709, Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 157.

⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 1, f. 27; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. c 24, f. 67.

⁸ *Alum. Oxon. 1500–1714*, 1487; *Hearne's Colln.* iii (O.H.S. xiii), 437–8.

⁹ *Hearne's Colln.* v (O.H.S. xlii), 271.

¹⁰ For his sermons see Bodl. MS. Rawl. E 214–15.

¹¹ *Secker's Visit.* 18–19.

¹² e.g. O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 456, ff. 181 sqq.; c 651, ff. 14 sqq.; Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 1: legal opinion 1793.

¹³ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 441, f. 31; d 573, f. 151 and v.

¹⁴ e.g. *ibid.* 327, f. 159v.; d 573, f. 151; d 581, f. 149.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* b 38, f. 226; d 581, f. 149.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* d 557, f. 170; b 39, ff. 51 sqq.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 17, item b.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 327, f. 159v.; b 39, ff. 51 sqq.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, pp. 373–4, 382, 390, 580.

²⁰ *D.N.B.*; A. H. T. Robb-Smith, 'Dr. Mavor and his times' (TS. in Westgate Libr.); A. Whye, 'A Woodstock Worthy', *Oxf. Dioc. Mag.*, Mar. 1983, 16.

²¹ D. McClatchey, *Oxon. Clergy*, 194–5; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 660, f. 148 and v.

²² e.g. O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 31, f. 104v.; b 34, f. 37v.; b 38, f. 226; b 39, f. 51; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, ff. 20–2; Borough Mun. 4/5–6.

²³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 664, ff. 120–50. For Curme see *Wilb. Letter Bk.* (O.R.S. xlvii), pp. 125, 288, 289 n.

²⁴ *Wilb. Letter Bk.* pp. 78; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 550, f. 46.

²⁵ *Wilb. Letter Bk.* pp. 130–1, 408–9.

²⁶ *Oxf. Chron.* 9 Aug. 1862; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1733/1.

²⁷ Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 302; 95, s.a. 1870–1, 1876–7.

²⁸ e.g. *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1864).

but one 'officiating minister' stressed that he served Woodstock only as the duke's private chaplain.³⁰ W. A. Scott, curate 1851–7, quarrelled with the rector after establishing lectures in the schoolroom without permission.³¹ His successor, Edward Geare, was a vigorous evangelical at odds with the rector over his preaching and with some parishioners over the school; his farwell sermon in 1859 was attended by the nonconformist congregations, and only the corporation and ducal pews were vacant.³² In 1862 St. John resolutely refused to hold services despite the lack of a curate, and only the voluntary effort of the rector of Stonesfield kept the church open; in 1871 St. John was again justifying his refusal to serve.³³ Congregations declined and nonconformity flourished: on census day in 1851 there were 284 at the morning service and 341 at the afternoon, and 74 Sunday school children at each, but by 1869 congregations were c. 90 and there were very few communicants.³⁴

Under Arthur Majendie, rector 1876–95, Woodstock experienced belatedly the revival of religious life characteristic of the mid 19th century. Majendie at times employed two curates and introduced weekly communion services, and by the 1890s there were three Sunday services. Although he complained of indifference, dissent, and drink the congregations increased sharply, and by the 1880s there were over 200 communicants.³⁵ Within his first two years Majendie brought about the restoration of the church, opened a mission room in Old Woodstock (replaced by St. Andrew's church in 1886), and secured the transfer of Old Woodstock to Bladon for ecclesiastical purposes.³⁶ He provided a church house (no. 11 Park Street), where there were clubs and a choir room,³⁷ and he was prominent in the Woodstock Churchmen's Union which met regularly 1867–1884.³⁸

In the 20th century the relationship between parish and chapelry, sometimes referred to as the 'Woodstock problem', continued to cause friction.³⁹

The principal chantry in Woodstock chapel, dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, probably dated from 1453 when the rector and chapelwardens were licensed to acquire

property to the value of £10 to maintain the fabric and provide a chaplain to pray for the king and queen and for their souls after death.⁴⁰ There was a chapel of St. Mary by 1463,⁴¹ and in the 1530s the chantry of Our Lady was attributed to Henry VI's grant of 1453.⁴² Nevertheless the same chantry was sometimes called St. Mary Magdalene's, as in 1497 and 1528,⁴³ and some tenements were described indifferently as belonging to Woodstock chapel and to Our Lady's chantry.⁴⁴ The identity of chapel and chantry property presumably accounts for the confusion of nomenclature.

The known benefactors of the chantry were all from leading 15th-century burgess families.⁴⁵ In 1461 the chapel's property comprised ten houses, several stalls and chambers, and a shop, yielding a total of c. £3 11s. a year; there were additional reserved rents worth 5s.,⁴⁶ and more benefactions were made before the Reformation.⁴⁷ In 1497 the chantry priest seems to have held a life interest in the property, which he let for £6, of which £5 6s. 8d. was to be paid to his deputy for serving the chantry.⁴⁸ That fee was unchanged in 1534–5 when the town council directly appointed a chaplain to celebrate daily for the founder (presumably Henry VI) and to pray by name for all benefactors at four requiem masses a year.⁴⁹ In 1535 the property was said to be worth only £5 5s.⁵⁰ but when the chantry was suppressed in 1548 it was valued at over £10 net. The chaplain, Martin Cave, was said to receive the profits but was later reported to have a salary of £4, which sum was allowed him as a pension.⁵¹

The Crown sold some of the chantry's property in 1549⁵² and more, including the chantry house, which Martin Cave still occupied, in 1553.⁵³ The chaplain's house may have stood east of a passage from Park Street to the north door of the church, and was perhaps the building called King John's Cottages demolished in 1755.⁵⁴ The remaining property of St. Mary's chantry in 1557, worth £6 6s. 4d. a year,⁵⁵ was granted to Woodstock corporation in 1565; it then comprised 13 houses, 4 shops, and rents of 15s. 8d.⁵⁶

By 1463 there was a chapel of St. Margaret in Woodstock chapel.⁵⁷ Thomas Croft (d. 1488), a merchant and royal servant who shared with his

³⁰ *Oxf. Chron.* 9 Aug. 1862.

³¹ *Wilb. Letter Bk.* pp. 339–40.

³² *Oxf. Chron.* 3, 10 Sept., 22, 29 Oct., 5, 12 Nov. 1859. For Geare see *Wilb. Letter Bk.* p. 288 n.

³³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1733/1; *Oxf. Chron.* 9 Aug. 1862; Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 191–3; Berks. R.O., D/EL 1 B2.

³⁴ *Ch. and Chapel, 1851*, no. 498; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 335.

³⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 344, c 347, c 350, c 353, c 356, c 359; *In Memoriam: Arthur Majendie* (Woodstock, priv. print, n.d.): copy in Bodl.

³⁶ Below, Old Woodstock, Church.

³⁷ Bodl. MS. Dep. c 380, item e, p. 42.

³⁸ *Ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. e 76.

³⁹ *Ibid.* MS. Dep. c 380, item a, p. 49; above, Bladon, Church.

⁴⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1452–61, 51.

⁴¹ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 57.

⁴² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 185.

⁴³ *Snappe's Formulary* (O.H.S. lxxx), 223–4; Boro. Mun. 3/3/1.

⁴⁴ Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 55, 58.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 72 1 1; 83/1, p. 13; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 185.

⁴⁶ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Cf. quitrents owed in 1469 and 1535: *ibid.* p. 13; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 185.

⁴⁸ *Snappe's Formulary*, 223–4.

⁴⁹ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 104: perhaps a reappointment since the chaplain was already serving in Woodstock in 1526: *Subsidy Dioc. Linc.* (O.H.S. lxiii), 266.

⁵⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 185.

⁵¹ *Chant. Cert.* (O.R.S. i), 23, 47.

⁵² *Cal. Pat.* 1548–9, 324–5; 1549–51, 91; P.R.O., E 318/37/2025; *ibid.* SC 6/Edw. VI/383, 385.

⁵³ *Cal. Pat.* 1553, 246; P.R.O., E 318/39/2105.

⁵⁴ Above, Bldgs., no. 40; T. Warton, *Hist. Kiddingington*, 66 n., where the buildings are associated with St. Margaret's chantry. The attribution of St. Mary's chantry to King John is not supported by other evidence.

⁵⁵ P.R.O., SC 6/Phil. & Mary/241.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* C 66/1024, mm. 28–9, summarized in *Cal. Pat.* 1563–6, p. 440.

⁵⁷ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 57.

brother Richard the control of Woodstock manor and park,⁵⁸ left property in Woodstock, in several Oxfordshire villages, and in Bristol to maintain a chaplain to serve daily in St. Margaret's chapel and two almsmen to pray for the Croft family. The chaplain was to receive £6 a year and the almsmen 1d. a day each, and all were to live in a recently built chantry house next to the churchyard gate. Croft, probably childless, ordained that future chaplains and one of the almsmen should be chosen by his brother Richard and his heirs, the other almsman by the mayor and proctors.⁵⁹

The chantry house stood west of the passage to the north door of the chapel on the site of a house acquired by Croft in 1479.⁶⁰ The chantry property seems to have been administered separately from that of the chapel and there is no evidence of corporate involvement. In 1526 the chantry priest, Thomas Harris, was taxed on £5 6s. 8d. and in 1535 the chantry was valued at £6, of which c. 26s. was allowed for various rents.⁶¹ When the chantry was suppressed in 1548 its gross value was £8 9s. and the chaplain, Edward Jones, was granted a pension of £6. Jones, learned but non-resident, evidently paid a chantry priest who occupied the chantry house.⁶² In 1549 the Crown sold the chantry property to George Owen and William Marten: it comprised the chantry house and 10 other houses or shops in Woodstock, including the George inn, and houses or land in Old Woodstock, Wood Eaton, South Weston, Hensington, and Shipton-on-Cherwell; rent income was £7 15s. 8d. gross.⁶³ Owen and Marten sold the chantry house to the corporation as an almshouse in 1551⁶⁴ and the rest of the estate was broken up by the later 16th century.⁶⁵

Margery Nurse (d. 1609) left money for four sermons, all of which seem to have been preached in 1609–10.⁶⁶ William Metcalfe (d. 1608), alderman, left 8s. a year for a sermon on the Sunday after Candlemas; in 1639 Metcalfe's son William transferred responsibility for maintaining the sermons to the corporation.⁶⁷ In 1617 Thomas Fletcher of London left £4 a year for five sermons and £4 a year to be distributed to the poor who attended.⁶⁸ In 1621 Thomas Browne, alderman, gave to the corporation £10 to provide two sermons at Christmas and Easter.⁶⁹ In 1637 Richard Nash of Old Wood-

stock left £20 for a Whitsun sermon.⁷⁰ From 1738 the trustees of the rector Sir Robert Cocks (d. 1735) provided 1 gn. a year for a sermon on 10 February (changed in the 19th century to 10 May) at which a bread charity was distributed.⁷¹ In 1806 and 1825 the chamberlains were paying to the rector £6 8s. for nine sermons, and the tenth was paid for by the trustees of Cocks's school; from 1842 the fee was reduced to £4 12s., reflecting a fall in income.⁷² In the 1860s the corporation threatened to withhold fees unless the rector preached the sermons.⁷³ The endowed sermons became registered charities governed by Schemes of 1906 and 1909.⁷⁴

The church of *ST. MARY MAGDALENE* comprises an aisled and clerestoried nave, chancel, north-east chapel and vestry, north-west tower, and west porch.⁷⁵ Of the chapel built for Henry II's new borough only the 12th-century south doorway, with two continuous orders of zigzag divided by roll moulding, may be identified. The doorway may have been reset when the south aisle was built in the 13th century, the date of the two windows at the east end of the south wall and of the heavily restored south arcade which incorporates original capitals with heads and stiff-leaf foliage; the piscina in the south aisle is probably also 13th-century. A bell tower mentioned in 1279⁷⁶ stood on the north side of the church. By the 18th century the pinnacled tower, apparently rebuilt or heightened in the 15th century,⁷⁷ was flanked on the west by a short north aisle, and on the east by a schoolroom on the site of a former north-east chapel. The north aisle, under a separate, high-pitched roof, was at that time thought to be the core of the original church but was probably later than the tower: the south side of the tower opened into the nave, but its west wall formed the east end of a chapel in the north aisle, and carried a medieval wall painting and a piscina.⁷⁸ In the 13th century the north door, probably opposite the surviving south door, was approached from Park Street by a stile and passage between houses fronting the street;⁷⁹ the houses, both occupied by chantry priests in the later Middle Ages, were not removed until the 18th century.⁸⁰ There was a porch at the north door by the early 17th century.⁸¹

The original chancel seems to have been extended eastwards in the 14th century when the

⁵⁸ Below, Blenheim, Woodstock Manor.

⁵⁹ P.R.O., PROB 11/8 (P.C.C. 17 Milles), printed in part in *Some Oxon. Wills* (O.R.S. xxxix), 37–8.

⁶⁰ Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 29. For description of site, Boro. Mun., Garret Ho. deeds.

⁶¹ *Subsidy Dioc. Linc.* (O.H.S. lxiii), 266; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 185.

⁶² *Chant. Cert.* (O.R.S. i), 23, 47, 54; P.R.O., E 315/67, f. 58v.; *ibid.* SC 6/Edw. VI/355, m. 3.

⁶³ *Cal. Pat.* 1548–9, 192; P.R.O., E 315/67, ff. 58v.–59v.

⁶⁴ Boro. Mun., Garret Ho. deeds. For later hist., above, Bldgs. no. 39; below, Char.

⁶⁵ For Croft's property, above, Bldgs. *passim*.

⁶⁶ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 47/2/2; Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 4, 8.

⁶⁷ P.R.O., PROB 11/111, f. 20; Boro. Mun. 79, f. 154v.; *ibid.* 81, Dec. 1639.

⁶⁸ Boro. Mun. 97, pp. 3–6, summarized in *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 326.

⁶⁹ P.R.O., PROB 11/137, f. 7.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 11/174, ff. 272–3; Boro. Mun. 97, p. 13.

⁷¹ Boro. Mun. 98A/4.

⁷² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 448; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 329; Boro. Mun. 89, pp. 471–2.

⁷³ Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 169, 196.

⁷⁴ Char. Com. files.

⁷⁵ For the church before 19th-century restoration see Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 64, no. 27; c 522, f. 16v.: views from south; Boro. Mun., centenary scrapbook: photo. from north c. 1870.

⁷⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 841.

⁷⁷ Shown in Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxon.* (1677), pl. 1; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 39, f. 170; Boro. Mun., framed drawing of Lancelot Brown's plan to crenellate park wall: reproduced in D. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 91.

⁷⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, ff. 71–2. For the tower arch see e.g. Boro. Mun. 76/2, 2 June 1691; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 456, f. 77.

⁷⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 841.

⁸⁰ Above, Bldgs. nos. 39–40.

⁸¹ Boro. Mun., Garret Ho. deeds, box 1, lease of Jan. 1607/8.

much restored east window and easternmost window of the south wall were inserted; the heavily restored chancel arch was probably also of that date but the piscina may be 13th-century. The west door and west window were inserted in the nave in the 14th century, and the nave clerestory was added probably c. 1400; the flat, parapeted south aisle roof, much restored, may have been part of that rebuilding. In the 15th century the chancel was buttressed on the south and a large three-light window inserted. The west porch, notable for its plain vaulted stone roof, was added in the 15th century or early 16th.

A surviving doorway discovered in the north wall of the chancel in 1876 suggests that the former north-east chapel was of the 15th century or earlier,⁸² perhaps the chantry chapel of St. Mary. The chapel in the north aisle, thought in the 18th century to have been St. Mary's chantry,⁸³ seems more likely to have been that of St. Margaret: a lost memorial to its founder, Thomas Croft (d. 1488), was probably there.⁸⁴ From the early 17th century until the mid 19th the former north-east chapel served as a school-room for the grammar school; it included a living chamber, and was apparently rebuilt in the later 17th century.⁸⁵ It was bought from the school trustees and demolished in 1878.⁸⁶

The chancel may have been reroofed in the 16th century, since before partial restoration in the 19th century the roof was described as 'Elizabethan and bad'.⁸⁷ In 1648, when the church housed military prisoners in transit, many pews were used for firewood.⁸⁸ By the 19th century the church was crowded with high box pews and galleries, mostly arranged to provide a view of the pulpit near the centre of the south arcade.⁸⁹ There were official pews for councillors, their wives, and borough officers, and the owners of Woodstock House had a large pew in the chancel.⁹⁰ In the 1730s there were only 47 private pews for some 120 rate-paying families,⁹¹ and pressure for space increased as gentry moved into houses without satisfactory attached pews. In 1678 the council built a

gallery for the mayor and aldermen above their existing pews near the chancel arch.⁹² The corporation gallery, which until 1876 surmounted the chancel screen in place of an earlier rood loft,⁹³ has been attributed, probably in error, to Lord Lovelace, who in or before 1678 built a pew which the corporation was seeking to acquire in 1697.⁹⁴ A singers' gallery at the west end, extended in the 18th century, was said to have been built in 1691 with the profits of Whitsun ales, although described in the 19th century as Elizabethan.⁹⁵ In 1676 Jane Harris was permitted to build a private gallery between two columns, in 1683 Edward, earl of Lichfield, was given permission to clip arches to accommodate a gallery, in 1713 the corporation built a gallery for parish officers under the tower arch, and in 1769 a private gallery was built in the south arcade.⁹⁶ Lichfield's gallery may not have been built,⁹⁷ but it was noted in the 19th century that the whole inner order of arches in the south arcade had been removed to provide headroom for other galleries.⁹⁸

The tower, covered in roughcast in 1701, was causing concern by 1755 when its pinnacles were removed. In 1759 it was judged unsafe to ring the bells and in 1774 the tower was pulled down to roof level.⁹⁹ A subscription was raised¹ but nothing was done until 1782 when a new subscription was launched for the tower and north aisle: the duke contributed £200 and the corporation £100 to a total of £700, but eventually the tower alone cost £900.² In 1783 the old tower and aisle were replaced by a new aisle designed by John Yenn, of two bays with plain arches and tall, round-headed windows, and containing a panelled 'duke's gallery'. In 1784-6 a new tower designed by Stephen Townesend of Oxford was built at the north-west corner by Townesend and John Churchill of Woodstock;³ soon afterwards the north aisle was extended westward by one bay, incorporating a north door and portico. To provide carriage access Alderman Joseph Brooks, churchwarden and organizer of the rebuilding, in 1786 bought and demolished the King's Head inn, the former St.

⁸² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 14, architect's rep. e.g. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, ff. 71, 194.

⁸⁴ *Oxon. Visit.* 52-3; *Par. Colln.* 354: Croft's monument is recorded after those in the chancel, nave, and south aisle, and, when noted by Wood, is unlikely to have been in the schoolroom.

⁸⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 39, f. 170, showing a single storey building with mullioned and transomed windows; below, Educ.

⁸⁶ Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 404, 415, 421; *ibid.* file 131.

⁸⁷ Parker, *Guide*, 115. The surviving timber could be later 17th-century. No money was spent on the chancel roof 1608-50, and accts. for the later 16th and later 17th century are lost.

⁸⁸ O.A.S. *Rep.* (1927), 153-8; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 456, ff. 187 sqq.

⁸⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1732/2, plan of 1876; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 14, architect's rep.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 434, f. 1; c 436, ff. 194-9; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 1, flyleaf.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 456, f. 204; cf. *ibid.* ff. 181 sqq.; *ibid.* c 651, ff. 14 sqq.

⁹² Boro. Mun. 76/1, 8 Apr. 1678; *Par. Colln.* 351; *Hearne's Colln.* iii (O.H.S. xiii), 231. For the aldermen's pew in 1658 see O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 1, flyleaf.

⁹³ Parker, *Guide*, 116; Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 256-7; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 14, architect's rep.

⁹⁴ Parker, *Guide*, 116; Boro. Mun. 97, p. 53; *ibid.* 76/2, 2 Aug. 1697; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 456, f. 185.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, p. 282; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, ff. 194-6; Parker, *Guide*, 116.

⁹⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 456, f. 183; Boro. Mun. 76/2, 29 Jan. 1682/3; *ibid.* 86, 23 June 1713; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, p. 282.

⁹⁷ His pew, subject of prolonged disputes in the 18th century, was in the nave: cf. Boro. Mun. 76/2, 6 June 1683; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 456, ff. 191-2, 200 sqq.; c 651, ff. 14-19; c 2179, no. 20; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, p. 189.

⁹⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 14, architect's rep.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* c 12, *passim*.

¹ Rest of para. based on H. M. Colvin, 'Rebuilding of Woodstock Church Tower (1770-86)', O.A.S. *Rep.* (1949), 9-14 (written before the medieval position of the tower was known). The chief plans, estimates, and accts. are in O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. a 1, ff. 1-24; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 27, ff. 409v.-413v.

² Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 4, letter from Jos. Brooks (1785).

³ For Churchill's participation see Boro. Mun. 88, p. 464.

Margaret's chantry house.⁴ The pews were rearranged,⁵ and it was probably then that the south door was partially blocked and fenestrated and the window to the west turned into a door, directly opposite the new north door.⁶

Yenn's tall north aisle was criticized for its 'melancholy and most ungainly contrast' with the rest of the church, and in 1855 the interior was said to contain a 'mass of pseudo Classical frippery'.⁷ The church was thoroughly restored⁸ by A. W. Blomfield in 1877–8. The north aisle and the grammar school were replaced by an arcaded north aisle, a north chapel open to the chancel, and at the east end a vestry surmounted by an organ loft. The long-disused west door and porch became the main entrance, the 12th-century south door was reopened, and the door west of it turned back to a window. Some south aisle and chancel windows were restored with different tracery. All roofs were restored and a clerestory inserted on the north to balance that on the south, where only the second window from the east is original. The chancel arch was restored after the removal of the corporation gallery. The church was repewed with open seats facing east and the pulpit and lectern were placed near the chancel arch. A heating system and gas lighting were introduced.⁹

In 1896–8 the south arcade and clerestory, found to be collapsing, were rebuilt and the south aisle buttressed;¹⁰ a fifth clerestory window was added above the south door, replacing a sundial which was moved further west.¹¹ In 1950 the courtyard on the north side of the church was redesigned as a war memorial garden. Major repairs were carried out in the 1960s, and in 1969 the pinnacles and balustrade of the tower, removed in 1948, were replaced.¹²

Before 1731 the carved octagonal 14th-century font was removed from the church and replaced by a slim pedestal and bowl. The old font was kept in the garden of no. 9 Park Street until reinstalled in the church and given a new base in 1877–8.¹³ The pulpit, which contains 15th-century work, was also given a new base then. Blomfield retained the 15th-century chancel screen, but erected a reredos of Bath stone in place of a carved oak reredos with Corinthian columns given by the duke of Marlborough in

1802.¹⁴ The 17th-century panelling re-used in the organ loft was presumably from one of the former galleries; the carved notice board near the west door is also of the 17th century. Organs from Woodstock church were borrowed for use at the royal manor house during Henry VIII's visit in 1518.¹⁵ In 1628 the organ case was sold and the pipes stored temporarily in the town hall.¹⁶ In 1802 a barrel organ was sold and a 'finger organ' installed in the singers' gallery.¹⁷ After the restoration of 1877–8 a new organ was placed in the north chapel.¹⁸

Two panels of late 15th-century glass depicting episodes in the life of Thomas Becket, given to the Bodleian Library in 1797, are thought to have been removed from Woodstock church.¹⁹ In the early 16th century the church contained glass depicting the same subject,²⁰ and it is likely that the donor acquired the glass after the north aisle was demolished in 1784. The panels, regarded as unusually distinguished work, may have been associated with the chapel endowed by Thomas Croft (d. 1488).²¹ A fragment of early 14th-century glass from the east window was reset in the vestry in 1884.²² Armorial glass commemorating the families of Chaucer and Golafre, both associated with the royal manor and park in the 15th century,²³ was lost after the 17th century. Glass in the west window depicting Henry V and his brothers was said in 1645 to have been broken by parliamentary troops.²⁴ From the late 19th century most of the church windows were filled with stained glass, notably the east window by Burlison & Grylls commemorating the duke of Marlborough (d. 1883), and the west window and another in the north chapel commemorating the rector Arthur Majendie (d. 1895).²⁵

The earliest monuments are a brass to Richard Bailly, citizen and haberdasher of London and chapman of Woodstock (d. 1461), and a stone tablet and brass to Jerome Kyte (d. 1631), fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.²⁶ Lost monuments include a brass, formerly in the chancel, depicting Edward Chamberlain (d. 1543), his wife, and six sons and six daughters, and monuments, defaced by the 1660s, to Thomas Croft (d. 1488) and his wife Elizabeth (d. 1480) and to Robert Whitehill, comptroller

⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, ff. 194–6; Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 7, letter from Jos. Brooks (1785); above, Bldgs. no. 39.

⁵ e.g. O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, pp. 361, 364, 368.

⁶ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 64, no. 27; b 165, f. 76.

⁷ Parker, *Guide*, 115–16; *Ecclesiologist*, xvi. 192.

⁸ Rebuilding proposed by S. S. Teulon in *Ecclesiologist*, xvi. 192–3, was not, as assumed by M. Saunders, *Churches of S. S. Teulon*, p. 55, carried out.

⁹ Bodl. G. A. Oxon. c 317/19, newspaper cuttings; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 14: pps. and plans for restoration 1877–8; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1732/2: faculty and plans. For subscriptions etc. see also *ibid.* c 2206, no. 17; Berks. R.O., D/EL 1 B2.

¹⁰ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 14, item b.

¹¹ Cf. drawing of ch. 1820: Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 64, no. 27.

¹² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1732/2; *Oxf. Mail*, 31 Aug. 1962, 6 Oct. 1967.

¹³ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, p. 170; c 14, architect's rep. and corresp.; Parker, *Guide*, 115; cf. Bodl. MS. Top. Eccles. b 14, f. 174; *ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. a 69,

f. 610.

¹⁴ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, p. 423; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 448.

¹⁵ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, ii (2), p. 1478.

¹⁶ Boro. Mun. 77/2, 5 May 1628.

¹⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, pp. 421–2; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 448; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 196, where the date 1798 is evidently wrong.

¹⁸ Bodl. G. A. Oxon. c 317/19, newspaper cuttings.

¹⁹ *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, G.B. i, 7, 17, 216–17, frontispiece, pls. 11, 48.

²⁰ J. A. Froude, *Hist. Eng.* (1870), iii. 50–2. ²¹ Above.

²² O.R.O., transcript of MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 11.

²³ *Par. Colln.* 354; below, Blenheim, Woodstock Manor; Blenheim, Pk. to 1705. Thos. Croft's arms, listed in *Corpus Vitrearum*, G.B. i, 217, seem to have been on a monument, not in a window.

²⁴ *Diary of Ric. Symonds* (Camd. Soc. lxxiv), 164–5.

²⁵ Boro. Mun., file 87: TS. description of stained glass; *Oxf. Jnl.* 11 Aug. 1883; Bodl. G. A. Oxon. c 317/19, newspaper cuttings.

²⁶ For Kyte, W. H. Stevenson and H. E. Salter, *Early Hist. St. John's Coll.* (O.H.S. N.S. i), 353–4.

of the park 1496–1523.²⁷ Among later monuments are those to Edward Ryves (d. 1767), town clerk; to Thomas Walker (d. 1804), the duke's auditor and town clerk of both Oxford and Woodstock; to Benjamin Holloway (d. 1777), rector, and several of his family; to Dr. Thomas King (d. 1801), rector, and his family, notably his brother Capt. James King (d. 1784), companion of the circumnavigator Cook on his last voyage, of which he wrote the history while at Woodstock;²⁸ to George Coles (d. 1841), surgeon; and to Henry Palmer, surgeon, who died in the church during his mayoralty in 1864. A large tablet recording the achievements of William Mavor (d. 1837), rector and mayor, was formerly on the outside of the west wall.

In 1608 William Metcalfe, alderman, left £2 to the corporation to buy a new bell.²⁹ Bells were cast or repaired by Abraham More of Reading in 1614 and James Keene of Woodstock in 1633.³⁰ Inscriptions on later bells³¹ suggest that in the 17th century there was a ring of three to which in 1662 Edward Atkyns, recorder and M.P., added a treble and in 1666 Sir Thomas Spencer, high steward, a tenor.³² Probably the new bells were from the Keene foundry; Richard Keene was brought in to tune the ring in 1680.³³ In 1708, using donations which included £100 from the duke of Marlborough,³⁴ the five bells were cast into six by William and Henry Bagley. In 1785, when the ring was moved to the new tower, it was increased to eight by the duke's gift of two smaller bells cast by Robert Wells. The surviving saunce, set for chiming, may be that mentioned in the mid 18th century.³⁵

In 1691 John Cary gave a rent charge of 10s. a year from Wilcote to pay the parish clerk or sexton to ring a curfew bell at 8.00 p.m. to guide travellers; the bell was rung in winter until 1939.³⁶ A church clock by John Rayer of Oxford was installed in 1638.³⁷ In 1708 a chiming mechanism was installed to play popular tunes.³⁸ In 1792 John Briant of Hertford installed the surviving clock and a new chiming mechanism to play six different tunes each day. The chimes were restored with an electric mechanism in 1956 after an appeal launched in 1953 to celebrate the quincentenary of the borough and the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II.

Briant's mechanism is preserved in the town hall.³⁹

In 1613 the church possessed a chalice and cover,⁴⁰ but the earliest surviving plate is a silver chalice and paten of 1630–1. Walter Pryse of Woodstock House in 1743 gave a silver flagon and repaired a silver paten given by Susanna Grove in 1704. A silver almsbox of 1772 was given by Benjamin Holloway, rector, and a silver almsplate was given by Sophia Brown in 1845.⁴¹

The churchyard contains several 18th-century chest tombs.⁴² In the 13th century the churchyard was smaller, with houses on its southern edge;⁴³ the present southern boundary was established by 1811.⁴⁴ Leases of the churchyard to the corporation and its subtenants in the 16th century and 17th⁴⁵ were perhaps of the herbage or of an unused part. In the 18th century the owners of the King's Head inn on the north side of the church had a right of way through the churchyard to their stables on its western edge.⁴⁶ After the inn was demolished in 1786 the stables were turned into a cottage row known as Church Alley, demolished c. 1870; the site, given to the church in 1878, is marked by a rectangular projection of the churchyard south-west of the church.⁴⁷

The earliest register is of 1653, but separate registration in the chapelry was by then long established.⁴⁸ Woodstock was a centre for civil marriages during the Interregnum, and a popular marriage centre in the 18th century before the Hardwicke Act.⁴⁹

ROMAN CATHOLICISM. Woodstock presumably had a significant recusant community in 1620 when it was included among centres of the Jesuit mission in Oxfordshire.⁵⁰ In 1625 three women recusants were fined, and one or two recusants were reported from time to time until Catholic emancipation.⁵¹ By 1930,⁵² when Woodstock formed part of the parish of St. Gregory and St. Augustine, Oxford, there were c. 60 Roman Catholics; some attended the church of the Servite order at Begbroke, and from 1931 a chapel was opened in an outbuilding at Haddon House (no. 18 Park Street),

²⁷ *Oxon. Visit.* 52–3; *Par. Colln.* 351–4. For Whitehill see below, Blenheim, Pk. to 1705.

²⁸ *D.N.B.*

²⁹ *P.R.O.*, PROB 11/111, f. 20.

³⁰ *Boro. Mun.* 79, f. 30v.; *O.R.O.*, MS. d.d. *Par. Woodstock* c 12, p. 21.

³¹ Para. based on *Ch. Bells Oxon.* 450–3.

³² Cf. *Boro. Mun.* 97, p. 14 which mistakenly dates Atkyns's and Spencer's gifts 1660.

³³ *Ibid.* 76/2, 28 Sept. 1680.

³⁴ *O.R.O.*, MS. d.d. *Par. Woodstock* c 12, p. 121.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 243.

³⁶ *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 327; Gardner, *Dir. Oxon.* (1852), 695–6; F. Bevan, 'Social conditions in Woodstock 40 years ago' (TS. 1972 in Westgate Libr.).

³⁷ *O.R.O.*, MS. d.d. *Par. Woodstock* c 12, p. 32.

³⁸ *Par. Colln.* 351; cf. Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 348.

³⁹ County Mus., P.R.N. 5798: TS. hist. of chimes by A. H. T. Robb-Smith; *Boro. Mun.*, files 21, 72B.

⁴⁰ *O.R.O.*, MS. d.d. *Par. Woodstock* c 12, p. 1.

⁴¹ Evans, *Ch. Plate*, 22–3. For Holloway's gift see *O.R.O.*, MS. d.d. *Par. Woodstock* c 12, pp. 359–60.

⁴² TS. survey of monuments in *Boro. Mun.*

⁴³ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 840.

⁴⁴ *O.R.O.*, MS. *Oxf. Dioc.* c 659, ff. 164–73; *Boro. Mun.* 89, p. 217.

⁴⁵ *Boro. Mun.* 81, endpps. (undated mid 16th-cent. accts.); *ibid.* 26 Mar. 1608, 14 Dec. 1611; *ibid.* 79, f. 16v. and *passim*; *O.R.O.*, MS. d.d. *Par. Woodstock* c 12, pp. 68, 78, 99.

⁴⁶ *O.R.O.*, MS. d.d. *Par. Woodstock* c 12, p. 183; *Boro. Mun.*, Garret Ho. deeds, box 1, esp. note of June 1710.

⁴⁷ *O.R.O.*, Rob. II vii/2, 4–5; *ibid.* MS. d.d. *Par. Woodstock* c 14, deed of 1878; *Oxf. Jnl.* 11 Apr. 1840; *O.S. Map* 1/2,500, *Oxon.* XXVI. 8 (1876 edn.).

⁴⁸ Baptism and burial regs. were listed among ch. goods in 1613; *O.R.O.*, MS. d.d. *Par. Woodstock* c 12, p. 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* c 1–11, 18–26; b 1–9. Indexed transcripts in Westgate Libr. and Bodl. MSS. Top. *Oxon.* d 884, d 1091–3.

⁵⁰ Stapleton, *Cath. Miss.* 6.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 67; Salter, 'Oxon. Recusants', *O.A.S. Rep.* (1924), 42; *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 66; *Secker's Visit.* 19; *O.R.O.*, MS. *Oxf. Dioc.* d 581, f. 151.

⁵² The following is based on K. Gachowski, *Cath. Ch. in Woodstock*, 1934–84.

owned by Mary, Lady Terry, and served by Jesuit priests from Heythrop College. In 1934 the church of St. Hugh of Lincoln was built in Hensington Road.⁵³ A new parish, the Woodstock and Kidlington mission, was formed and from 1937 there was a resident priest. From 1934 until 1945 there was a school next to the church.⁵⁴ In 1955 the priest moved to Kidlington which became the parochial centre. Heythrop College until its closure in 1969 helped with the ministry, and thereafter the Servites of Begbroke provided the parish priests. In 1985 the parish was taken over by the archdiocese and a secular priest appointed. The church of St. Hugh, comprising a nave and vestry in Tudor style, was designed by G. B. Cox.

PROTESTANT NONCONFORMITY. The Presbyterian Thomas Whateley preached at Woodstock in the late 1660s,⁵⁵ and in 1672 Edward Miles and William Metcalfe applied for meeting-house licences. Edward Wilsden was presented in 1675 for holding meetings on Sundays, and although only one nonconformist was reported in 1676 Metcalfe was alleged to be continuing a conventicle in 1678.⁵⁶ In the 1680s many Woodstock people were said to be attending Anabaptist meetings at Combe.⁵⁷ In 1737 there was a registered meeting, probably Baptist, at the house of Samuel Wise, an Old Woodstock farmer, but in 1738 the rector reported that there were no meeting houses in the town and hardly any dissenters besides one Quaker family: Presbyterian and Independent sects had declined through religious indifference.⁵⁸

Until the 1790s no dissenters were reported. In 1794 James Hinton, the Oxford Baptist, held a meeting in Thomas Boulton's house opposite the Marlborough Arms in Oxford Street, registered in that year; mobs, including soldiers, broke up the meeting and stoned Hinton out of town as a Jacobin. Hinton tried again in 1819 and was later credited with establishing the Baptists in Woodstock.⁵⁹ Timothy Hunt, a Baptist glover from Worcester, helped in 1820–1 to register two meeting houses in Old Woodstock,

and a Woodstock congregation was supported by the regional Baptist Association in 1821.⁶⁰ In 1825 a church was formally constituted with 12 members, and a chapel built on the site of a stable in High Street.⁶¹ The Baptists opened a Sunday school, and in 1831 there was a thriving Independent Sunday school lately separated from the Baptist chapel under the leadership of James Chisholm; both schools were said to recruit largely from outside the town, however, and no reference has been found to a separate Independent meeting after 1833.⁶² In 1851 the Baptist congregation was 71 in the morning and 99 in the evening.⁶³ From the outset there was usually a resident minister,⁶⁴ but in 1887 the congregation reported that it could no longer afford one; then and later New Road chapel, Oxford, provided preachers.⁶⁵ There was a resident minister from 1914 until c. 1928, and after the Second World War services were maintained chiefly by student pastors from Regent's Park College, Oxford. The church comprised 21 members in 1938 and 15 in 1981; from 1955 it was closely linked with Kidlington.⁶⁶ The chapel, renovated in the early 20th century,⁶⁷ is a plain stuccoed building with a pedimented front of three bays and round arched doorway and windows.

Thomas Meek, glover, registered his house for Wesleyan meetings in 1819 and remained steward of the chapel in 1851.⁶⁸ A chapel was built in 1824–5 on land on the west side of Oxford Street acquired by Daniel Evans, the Oxford builder.⁶⁹ There were then c. 19 members, of whom few separated themselves from the established church.⁷⁰ There was no resident minister but William Leggatt, ironmonger, was an active local preacher and later a circuit steward.⁷¹ Membership reached its highest point of 45 in 1843, and in 1851 the congregation was 60 in the morning and 130 in the evening.⁷² Soon afterwards the society was split by the secession of Wesleyan Reformers; membership was nearly halved and did not recover.⁷³ A new chapel was built in 1906–7 on the east side of Oxford Street; it is a stone building in Jacobean style with an ornate front and battlemented porch.⁷⁴ The earlier chapel, the site of

⁵³ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 397, f. 356.

⁵⁴ Below, Educ.

⁵⁵ V.C.H. Oxon. xi. 116–17; *Calamy Revised*, ed. Matthews, 522.

⁵⁶ Boro. Mun. 96, f. 54; *Bp. Fell and Nonconf.* 38, 66–7; Lyon Turner, *Recs. of Nonconf.* ii. 828; Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 99; *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 429.

⁵⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 195–6; above, Combe, Nonconf.

⁵⁸ O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. VIII. 807; *Secker's Visit.* 18.

⁵⁹ J. H. Hinton, *Life of James Hinton*, 255–74; J. Hinton, *Hist. Sketch of the Associate Chs.* 11; *Baptist Mag.* 1827, 234; O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. VIII. 812.

⁶⁰ Boro. Mun. file 21; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 644, ff. 215, 232; Hinton, *Hist. Sketch*, 11.

⁶¹ Boro. Mun. file 21; *ibid.* 12/14–15; corpn. rentals 1824–5; *Baptist Mag.* 1827, 234; 1831, 204; *Ch. and Chapel*, no. 499.

⁶² *Oxf. Jnl.* 17 Sept. 1831; *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, H.C. 62, p. 758 (1835), xlii.

⁶³ *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 499.

⁶⁴ e.g. P.R.O., HO 107/893, 1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1449; RG

11/1512; Pigot, *Lond. and Prov. Dir.* (1830); *P.O. Dir.* (1847 and later edns.); *Oxf. Chron.* 8 Feb. 1868.

⁶⁵ *Circular Letter of Oxon. Baptist Assoc.* (1887), 20–1; *New Rd. Chapel Monthly Visitor*, pp. 15, 160; H. Paintin, *New Rd. Chapel Sunday Sch. Soc. 1813–1913*, 38.

⁶⁶ F. Townsend, *Woodstock Baptists in 20th Cent.*; inf. from the Revd. R. Brown.

⁶⁷ *Oxf. Times*, 19 Oct. 1912.

⁶⁸ *Oxf. Chron.* 4 May 1872; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 644, f. 206; *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 500.

⁶⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circuit c 21, item 6, f. 73; *Meth. Mag.* (1825), 267; *Digest of Endowed Char. Oxon.* H.C. 247, p. 6 (1890), lv.

⁷⁰ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circuit b 1; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 579, f. 127 and v.

⁷¹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 581, f. 119v.; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circuit b 1, s.a. 1836; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 18, f. 74; *Oxf. Chron.* 31 May 1851.

⁷² O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circuit b 1–3, c 3; *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 500.

⁷³ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circuit b 3–7.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* c 21, item b, f. 73; County Mus., P.R.N. 1044.

no. 41 Oxford Street,⁷⁵ was used successively as a Masonic hall, a cinema, and a garage, and was largely rebuilt in 1987.⁷⁶

Primitive Methodists evangelized Woodstock in the 1840s but failed to establish themselves.⁷⁷ Wesleyan Reformers established a separate small chapel in 1851.⁷⁸ In 1859 a new chapel was opened in a former infants' school in Oxford Street, earlier the parochial workhouse, and there was a flourishing Sunday school.⁷⁹ The Reformers included William Leggatt, J. N. Godden, glove manufacturer, and G. G. Banbury, draper. Banbury campaigned for the town's public cemetery and the abolition of church rates in the 1860s. He and his son, John, pressed for reform of the old corporation, which excluded dissenters, and he later became mayor; he and Godden promoted the agricultural labourers' union.⁸⁰ The Banburys were instrumental in the building in 1868 of a new chapel and schoolroom on the earlier site; it was known as the United Free Methodist or the Olivet chapel.⁸¹ In 1881 a resident minister was lodging with the Baptist minister,⁸² but usually the chapel seems to have been served by local preachers. After the Methodists were reunited in 1932 there was a resident minister. The Olivet chapel continued in use for school and evening services until the Second World War, and was converted into a private house in 1957. It was built in stone on an octagonal plan, with pillared undercroft.⁸³ The adjacent no. 80 was presumably the new schoolroom of 1868.⁸⁴

EDUCATION. Woodstock had an early free grammar school, two small charity schools, and by the early 19th century several dame schools; it was a popular place for boarding schools, of which some took day pupils. The rector, although a keen educationist frustrated in his plans for a National school, observed in 1815 that 'a religious and useful education is not neglected' and in 1831 that 'scarcely any residents lacked the means of education'.⁸⁵ Continued failure to respond to national reforms, however, provoked a comment in 1838 that the town was almost uniquely lacking in educational provision for the poor.⁸⁶ The opening of an infants' school in 1840 and, belatedly, of a National school in 1854 made up in part for

continuing problems with the financially inadequate grammar school.

Martin Cave, curate of Woodstock and former chantry priest, probably taught a school, for in 1571 he bequeathed his flockbed in an unidentified schoolhouse chamber.⁸⁷ By will of 1585 Richard Cornwell, a London skinner born in Woodstock, left £300 to provide and support a grammar school and a master, who was to be a good preacher.⁸⁸ In 1587 Cornwell's relict Mary Dolman gave money to trustees to buy property in Oxford Street (now nos. 8–12),⁸⁹ and the school probably opened soon afterwards. In 1599 the corporation, having acquired a licence to hold lands in mortmain partly for the use of the school,⁹⁰ took over the Oxford Street houses and a rent charge of £8 a year from Childrey (Berks.), which the Dolman family had given to the trustees in 1598 in final settlement of Cornwell's gift.⁹¹ A sum of £50 given earlier by the Dolmans directly to the corporation continued to be lent out at interest for the master's benefit until taken in hand in 1640.⁹² Thomas Fletcher (d. 1617), cousin of Richard Cornwell, by will left £4 a year for the school out of a larger charity payable by the Skinners' Company of London.⁹³ Other early endowments seem to have been lost, notably a rent charge of 10s. given in 1593 by Roger Norwood,⁹⁴ and a loan of £100 given to the corporation in 1588 by Dr. John Case, a native of Woodstock and fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, who transferred the loan from the college on the understanding that fellows would supply the mastership of the new school. By 1590, however, Case had recovered the money and there was no further traceable connexion between school and college, although in the 1590s the corporation made donations to the college library.⁹⁵

The earliest grammar school may have been on the site of no. 10 Oxford Street, where a former schoolhouse was rebuilt by the corporation as a private house c. 1602, incorporating part of no. 12 Oxford Street which was occupied by Anthony Noble, curate and possibly schoolmaster.⁹⁶ It was probably then that the school was moved to a former chantry chapel on the north side of the church, where it remained until the mid 19th century. The corporation repaired the schoolroom regularly, and in 1632 enlarged an attached chamber to provide living quarters

⁷⁵ Boro. Mun. 100, f. 17; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 and later edns.).

⁷⁶ O.R.O., D.V. VIII/275; I/16; County Mus., P.R.N. 4719–20; above, Intro.

⁷⁷ O.R.O., Witney Prim. Meth. Circuit, Q.M. min. bk. 1843–9.

⁷⁸ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 647, f. 138; *Oxf. Chron.* 26 Apr. 1851; *Oxf. Times*, 21 Oct. 1911.

⁷⁹ *Oxf. Chron.* 9 Apr. 1859; *United Meth. Free Ch. Mag.* (1863), 329; above, Local Govt., Par. Govt. and Poor Relief; below, Educ.

⁸⁰ *Oxf. Chron.* 31 May 1851; 25 Apr., 8 Aug. 1868; *United Meth. Free Ch. Mag.* (1863), 329; *Oxf. Times*, 21 Oct. 1911.

⁸¹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circuit c 21, item 6, f. 139; *Oxf. Chron.* 7 Mar., 25 Apr. 1868; Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 249, 261, 285, 289, 291; Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 274–5; *United Meth. Free Ch. Mag.* (1869), 330.

⁸² P.R.O., RG 11 1512.

⁸³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Oxf. Meth. Circuit c 21, item 6, f. 139; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1939); County Mus., P.R.N. 1045; *Oxf.*

Mail, 3 Apr. 1957: conversion plan.

⁸⁴ *Oxf. Chron.* 7 Mar., 25 Apr. 1868; cf. O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 and later edns.).

⁸⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 433, f. 229; b 38, f. 227.

⁸⁶ *Oxf. Chron.* 13 Oct. 1838.

⁸⁷ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 185, f. 75; above, Church.

⁸⁸ Boro. Mun. 97, pp. 1–2: copy of will; *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 482–3.

⁸⁹ Boro. Mun. 98/1; above, Bldgs. no. 1.

⁹⁰ Above, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886.

⁹¹ Boro. Mun. 98/3; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 321.

⁹² *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 321; Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 11, 13 and v., 17v., 153v., 162; 81, Dec. 1640.

⁹³ Boro. Mun. 97, pp. 3–6; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 326.

⁹⁴ P.R.O., PROB 11/82, f. 52. For dispute over will, O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 22, ff. 252–7.

⁹⁵ W. H. Stevenson and H. E. Salter, *Early Hist. St. John's Coll.* (O.H.S. N.S. i), 256–7; St. John's Coll. Libr., Benefactor's Bk., col. xxi.

⁹⁶ Above, Bldgs. no. 1.

for the master.⁹⁷ The schoolroom seems to have been rebuilt in the later 17th century.⁹⁸ From 1802 a study within it was rented by the parish as a vestry for 6d. a year.⁹⁹

The grammar school estate was administered as part of the corporate property. In the early 17th century the master lived rent-free in one of the houses and the chamberlains supplemented his rent income to provide a salary of £10, raised in 1613 to £14; the master complained, however, in 1627 that there had been prolonged shortfalls on his salary and that the Childrey rent had been withheld.¹ Later the school estate was let at low reserved rents on long leases, with substantial renewal fines. In the early 19th century the school's regular annual income of c. £20, made up of rent (c. £8 10s.) and payments from Childrey and the Skinners' Company, was less than the schoolmasters' salary, which was set with regard to revenue from renewal fines; there was no separate school fund.² Rack-renting introduced in the mid 19th century raised annual income to over £65 by the 1860s, even though one house was by then occupied as the school.³

The corporation appointed and dismissed masters, insisting that they should be resident even when, as in the later 17th century, they were incumbents of neighbouring parishes.⁴ Masters were expected to be ordained,⁵ and several combined the post with that of curate of Woodstock.⁶ Many were prominent in the town's life, and a few were distinguished: Simon Jeames (1608–32) seems to have been a lawyer serving regularly as attorney in the town's courts;⁷ Thomas Widdowes (1646–53) wrote a grammar and the anti-parliamentarian tract, *The Just Devil of Woodstock*;⁸ Dr. Francis Gregory (1654–64) was a noted teacher who, with his Woodstock pupils, wrote a book of verses welcoming the Restoration;⁹ and Dr. William Mavor (1789–1810), also rector and mayor, was a prolific writer of educational books and the 'first great promoter of the catechetical method of instruction in all branches of human, as well as of divine knowledge'.¹⁰ Less satisfactory masters included Mr. Dubois, said in 1738 to be treating the post as a sinecure,¹¹ and the Revd. James Reading, whose turbulent career (1743–89) was marked by charges of neglect, dismissal and reinstatement after allegations of 'lewd acts' with his female pupils, resignation,

and re-election.¹² In 1815 the schoolmaster was dismissed for cruelty and the school was closed for three years.¹³

The schoolmaster's salary, which remained at £20 from the 1640s until reduced to £16 in the later 18th century,¹⁴ was augmented by pupils' fees. In the 17th century freemen's children were educated freely, but in 1684 it was ordered that non-resident freemen should pay the same fees as foreigners.¹⁵ In 1677 it was agreed that visitors to the school declaring a 'play day' (holiday) should pay 2s. 6d. or 5s. according to rank, which should be spent on books.¹⁶ In 1744 the master was allowed to charge freemen's sons £1 a year, increased in 1789 to £1 8s.¹⁷ In 1811 the master's salary was raised to £30 and in 1825 freemen's children paid £3 a year for reading, writing, arithmetic, and the classics, while other pupils usually paid 4 gn.¹⁸ In 1839 lack of funds obliged the corporation to offer the master only £18 a year, with permission to charge higher fees, but it was hoped to reintroduce free tuition for some Woodstock boys when income increased through rack-renting.¹⁹ By the 1860s the master lived rent-free with a salary of £65, and pupils' fees were 4 gn.²⁰

Probably from the outset the school was used by children from outside the town, and masters, with the approval of the corporation, frequently took boarders in their own houses. The scholars contributing to Francis Gregory's verses in 1660 were almost all sons of neighbouring gentry and clergy, probably lodged in one of Gregory's large houses in Park Street.²¹ William Mavor combined his mastership with the running of a boarding school in Old Woodstock.²² In 1816 the duke of Marlborough offered to buy for the corporation a large house in Oxford Street (nos. 44–6) as a master's residence suitable for boarders; the Revd. Samuel Jackson (1817–19) opened a short-lived boarding school there, but the duke died before completing the purchase and his successor's trustees, although buying the house in 1821, recovered it from the corporation.²³

Although girls were evidently taught in the school in the mid 18th century the pupils in 1825 comprised 20 or 30 boys, chiefly sons of the 'most respectable' townsmen.²⁴ After a temporary closure of the grammar school through lack of funds in 1841–5 and the dismissal of an unsatisfactory master in 1849²⁵ the corporation

⁹⁷ Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 115v.–116v. and *passim*; above, Church.

⁹⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 39, f. 170.

⁹⁹ Boro. Mun. 89, p. 116; 90, p. 17; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, p. 420.

¹ Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 9, 13, 16v., 26v. and *passim*; 81, Sept. 1608; 21/1/2, endorsement.

² *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 321–2.

³ Boro. Mun. 143: corpn. rentals 1838–78.

⁴ *Ibid.* 76/2, Jan. 1691/2, Mar. 1697/8.

⁵ e.g. *ibid.* Jan. 1685/6; 86, Feb. 1706; 87, Oct. 1744; 90, pp. 58–9.

⁶ Above, Church.

⁷ Above, Local Govt., Admin. of Justice.

⁸ Wood, *Athenae*, iii. 398; [T. Widdowes], *Just Devil of Woodstock* (Lond. 1660): B.L. copy.

⁹ [F. Gregory], *Votivum Carolo* (Oxf. 1660); *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 479–80.

¹⁰ M.I. in church.

¹¹ *Secker's Visit.* 19.

¹² Boro. Mun. 88, pp. 69, 71, 98, 101, 153, 327; 89, p. 17.

¹³ *Ibid.* 89, pp. 228 sqq.

¹⁴ e.g. *ibid.* 79, ff. 182 sqq.; 76/1, Jan. 1663/4; 76/2, Jan. 1691/2; 93, *passim*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 76/1, Feb. 1684/5.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Sept. 1677.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 89, p. 17.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 199; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 322.

¹⁹ Boro. Mun. 89, p. 418.

²⁰ *Schs. Inquiry Com.* [3966–XI], p. 279–81, H.C. (1867–8), xxviii (10).

²¹ [F. Gregory], *Votivum Carolo*; above, Bldgs. nos 29–30.

²² Below.

²³ Boro. Mun. 89, pp. 251, 272, 326; 12/7–13: rentals s.v. 'Globe'; Blenheim Mun., box 137; *ibid.* shelf B 2, Woodstock and Eynsham box, deed of 1821; N. Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schs.* ii. 322.

²⁴ Boro. Mun. 88, p. 98; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 322.

²⁵ Boro. Mun. 89, p. 449; 90, pp. 5–6, 44–5.

attempted a revival by taking over no. 12 Oxford Street as a master's house and school c. 1850. The house, long sub-let as a girls' private school, was restored with dilapidations money from the former lessee,²⁶ but was described in 1866 as quite unsuitable for a grammar school, having no boarding accommodation and a small, ill ventilated schoolroom; 15 boys, mostly from outside the town, were given a semi-classical education.²⁷ The former schoolroom in the church was sold to the parish and demolished in 1878.²⁸

In 1876 a leading townsman declared that the school had never been 'any use' for 35 years. Failure to improve its administration was blamed on lack of funds,²⁹ and a brief revival under the mastership of Thomas Brown (1876–80), who increased the roll to c. 35 probably by transferring pupils from his private school at Begbroke, was curtailed by a dispute over his ordination.³⁰ The last master, the Revd. James Bell, was appointed in 1880, and the school was probably closed by 1901 when the Charity Commissioners sanctioned Bell's retirement and ordered the school's income to be accumulated;³¹ Bell continued to run a private school in the house until c. 1909.³² Under a Scheme of 1915 the endowment formed part of the Woodstock Exhibition Foundation, providing bursaries for higher education.³³

Alderman Benjamin Johnson, by will proved 1715, gave £50 to the corporation for the education of five sons or daughters of freemen, and £20 to provide them with blue coats every two years.³⁴ In the 18th century and early 19th the chamberlains regularly paid a teacher £2 10s. a year,³⁵ and in 1825 it was said that the late Mrs. Pryse, probably Margaret Pryse of Woodstock House (d. 1798), had doubled that salary and paid for the children's clothes.³⁶ The charity lapsed on the retirement of a schoolmistress in 1820 but was renewed in 1829 when four freemen's daughters were nominated and a mistress paid £5 a year, and the interest on 10 gn. was assigned from freemen's admission fees.³⁷ For a time in the 1830s and 1840s the Johnson charity pupils may have been taught with those of Cocks's charity,³⁸ but a separate mistress was appointed in 1847.³⁹ The school survived in 1857 but soon afterwards the endowment was transferred to the National school; in 1906 it was detached from other Municipal charities to form the Alderman Johnson Educational Foundation,

and under a Scheme of 1915 was included in the Woodstock Exhibition Foundation.⁴⁰

Sir Robert Cocks (d. 1736), rector of Bladon, devoted £800 won in a state lottery in 1719 to the benefit of the poor during his lifetime, and in 1738 his heirs, in fulfilment of his wishes, bought land in Arncott yielding £36 a year of which £17 was to be spent on teaching and clothing 8 children, £10 on apprenticing, and c. £8 on bread and doles; the children were to attend church for prayers and for an annual sermon on 10 February paid for out of the charity.⁴¹ By 1818 the income had risen to £92, but the charity was in debt largely because of an increase in the number of pupils to 12 boys and 12 girls, taught separately by a master and mistress who in 1825 were each paid 12 gn. From 1818 free clothing was limited to caps and bonnets until the debt was paid off. The school took children aged 6–14 for six years.⁴² In 1833 only 8 boys and 8 girls were supported by Johnson's and Cocks's charities.⁴³ Union in the 1840s with the ailing grammar school was prevented,⁴⁴ and schoolmasters continued to be appointed until the school was merged with the new National school some time after 1854.⁴⁵ In 1867 the endowment was supporting 16 boys and 16 girls. In 1871 it was yielding £75 of which £66 18s. was spent on education. The charity was regulated by Schemes of 1900 and 1909, under which only £27 a year from the income of £60 was devoted to the Cocks's Educational Fund. The land was sold in 1946 when the invested income produced c. £50 for educational purposes.⁴⁶

A Sunday school established in 1787, supported by an annual sermon and voluntary subscriptions, taught reading, writing, and religious knowledge to boys and girls in the schoolroom next to the church and in teachers' houses.⁴⁷ Attendance was c. 100 in 1802 and 62 in 1808; by 1833 the annual sermon was yielding only £15, insufficient to pay the teachers,⁴⁸ but the roll remained between 70 and 80 until the mid 19th century.⁴⁹ By 1808 there were 6 dame schools with 176 pupils, supported by weekly payments, but at 4 of the schools only reading was taught; in 1815 there were 5 dame schools and day pupils were also taken at a girls' boarding school.⁵⁰ By the 1830s there were 110–20 pupils at schools other than the charity and boarding schools, mostly paid for by parents.⁵¹ A Baptist Sunday school established in 1822 had

²⁶ Ibid. 89, p. 463; 90, pp. 47, 62, 67; 143/1–20; P.R.O., HO 107/893.

²⁷ *Schs. Inquiry Com.* (1866–7), pp. 279–81.

²⁸ Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 415, 421; *ibid.* file 131.

²⁹ Ibid. pp. 290, 322–3, 354, 360; *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C 2490–I], pp. 263, 856–7, H.C. (1880), xxxi.

³⁰ *Rep. Com. Mun. Corp.* [C 2490], p. 130, H.C. (1880), xxxi; Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 364, 388, 390; 101, pp. 2, 11–12.

³¹ Boro. Mun. 101, p. 12; *ibid.* 4, *Scheme* (1901).

³² *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1899 and later edns.).

³³ O.R.O., QSD C 137.

³⁴ Ibid. MS. Wills Oxon. 137/1/28; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 325; Boro. Mun. 87, Feb. 1717/18.

³⁵ Boro. Mun. 93, *passim*.

³⁶ *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 325; Westgate Libr., par. reg. transcripts.

³⁷ *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 325; Boro. Mun. 89, p. 341.

³⁸ *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, H.C. 62, p. 758 (1835), xliii. The Bennett fam. provided the master of one and mistress of

the other: Pigot, *Dir. Oxon.* (1842); Boro. Mun. 94, 1837, 1840–4.

³⁹ Boro. Mun. 90, p. 28.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 94, s.a. 1857–8; O.R.O., QSD C 137.

⁴¹ Boro. Mun. 98/4; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 323; *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 484.

⁴² *Educ. of Poor Digest*, H.C. 224, p. 719 (1819), ix (2); *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 323.

⁴³ *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, p. 758.

⁴⁴ Boro. Mun. 89, pp. 453, 463.

⁴⁵ P.R.O., ED 7/169/231; *Dutton's Dir. Oxon.* (1863).

⁴⁶ *Schs. Inquiry Abstract* (1867–8), 310–11; *Char. Digest*, H.C. 292–II, pp. 10–11 (1871), lv; *Char. Com. files*.

⁴⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 12, pp. 394–6.

⁴⁸ Ibid. MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 567, f. 175v.; d 707, f. 206;

Educ. Enq. Abstract, p. 758.

⁴⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39, f. 52; *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 498.

⁵⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 707, f. 206; c 433, f. 229.

⁵¹ Ibid. b 38, f. 227; *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, p. 758.

86 pupils in 1833 and an Independent Sunday school, which broke away from the Baptist school *c.* 1831, had over 190 pupils, many from outside the town.⁵² By 1851 the two nonconformist Sunday schools were the Baptist and a Wesleyan school with average afternoon attendances of 66 and 30.⁵³ In 1859 the Methodist Sunday school was said to have 150 pupils and the Church Sunday school only *c.* 50.⁵⁴

There was a succession of boarding schools at Manor Farm, Old Woodstock: a girls' school established there from 1763 was followed by Charles Turner's school for boys from 1774⁵⁵ and William Mavor's Woodstock Academy from 1782 until the early 19th century.⁵⁶ From 1787 Mrs. Talbot ran a girls' school at Fletcher's House, closed by 1794.⁵⁷ Another girls' boarding school taking day pupils in the early 19th century⁵⁸ has not been identified, but the 20 girl boarders mentioned in 1833 were probably at Mary Turner's school, at no. 12 Oxford Street from 1829 until the mid 1840s.⁵⁹ There was a girls' boarding school at Hope House in 1846 and until 1850.⁶⁰ Hensington House was a boarding school in the late 19th century and early 20th.⁶¹

Joseph Bowles, rector 1840–7, raised subscriptions and negotiated land for a National school, but quarrels with the duke seem to have prevented further progress.⁶² An infant school, however, was started *c.* 1840 under the patronage of the duke and duchess, and in 1853 there were *c.* 70 pupils supported by pence and subscriptions;⁶³ the schoolroom, a 'neat stone building', was the former parochial workhouse on Oxford Street, the site of the later Olivet chapel.⁶⁴

Plans for a National school⁶⁵ were revived *c.* 1853 and a new school, designed by S. S. Teulon on a site provided by the duke, was opened in 1854.⁶⁶ Three certificated teachers taught 80 boys, 50 girls, and 85 infants in three strictly segregated sections of the school; pupils paid 6d. or less weekly.⁶⁷ The pupils and endowments of Cocks's and Johnson's schools were transferred to the new school before 1863.⁶⁸ The school was enlarged with the help of a government grant before 1874, and in 1876 average attendance was 209; voluntary contributions and school pence yielded *c.* £180 and the endow-

ment £32.⁶⁹ By 1890 the income was similar, augmented by a grant of £172.⁷⁰ From 1924 the separate arrangements of boys' and girls' schools was abandoned and the school was run as a mixed school. In 1938 average attendance was 192. The school was reorganized as an infant and junior school in 1940. In 1968 a Church primary school was built in Shipton Road, Hensington, but the old school remained in use until 1985; the roll was 219 in 1983.⁷¹ In 1940 seniors were transferred to a newly built Church secondary school in Shipton Road; it acquired controlled status in 1951 and was renamed Marlborough Secondary Modern school in 1953. In 1961, after an enlargement of the catchment area, numbers rose to 228. The school became comprehensive in 1964, in 1973 numbers increased to over 430 and in 1983 the roll was 823.⁷²

In 1873 Benjamin Disraeli visited the duchess of Marlborough's school of industry, established before 1871 at no. 22 Park Street; in 1871 and 1881 there were about a dozen boarders, mostly local girls aged 13–16, training for domestic service.⁷³ The school may have been closed by 1890, when its former matron was operating a laundry on the site; the brick range behind no. 22 Park Street, remembered as a laundry and later used as a glove factory, may have been built as a schoolroom.⁷⁴

A Roman Catholic elementary school was opened in 1934 next to St. Hugh's church in Hensington Road with 43 pupils; it was staffed from the convent of Notre Dame, Oxford. The school was closed in 1945 and the building used as a church hall.⁷⁵

John Enders by will of 1839 left £3 a year for the education of poor children in Bladon and Woodstock, but no evidence has been found of its application to Woodstock.⁷⁶

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. MUNICIPAL CHARITIES. The corporation's first almshouses were successors to those founded in the chantry house on the north side of the church by Thomas Croft (d. 1488).⁷⁷ In 1551 the corporation bought the chantry house and undertook to use it for three or four almsmen, but the site was later found inconvenient and in the 1590s the

⁵² *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, p. 758; *Oxf. Jnl.* 17 Sept. 1831.

⁵³ *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, nos. 499–500.

⁵⁴ *Oxf. Chron.* 15 Oct. 1859.

⁵⁵ *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 24 Sept. 1763, 7 Dec. 1765, 23 Apr. 1774, 28 Sept. 1776; A. Whitman, *Charles Turner*, 2.

⁵⁶ *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 14 Jan. 1782, 10 Jan. 1795. The Academy was removed from map in W. F. Mavor, *New Guide to Blenheim* after 1803 edn.

⁵⁷ Above, Bldgs. no. 29.

⁵⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 433, f. 229.

⁵⁹ Boro. Mun. 12/18; 143/1–12; rentals 1828–46; P.R.O., HO 107/893.

⁶⁰ *Hunt's Oxf. Dir.* (1846); *Slater's Oxf. Dir.* (1850); P.R.O., HO 107/893.

⁶¹ Above, Bladon, Intro.

⁶² Boro. Mun. 89, pp. 439–40, 449, 459, 473; Bodl. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 664, ff. 147 sqq.

⁶³ *Oxf. Jnl.* 6 June 1840; Pigot, *Dir. Oxon.* (1842); P.O. *Dir. Oxon.* (1847); Lascelles, *Dir. Oxon.* (1853). The figure of 230 infants returned by the rector in 1854 seems unlikely: *Wilb. Visit.* 165.

⁶⁴ P.R.O., HO 107/1730; *Methodist Free Ch. Mag.* (1863);

Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 274.

⁶⁵ Para. based on N. Roast, *Hist. Woodstock Nat. Schs.* (c. 1983, priv. print.): copy in Westgate Libr.

⁶⁶ County Mus., P.R.N. 4887; *Oxf. Chron.* 5 Feb. 1853; Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/19; *Ecclesiologist*, xv (1854), 68–9.

⁶⁷ P.R.O., ED 7/169/231.

⁶⁸ *Dutton's Dir. Oxon.* (1863).

⁶⁹ *Rep. of Educ. Cttee. of Council*, 1874–5 [C. 1265–I], p. 393, H.C. (1875), xxiv; *Return of Public Elem. Schs.* 1875–6 [C. 1882], pp. 216–17, H.C. (1877), lxvii.

⁷⁰ *Public Elem. Schs.* 1890, p. 216, H.C. 403 (1890), lvi.

⁷¹ Inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.; *Oxf. Mail* 16 Dec. 1985.

⁷² Inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.

⁷³ *Oxf. Jnl.* 20 Dec. 1873; P.R.O., RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512; O.R.O., Misc. Budd XIII/ii.

⁷⁴ Cf. O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876, 1899 edns.); *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1890 and later edns.); above, Econ.

⁷⁵ K. Gachowski, *Cath. Ch. in Woodstock*.

⁷⁶ Char. Com. files.

⁷⁷ Above, Church.

house was taken over for the town clerk's use.⁷⁸ The corporation provided an alternative house with a large close in Hollow Way (later Oxford Street), rebuilding it in 1612 and again in 1724.⁷⁹ In 1614 it housed old men and women; a list of doles to the almshouse poor c. 1630 evidently included payments to the poor elsewhere, since there were over 40 recipients of a total of 33s.⁸⁰ In the 17th century the lop of trees in the almshouse close was let separately, and from 1778 much of the close was probably taken up by the adjacent workhouse, later the site of the Olivet chapel.⁸¹ In the 18th century the corporation regularly repaired the buildings and provided alms and gowns for the occupants, but after the duchess of Marlborough's almshouses were opened in the 1790s the buildings seem to have been used as unendowed poorhouses.⁸² The corporation continued to maintain the buildings,⁸³ which comprised six or seven apartments, usually, by the 1870s, occupied by single women.⁸⁴ The corporation sold the almshouses in the early 20th century for c. £80, which was invested for the general use of the poor.⁸⁵ The buildings survive as nos. 76–8 Oxford Street.⁸⁶

William Cornwell, alderman, by will proved 1552 charged his house in Copperware Street with 6s. 8d. to be distributed to the poor in bread on Good Friday.⁸⁷ The rent charge was confirmed in 1650 after a lapse of c. 20 years.⁸⁸ Cornwell's house, later divided, may be identified as nos. 13–17 High Street, whose tenants paid the rent into the 20th century.⁸⁹ Other Good Friday bread charities were given by Alderman William Rayer (d. 1619), 10s. a year,⁹⁰ and Henry Hopkins of Exeter College, Oxford (d. 1643), 4s. a year.⁹¹ Bread distributions on St. Thomas's day derived from bequests of £5 each from Edward Johnson (1673), Benjamin Merri- 1675), and Christopher Newell (1678).⁹² Good Friday and St. Thomas's day bread was given out regularly by the mayor in the 18th century and early 19th.⁹³ Separate distributions were made of the bread charities of Richard Major, who by will proved 1717 gave £5 for bread for five widows, and John Bellinger, who by will proved 1767 gave £20. In 1782 bread worth a total of £3 4s. 8d. was distributed.⁹⁴

Major's charity lapsed in 1783 and Bellinger's in 1795, and with accumulated interest they were worth £46 and £14 respectively in 1828.⁹⁵ In 1839 it was agreed to assign the baking of charity bread for the year to the town's bakers in alphabetical rotation.⁹⁶ In a reorganization of municipal charities in 1848 the former Good Friday and St. Thomas's day bread charities, excluding Cornwell's rent charge, were allotted stock yielding £1 6s. a year, Major's charity 12s. 2d., and Bellinger's £1 7s. Bread distributions continued throughout the 19th century.⁹⁷

From 1615 Sir Thomas Spencer provided weekly doles of bread for 10 men, 10 women, and 20 children, with an additional gift at Christmas; by 1618 he was spending £20 a year, and by will proved 1622 confirmed that the doles should continue.⁹⁸ His son Sir William Spencer challenged the bequest but in 1641 granted a rent charge of £18 3s. 4d. from Windmill field in Yarnton. The corporation was still involved in litigation over the charity in 1647, but by 1652 the mayor was distributing the weekly doles as given in Sir Thomas's lifetime, with additional gifts of 1s. each to adults and 6d. to children at Christmas and Easter.⁹⁹ The rent charge fell into arrears from 1688, and the charity was confirmed only after prolonged litigation in the 1690s with the four sons-in-law of Sir Thomas Spencer (d. 1685).¹ Thereafter the rent-charge was regularly distributed in bread.²

Thomas Fletcher by will proved 1617 gave £12 a year, payable by the Skinners' Company of London, to be divided equally between the grammar school, a sermon, and doles of 6d. to the poor who attended the sermon. The doles were paid regularly, and in 1892 the Skinners' Company transferred £480 to the official trustee to maintain the charity.³ Edmund Hiorne (d. 1629), the town clerk's father, left £5 to the poor in the almshouse, and in 1632 the corporation agreed to pay 8s. a year in respect of the gift.⁴ The payment ceased after 1795, perhaps when almspeople were transferred to the duchess of Marlborough's almshouses.⁵ In 1828 the unpaid benefit was reckoned to be £11 12s., and in 1848 stock yielding 9s. 4d. a year was allotted to the charity.⁶

⁷⁸ Boro. Mun., Garrett Ho. deeds; above, Bldgs. no. 39.

⁷⁹ Boro. Mun. 79, f. 15 and v.; 87, Mar. 1723/4.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 79, f. 30; 96, f. 39.

⁸¹ Ibid. 79, f. 159v.; 7/1: rental 1652; above, Local Govt., Par. Govt. and Poor Relief.

⁸² Boro. Mun. 93, *passim*; 12th Rep. Com. Char. 329.

⁸³ Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 145, 176, 289–90, 295; 93–5, *passim*.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 90, p. 190; P.R.O., HO 107/893, 1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512.

⁸⁵ Boro. Mun. 4, *Scheme* (1901); Char. Com. files, *Scheme* (1909).

⁸⁶ Cf. O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Woodstock c 13, f. 50v., which places the almshos. east of the workho., and *ibid.* Ark. XIII/ii/1; Pellatt XXXVIII/ii, which places them immediately west of the former Mermaid inn (no. 74 Oxford Street); above, Bldgs. no. 8.

⁸⁷ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 180, f. 122; Boro. Mun. 97, p. 14.

⁸⁸ P.R.O., C 93/20/10.

⁸⁹ e.g. *Char. Digest*, H.C. 292–II, pp. 10–11 (1871), lv; *Scheme* (1901) for municipal chars.: copy in Boro. Mun. 4; above, Bldgs. no. 51.

⁹⁰ P.R.O., PROB 11/134, f. 75.

⁹¹ Boro. Mun. 97, p. 14. Hopkins's will mentions only a char. for Bladon: O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 32/2/29.

⁹² O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 37/5/7; 45/2/4; Boro. Mun. 97, p. 15.

⁹³ Boro. Mun. 93, pp. 65, 78, 172.

⁹⁴ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 141/4/8; P.R.O., PROB 11/931, ff. 271–2; Boro. Mun. 93, p. 275.

⁹⁵ 12th Rep. Com. Char. 328–9; Boro. Mun. 93, p. 493.

⁹⁶ Boro. Mun. 89, pp. 404–5.

⁹⁷ *Char. Digest* (1871), pp. 10–11; Boro. Mun. 94, *passim*.

⁹⁸ Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 66–8; P.R.O., PROB 11/140.

⁹⁹ Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 156 and v., 164–5, 168, 184–5v.; 92, p. 12; P.R.O., C 5/98/28.

¹ Boro. Mun. 76/2, Jan. 1690/1, May 1693, Oct. 1694, Mar. 1695/6; P.R.O., C 5/98/28; C 5/286/3.

² Boro. Mun. 93, pp. 402–4, 426–30; 95, s.a. 1837–8 and *passim*.

³ Boro. Mun. 97, pp. 3–6; 12th Rep. Com. Char. 326; *inf.* from Skinners' Co. For early negotiations over the char., Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 47, 54, 60, 73–4.

⁴ P.R.O., PROB 11/156, f. 86; Boro. Mun. 81, s.a. 1632.

⁵ Boro. Mun. 93, *passim*; 12th Rep. Com. Char. 329; below.

⁶ Boro. Mun. 93, p. 493; *Char. Digest* (1871), pp. 10–11.

Sir Littleton Osbaldeston (d. 1691) presumably in his lifetime gave £10,⁷ and Edward Fennimore in 1700 and Sir Thomas Crispe in 1714 each left £5,⁸ together yielding 18s. to be given by the mayor at Christmas to widows in doles of 6d. On New Year's day the mayor distributed another 18s. to widows, derived from £20 given by will of Esther Morgan *alias* Jenkins in 1727.⁹ In 1848 Morgan's charity and that of 'Osbaldeston and others' were each allotted stock yielding 16s. a year.¹⁰

In 1691 John Cary gave a rent charge of £8 a year from Wilcote manor to provide clothes for 6 men, 6 women, 3 boys, and 3 girls, resident churchgoers who were to wear their new clothes on Christmas day.¹¹ The distribution of Cary's cloth was regularly made, but by the later 18th century the income was insufficient to clothe the full number:¹² in 1825 coats or gowns were given to 12 men and women and 2 children. As much as £74 was spent in 1837, after a lapse when corporate government was suspended in the 1830s.¹³

Dr. John Case by will proved 1600 left £40 to be lent interest free to 4 residents for 6 years,¹⁴ and Richard Nash of Old Woodstock by will proved 1637 left £80, which was lent to 8 tradesmen on the same terms.¹⁵ Captain Thomas Warburton of Bletchington in 1641 gave £100 to provide loans of £20 to 3 tradesmen and £10 to 4 others for 3 years.¹⁶ John Taylor in 1744 gave £100 to be lent to 4 tradesmen for 5 years.¹⁷ The loan charities, £320 in all, were regularly taken up and by 1825 only one £10 sum, part of Nash's gift, had been lost.¹⁸ Reference in 1844 to the difficulty of finding sureties for loans suggests further losses, and thereafter the money seems to have been invested and the interest usually distributed in doles to freemen; in 1871 the capital was only £272.¹⁹ In 1873 the corporation decided to use the loan fund for educational purposes, which seems to have been done since in 1909 the Charity Commission ordered the capital to be replaced from the income of the grammar school estate.²⁰

By will proved 1817 George, duke of Marlborough, left £500 for the poor of Oxford and Woodstock at the discretion of his executors.²¹ After a distribution a surplus of £20 was apparently invested for the use of the Woodstock poor in 1819, and in 1843 the corporation was given

the capital of £44; in 1848 the Marlborough charity was allotted funds yielding £1 10s. a year.²²

By will of 1865 George Benham left £10 a year to the poor which in 1868, when received by the corporation, comprised £300 stock yielding £9 a year. It was distributed in coal to 80 poor families in that year, and continued usually as a coal charity, frequently augmented by the corporation from the general fund. By 1909 it was yielding only £7 10s.²³

The municipal charities also included the rector's house and endowments for schools, sermons, and a curfew bell.²⁴ Although until the mid 19th century the corporation merged charitable funds with general income and expenditure,²⁵ its administration of charities was satisfactory. A benefactions book given in 1646 by Charles Padget, a former pupil of the grammar school, was kept up to date and few charities had lapsed by 1825.²⁶ In 1828 the corporation accounted fully for trust funds in its possession, but by 1839 the chamberlains were obliged to allot £200 in part repayment of over £300 owed to various charities.²⁷ A re-examination of accounts in 1848 led to the withdrawal of charity funds from Woodstock Savings Bank and investment in consols, and at the same time the corporation bought £500 stock to supplement a group of charities whose endowments had been lost.²⁸ Rack-renting was introduced for the charity estates, increasing their income.²⁹ Schemes of 1886 and 1901 regulated the trusteeship and grouped the loan charities as those of Case and others, and the charities restored in 1848 as those of Alderman Johnson and others.³⁰ A Scheme of 1906 created a separate educational fund by adding to the grammar school estate £160 stock, a third of Fletcher's charity, and £146 stock from the charity of Johnson and others, which was renamed Major and others.³¹ Sir Robert Cocks's charity, a municipal charity chiefly for education, had been divided in 1900 to provide an educational fund of £27 a year, the residue of the total income of £60 being devoted largely to the poor, an arrangement confirmed in 1906.³² In 1909 the non-educational municipal charities were regulated by a Scheme which separated ecclesiastical charities under the trusteeship of the rector and churchwardens: the ecclesiastical charities were the rector's house, c. £226 stock for sermons derived from Fletcher's

⁷ *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 328. The gift was not by his will: P.R.O., PROB 11/408, f. 13.

⁸ P.R.O., PROB 11/454, f. 6; PROB 11/541, f. 205v.

⁹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 137/2/2; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 328.

¹⁰ *Char. Digest* (1871), pp. 10–11.

¹¹ *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 327–8.

¹² Boro. Mun. 93–4, *passim*.

¹³ *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 328; Boro. Mun. 89, pp. 55, 101; 94, s.a. 1837.

¹⁴ Oxf. Univ. Arch., Hyp. B 21, vol. C. For Case see *D.N.B.*

¹⁵ P.R.O., PROB 11/174, ff. 272–3; Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 142v., 153v.; 97, p. 13.

¹⁶ Boro. Mun. 79, f. 165v.; 97, p. 13; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, ff. 10–13, where Warburton's gift is wrongly dated.

¹⁷ Boro. Mun. 93, p. 49; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, ff. 10–13.

¹⁸ Boro. Mun. 93, *passim*; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 329.

¹⁹ Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 2–3, 38; 101, pp. 77–8, where the loan fund was presumably the 'Tradesmen's fund'; *Char. Digest* (1871), pp. 10–11.

²⁰ Boro. Mun. 90, p. 327; *Char. Com. files, Scheme* (1909).

²¹ Blenheim Mun. S/S/32A.

²² Boro. Mun. 89, p. 473; *Char. Digest* (1871), 10–11.

²³ *Char. Digest* (1871), 10–11; Boro. Mun. 90, pp. 260, 266, 323, 331, 363, 382, 400; 101, pp. 86 and *passim*; *Char. Com. files, Scheme* (1909).

²⁴ Above, Church, Educ.

²⁵ Boro. Mun. 79, 93–5, *passim*.

²⁶ *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 321 sqq. For another list of benefactors see Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, ff. 110–13.

²⁷ Boro. Mun. 95, Dec. 1828; 89, p. 410.

²⁸ *Char. Digest* (1871), pp. 10–11.

²⁹ *Oxf. Chron.* 22 Dec. 1866.

³⁰ Boro. Mun. 4, *Scheme* (1901).

³¹ O.R.O., QSD C 137.

³² *Char. Com. files, Scheme* (1909); above, Educ.

charity and that of Major and others, and payments from the municipal trustees in respect of Cocks's sermon charity and Cary's clothing charity, which was exclusive to churchgoers. From the remaining municipal charities the trustees were to spend £2 on children's books, provide 6s. a week for two pensioners, and devote most of the residue to the general benefit of the poor. The total annual income of the non-educational municipal charities in 1909 was *c.* £130, of which £27 was payable to Cocks's Educational Fund, which retained its separate identity thereafter.³³ Cary's ecclesiastical charity, the rector's house, and Cocks's sermon charity were later separated from the municipal charities, which in 1975 were yielding *c.* £340 a year; pensions were no longer given, but coal and groceries were distributed. In 1977 a Scheme for relief in need was sealed.³⁴

OTHER CHARITIES. In the 1790s the duke and duchess of Marlborough provided two groups of almshouses. Six were completed in 1794 by John Churchill on the west side of the causeway towards Old Woodstock, the site of the later nos. 87–93 Oxford Street.³⁵ Evidently the site was found unsatisfactory, for before the almshouses were finished Churchill agreed to build six more near Hensington Gate and to take a lease of the first building. The plan was for Caroline, duchess of Marlborough, to nominate six almswomen and endow the almshouses with stock worth £3,000.³⁶ In 1794 the duchess's benefaction for six widows was celebrated in verse, but reference to allowances from May 1795 to six almsmen, if not a clerical error, implies a temporary change of plan.³⁷ When the almshouses near Hensington Gate were completed in 1797³⁸ they were endowed in the manner intended for the first foundation, under the trusteeship of the vice-chancellor of Oxford University and others and with the nomination of almswomen reserved to the duchess for life; the almswomen were to receive an allowance of £1 a month each and clothing every other year, and provision was made for medical expenses, furniture, and repairs.³⁹ The first building, on Almshouse Lane in 1841, was still known in the 1860s as the old almshouses but was occupied by the duke's rent-paying tenants;⁴⁰ it was probably so used from an early date, since in 1825 it was not mentioned as a charity. The building was replaced by a row of estate cottages in 1874.⁴¹ In

1825 the Hensington almshouses were operating as planned, occupied by six women and supported by an income of £90 a year. Before 1871 the stock was increased by £500, presumably a gift from the Marlborough family.⁴² In 1890 the mayor asserted his right of inspection, complaining that the duchess alone had appointed almswomen, contrary to the terms of the trust deed.⁴³ Under a Scheme of 1968 the almshouses were transferred to the borough council and reopened as Caroline Court in 1970, providing sheltered accommodation for the elderly; the Blenheim Estate trustees sold adjacent land for more houses on condition that they retained the use of two apartments. After local government reorganization in 1974 the property passed to West Oxfordshire district council.⁴⁴

In 1868 Samuel Lovegrove left *c.* £5 a year to poor communicants of the Church of England resident in Woodstock; the charity survived in 1985.⁴⁵

LOST CHARITIES. Several bequests granted to the corporation in the 17th century were probably single payments, not endowed charities.⁴⁶ A rent-charge of 20s. for the poor, left to the corporation by Roger Norwood in 1593, may not have been received.⁴⁷ In 1608 William Metcalfe left £2 for the poor in addition to a sermon charity; a distribution of bread was made in 1637, but no later reference has been found, although the sermon charity was restored in 1640.⁴⁸ By will of 1626 Mary Keene gave £20 which was delivered in part in 1628 but not recorded later.⁴⁹ Dr. Hugh Barker by will proved 1632 left £20, recorded in the benefactions book in 1652 but lost by 1825.⁵⁰ The corporation agreed to give doles of 24s. a year in respect of £10 received under the will of John Chadwell in 1637, but the charity was lost by 1652.⁵¹ In 1678 John, Lord Lovelace (d. 1693), gave the corporation a rent charge of £50 from Water Eaton, payable after his death and that of his mother, to provide an almshouse; the gift was not implemented.⁵² A loan charity ordered by will of the Revd. Abraham Gregory of Gloucester in 1690 was not established, despite investigation in 1713.⁵³ In 1744 the corporation tried unsuccessfully to recover an apprenticeship charity ordered by will of Robert Bruce in 1716.⁵⁴ Richard Norman of Calcutta in 1811 left the residue of his estate to the poor of Woodstock, but his debts exceeded the value of the

³³ Ibid.; above, Educ.

³⁴ Char. Com. files; O.R.C.C., Kimber files.

³⁵ Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, estate pps. box 2. The building is located by *ibid.*, draft deed of endowment 1795; *ibid.* E/P/58: survey 1863 and associated map, plot 159.

³⁶ Ibid. shelf G 1, estate pps. box 2.

³⁷ *Oxf. Jnl.* 9 Aug. 1794; Blenheim Mun., Treasury box XXIII/77/4, acct. bk. 1781–97.

³⁸ Plaque on bldg.

³⁹ Blenheim Mun., shelf B 5, reg. of docs. 1748–1816, p. 142; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 319.

⁴⁰ P.R.O., HO 107/893; Blenheim Mun. E/P/58 and associated map of 1863.

⁴¹ Date on bldg. For former almshos., Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 69, no. 615.

⁴² *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 319; *Char. Digest* (1871), pp. 10–11.

⁴³ Boro. Mun. 102, pp. 128–9.

⁴⁴ Char. Com. files; inf. from Blenheim Estate Office and

West Oxon. district council; R. Mole, *Cottage Improvement to Sheltered Housing* (Oxf. 1987), 49–50.

⁴⁵ Char. Com. files.

⁴⁶ e.g. Boro. Mun. 81, s.a. 1606; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 11/2/2; P.R.O., PROB 11/289, f. 184; *ibid.* 11/392, f. 103.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., PROB 11/82, f. 52. For dispute over will, O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 22, ff. 252–7.

⁴⁸ Boro. Mun. 81, Dec. 1608, Dec. 1640; *ibid.* 79, ff. 138, 151v.

⁴⁹ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 39/3/1; Boro. Mun. 79, f. 96.

⁵⁰ Boro. Mun. 79, f. 114; 97, p. 12; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 329.

⁵¹ Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 140v., 152; 81, Dec. 1640; 97, p. 13.

⁵² *Ibid.* 76/1, Aug. 1678, Jan. 1679; 97, pp. 21–3; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 329.

⁵³ P.R.O., C 93/48/3.

⁵⁴ Boro. Mun. 45/3/1; *ibid.* 87, Jan., Apr. 1744.

estate.⁵⁵ Sophia Brown (d. 1859) by will of 1830 gave to the corporation a house in Brown's Lane to provide doles to the poor in memory of her

father Alderman Thomas Brown (d. 1825); apparently the bequest was not executed.⁵⁶

OLD WOODSTOCK

Old Woodstock township comprised c. 325 a. lying along the eastern edge of Blenheim, formerly Woodstock, Park north of New Woodstock; roughly rectangular in shape, it was bounded on the south and east by the river Glyme and on the north, probably, by Akeman Street.⁵⁷ Although Old Woodstock lay within the parish and royal manor of Wootton⁵⁸ it came to be regarded as little more than a suburb of New Woodstock. The epithet 'old', recorded in 1294,⁵⁹ affirms the settlement's seniority, but it was even then overshadowed by its better known neighbour. It was claimed in 1572 that the liberty of Woodstock borough extended on the park wall side of the Chipping Norton road as far as Podge gate,⁶⁰ and the occupiers of houses there seem to have attended the borough court leet into the 18th century.⁶¹ In 1877 the southern end of Old Woodstock, 51 a. including the built-up area, was transferred for ecclesiastical purposes to Bladon parish. The same area was made part of Woodstock municipal borough in 1886 and created a civil parish in 1894.⁶² A proposal of 1891 to incorporate the remainder of the former township in the borough was resisted by Wootton parishioners,⁶³ but in 1985 the boundary was adjusted slightly to include a row of houses on the east side of Hill Rise.⁶⁴

The land slopes gently downward from 110 m. in the north-west corner, but falls sharply to 80 m. at the Glyme. The river divides into two streams, one sinuous and marking the boundary, the other fairly straight and apparently cut or canalized to control flooding. The boundary stream was straightened in the late 19th century or early 20th, though the boundary continued to follow its former, irregular, course.⁶⁵ The Woodstock to Chipping Norton road, called Manor Road within Old Woodstock in the 20th century, traverses the entire length of the township on the west; it was turnpiked in 1730 and disturnpiked in 1878.⁶⁶ The turnpike gate, depicted in 1789 standing on the boundary with Woodstock, was by 1806 removed to the north end of the hamlet,⁶⁷ allowing Old Wood-

stock residents to go toll-free into Woodstock. A tollhouse was built west of the road soon after the new gate was erected. Wootton way, mentioned in 1615,⁶⁸ left Manor Road near Barn Piece House and ran northwards across Old Woodstock's fields to Wootton village; it was declared a public road at the inclosure of Wootton in 1770.⁶⁹ Its southern end has been overlain by modern housing whose building plots nevertheless mark its former line. The track that starts opposite Ladder and Stile Row and runs north-east towards the Glyme may have been the Water Lane recorded from the 15th century.⁷⁰ It was made a private road in 1770 leading to old inclosures owned by the Acton family and later bought by the duke of Marlborough.⁷¹ In 1805 the road also gave access to a footbridge across the Glyme.⁷²

Old Woodstock's older houses are concentrated mainly in the south-west corner of the township, close to the road on sloping ground across the river valley from Woodstock. Later development mostly straggled northwards along the road. The origin of settlement at Old Woodstock is uncertain despite an allegation, made in the 15th century and often repeated, that Henry I removed Old Woodstock from a site within the royal park.⁷³ Earthworks just inside the park wall, suggested as a possible site, are more likely to be the remains of quarrying.⁷⁴ There was probably a mill at Old Woodstock by 1086.⁷⁵ Its site was at a convenient river crossing giving access to the park, and a settlement nearby in the area later said to lie within the liberty of Woodstock borough may have grown up to serve the royal manor house within the park and then become attached to the borough which superseded it. In the 14th and 15th centuries there were at least six houses in Old Woodstock, lying on both sides of the road; they included a cottage belonging to Wootton church.⁷⁶ One house was probably the former leper hospital of the Holy Cross, said in the 1220s to lie 'at Wootton towards Woodstock . . . near the road to Woodstock' and in 1231 to be outside (*extra*) Wood-

⁵⁵ 12th Rep. Com. Char. 329.

⁵⁶ O.R.O., Misc. Ri. III/1; below, Bldgs. no. 27.

⁵⁷ O.S. Maps 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 4, 8 (1881 edn.); ibid. 6" Oxon. XXVI (1884 edn.); ibid. 1/10,000, SP 41 NW. (1979 edn.); ibid. 1/2,500, SP 4417-4517 (1974 edn.).

⁵⁸ V.C.H. Oxon. xi. 265; below, Blenheim, Woodstock Manor.

⁵⁹ Balliol Coll. Mun., F.8.2.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., E 178/1824. For Podge gate, below, Blenheim, Pk. to 1705.

⁶¹ Woodstock Boro. Mun. 96, ff. 10 sqq.

⁶² Census, 1891, 1901; Kelly's Dir. Oxon. (1895); above, Bladon, Church.

⁶³ O.R.O., Woot. P.C. I/i/2.

⁶⁴ Inf. from town clerk, Woodstock.

⁶⁵ Balliol Coll. Mun., Misc. Bursary Papers 130A, letter of

7 Oct. 1914.

⁶⁶ V.C.H. Oxon. xi. 260.

⁶⁷ T. Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789); Mavor, *New Description of Blenheim* (1806).

⁶⁸ Balliol Coll. Mun., F.8.57; ibid. lease bk. 1588-1665, f. 39.

⁶⁹ O.R.O., incl. award.

⁷⁰ Balliol Coll. Mun., F.8.19, 63; ibid. map 7.

⁷¹ Below, Econ.

⁷² Balliol Coll. Mun., map 9.

⁷³ J. Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, ed. T. Hearne, 138, 140.

⁷⁴ County Mus., P.R.N. 4872.

⁷⁵ Below, Econ.

⁷⁶ Balliol Coll. Mun., F.8.8, 22; Woodstock Boro. Mun. 83/1, pp. 10 sqq.

stock;⁷⁷ it was last recorded in 1336.⁷⁸ The hospital site has not been discovered but Spittle House close, recorded from 1519, lay west of the road and south of Ladder and Stile Row.⁷⁹ A kitchen described in 1468–9 as built against the park wall⁸⁰ may have been there and formerly the hospital's. It is less likely that Praunce's Place, later Manor Farm, was the hospital, although it was in the Middle Ages a substantial house with, unusually, no farmland attached: a grant of the house in 1342 made no mention of what would have been its very recent function.⁸¹

Old Woodstock was still small in the mid 17th century, although a claim in 1661 that there were only four or five houses⁸² was an underestimate. There is evidence of growth thereafter in the c. 30 surviving houses and cottages of the later 17th and 18th century, and a map of 1789 shows the hamlet extensively built up.⁸³ Building was presumably encouraged by the prosperity of neighbouring Woodstock and was therefore concentrated towards the southern end of the township. There were one or two fairly substantial houses such as the Rose and Crown and those later known as Glove House (no. 105 Manor Road) and Barn Piece House, but building was mainly of cottages, often on narrow plots as at Ladder and Stile Row⁸⁴ and at nos. 64–70 and 117–23 Manor Road. Cottages then, as later, were built when possible end-on to the road, but some plots at the hamlet's north end were so straitened by the convergence of road and park wall that they were aligned along them, occasionally backing directly on the wall. By the early 18th century there were cottages (nos. 118–24 Manor Road) as far north as Old Woodstock green, which seems to have straddled the road and to have included the area later built over and called Hill Rise. The green was inclosed in 1770.⁸⁵ In the earlier 19th century land west of the road acquired by William Margetts (d. 1807) was extensively built over by his family: infilling on Spittle House close largely completed the row later known as the Bank, and on Dovehouse close, north of Ladder and Stile Row, a terrace of five cottages was erected south of the Rose and Crown and perhaps as many as fourteen cottages built or rebuilt between the inn and Glove house.⁸⁶

Old Woodstock's growth culminated in a population of 427 in 1851,⁸⁷ but a steady decline followed as in Woodstock and neighbouring villages.⁸⁸ House owners seem to have found

difficulty in obtaining tenants in the 1860s,⁸⁹ and in 1874 the cottages between Glove House and the Rose and Crown were replaced by three rows of three cottages, built on more spacious plots.⁹⁰ The duke of Marlborough built a pair of model cottages dated 1870 north of Glove House, and two pairs dated 1869 north of the mill, the latter replacing cottages apparently of the 16th century.⁹¹ Also in 1870 an infant school replaced three cottages just north of the Rose and Crown, and in 1886 a mission chapel was built north-west of Manor Farm.⁹² Old Woodstock's decline continued into the mid 20th century: in 1951 there were only 264 people,⁹³ and c. 1959 a row of cottages (nos. 65–73 Manor Road) south of the Rose and Crown was demolished.⁹⁴ From the 1960s, however, Old Woodstock became a focus for new housing, concentrated east of Manor Road: c. 250 new houses had been built by 1989, when the population was c. 1,020.⁹⁵

The Harrow inn was recorded in 1711 in the occupation of John Bolton,⁹⁶ who seems to have retained possession until his death in 1738.⁹⁷ No later reference has been found. The Wheatsheaf inn, on the north bank of the Glyme and across the road from the mill, was recorded from 1775.⁹⁸ It retains a blocked window in the north wall and a ground floor fireplace of c. 1600, but the building was enlarged and extensively remodelled in the 18th century, in the early 19th, and again in the 20th. Part of the premises were said in 1914 to have been formerly converted into a gloving factory, presumably a reference to the free-standing building, later demolished, north-east of the inn.⁹⁹ The Wheatsheaf was c. 1983 renamed the Black Prince, apparently because of an erroneous local tradition that Praunce's Place was the birthplace of Edward, son of Edward III. The Crown, later the Rose and Crown, was recorded in 1777¹ and was opposite the toll house in the building since divided into nos. 118–26 Manor Road; c. 1840 James Hunt transferred the licence to a new and apparently purpose-built house north of Ladder and Stile Row.² It remained a public house in 1989.

Fellows of Balliol College used Manor Farm in the early 17th century as a retreat from Oxford in times of pestilence.³ Old Woodstock was reckoned to have a strong sense of independent identity before the rapid influx of newcomers in the 1960s, and for long expressed it in an annual mock mayor-making, a symbolic defiance of authority found in or near other corpo-

⁷⁷ *Bradenstoke Cart.* (Wilts. Rec. Soc. xxxv), p. 149; *Pat. R.* 1225–32, 419, 481.

⁷⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1334–8, 264.

⁷⁹ P.R.O., E 178/1824; Woodstock Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 102. The close was not, as has been claimed, part of Chaucer's House in Woodstock: cf. Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 20.

⁸⁰ Woodstock Boro. Mun. 83/1, p. 14.

⁸¹ Balliol Coll. Mun., F.8.22. For Praunce's Place, below, *Estates*.

⁸² [T. Widdowes], *Just Devil of Woodstock*, 12–13.

⁸³ T. Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789).

⁸⁴ For illus. of the ladder and stile, *The Graphic*, 12 Nov. 1887.

⁸⁵ O.R.O., incl. award; Blenheim Mun., boxes 130, 146.

⁸⁶ O.R.O., Misc. Mc. I/1–9; *ibid.* Rob. II/iv/1.

⁸⁷ P.R.O., HO 107/1730.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512.

⁸⁹ Blenheim Mun., shelf B 2, box marked '18th and 19th cent. Woodstock and Eynsham', man. ct. papers, 1866.

⁹⁰ Date on hos.

⁹¹ Above, plate facing p. 349.

⁹² Below.

⁹³ *Census*, 1891–1951.

⁹⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1958–60 edns.). ⁹⁵ Local inf.

⁹⁶ Deed in possession of Dr. A. H. T. Robb-Smith, New Woodstock.

⁹⁷ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 210, ff. 204–5.

⁹⁸ *Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis*, 9 Feb. 1775.

⁹⁹ Balliol Coll. Mun., Misc. Bursary Papers 130A, letter of 20 June; D.o.E., Revised Hist. Bldgs. List (unpubl.).

¹ O.R.O., vctls' recog.

² P.R.O., HO 107/890; *Oxf. Jnl.* 9 Feb. 1839.

³ Balliol Coll. Mun. F.9.7.

rate boroughs. A gilt mace-head dated 1786 is the earliest record of the ceremony, which was held on the Sunday following Wootton parish feast day (19 Sept.)⁴ and involved a rowdy procession down Manor Road and around New Woodstock, culminating in the mayor's ducking in the Glyme at the Wheatsheaf.⁵ The ceremony lapsed in 1928 and when revived in 1954 was more decorous in performance and eschewed the ritual challenge of crossing into Woodstock.⁶ After relapsing in 1960 it was again revived in the 1970s.⁷ Old Woodstock was the birthplace of the Blenheim Orange apple, which grew from a chance seedling in the garden of George Kempster (d. 1773), who lived north of the mill. The apple, known originally as the Kempster Pippin, acquired its later name in 1811 by courtesy of the duke of Marlborough.⁸

ESTATES. Balliol College, Oxford, acquired a large estate in Old Woodstock in the 16th and 17th centuries, based on the house known in the Middle Ages as *PRAUNCE'S PLACE*.⁹ Henry Praunce sold the house in 1342 to John of the park,¹⁰ and it was by 1379 in the possession of Thomas Mundy, rector of Begbroke, and his brother Edmund, under the terms of whose will it passed to Nicholas Glover. Nicholas granted the house in 1409 to William Pomeray, from whom it was acquired in 1412 by Thomas Snarestone.¹¹ Thomas bought several small freeholds in Old Woodstock, so that Praunce's Place became, apparently for the first time, part of a landed estate.¹² Between 1458 and 1460 he or another Thomas granted the property to Sir Edward Hampden, and in the later 15th century it was acquired by Richard Nowers, whose daughters Clemence, Anne Grandon, and Eleanor Clement sold it in 1504 to Roger Jakes of Watford (Herts.).¹³ Roger sold the estate in 1507 to Henry Wyatt, from whom it was bought in 1513 by Thomas Harrop (d. 1522), rector of Great Haseley, who devised it to Balliol College. The house seems at some time in the later Middle Ages to have been divided into an east and a west tenement, and it was the former which Balliol received from Harrop. The estate also included a house and 1 yardland called Heynes's and a house and ½ yardland called Juell's.¹⁴ In 1614 Balliol bought 26 a. in Old Woodstock Sarts from Thomas Elye and

Nicholas Lucy of London,¹⁵ and in 1615 the college bought from Jerome and Richard Nash, its tenants in Old Woodstock, an estate accumulated by the Nash family from the later 16th century, comprising the western part of Praunce's Place and c. 96 a. of free and copyhold land and the remaining 52½ a. of Old Woodstock Sarts. The dwelling and perhaps 28 a. of the land had been owned in the mid 15th century by William Frere, whose widow Agnes and son William sold it in 1466 to William Redhead. Redhead later granted it to Woodstock corporation, which in 1504 granted it to William Wise, the mayor. He sold it in 1505 to William Seacole (d. 1527) of Stanton Harcourt, whose son Robert gave it in 1535 to the latter's brother William, who sold it in 1564 to Michael Nash, father of Jerome and Richard.¹⁶ In 1687 Balliol's Old Woodstock estate comprised 244 a.,¹⁷ and at the inclosure of Wootton parish in 1770 the college received 183 a. of formerly open-field land in Old Woodstock.¹⁸ In 1922 the college sold the estate, comprising 221 a. in all, to Annie Haynes, whose family had been tenants there from the later 19th century.¹⁹ The family retained ownership in 1989, when the estate comprised c. 250 a.²⁰

Praunce's Place, called Manor Farm by the later 19th century, stands east of the Chipping Norton road²¹ and comprises buildings of several periods and styles in coursed limestone rubble with stone slate roofs. The oldest part, a chamber block of c. 1300 to the rear, retains in its first-floor north wall a moulded fireplace and a stack topped by an elaborate octagonal stone chimney with a conical cap.²² The cap, badly weathered in the mid 20th century, was later replaced by a replica.²³ On the north is a tall, narrow building, apparently once free-standing, which retains in its west wall a blocked window possibly of the 15th century; the two buildings were linked in the 17th century by the insertion of a half-hipped block. Adjoining those buildings on the south and forming an inverted T-shape is the long east-west front range which possibly incorporates parts of a medieval hall,²⁴ for the later Nash tenement seems to have comprised the chamber block and free-standing building on the north, and the westernmost two bays of the south range; the Balliol tenement, differentiated by a lower roofline, comprised the remainder of the south range and outbuildings

⁴ For the par. feast, *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 264 n.

⁵ O.A.S. *Rep.* (1904), 26.

⁶ O.R.O., Misc. Budd V/5(w); D. Stanley, *Folklore*, lxxviii. 425-7; F. A. Bevan, *Top. Oxon.* xxix. 1-3.

⁷ Local inf.

⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, ff. 173-188v.; *Clarendonian*, n.s. i (4), 137-8; A. H. T. Robb-Smith, 'Blenheim Orange Variants', *Fruit Yr. Bk.* (1956); plaque on nos. 3-5 Manor Rd.

⁹ For the college's land elsewhere in Wootton par., *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 269-70. ¹⁰ Balliol Coll. Mun., F.8.22.

¹¹ Ibid. F.8.15-18, 21.

¹² Ibid. F.8.20, 27-35.

¹³ Ibid. F.8.23-6, 36-40.

¹⁴ Ibid. A.20.56; F.8.41-6, 55-6, 58; *ibid.* lease bk. 1588-1665, f. 38; lease logbk. 1588-1850, pp. 137-8.

¹⁵ Ibid. F.8.81; below, Econ.

¹⁶ Ibid. F.8.60-9, 82, 93; F.9.5-6, 8, 12; *ibid.* lease bk. 1588-1665, f. 38 and v.; P.R.O., PROB 11/22, ff. 195v.-6.

For the ho., see below.

¹⁷ Balliol Coll. Mun. A.22.39; F.8.91.

¹⁸ O.R.O., incl. award.

¹⁹ Balliol Coll. Mun. F.10.54-6; *ibid.* lease bk. 1880-1937, pp. 266-7; *ibid.* Misc. Bursary Papers 130B, letters of May-June 1922.

²⁰ Inf. from Miss R. Haynes, Bletchingtondon.

²¹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1881 edn.); illus. in Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 42, ff. 50-1; *ibid.* a 69, nos. 616-19; and above, plate facing p. 349.

²² J. H. Parker, *Dom. Archit. in Eng.* 90, 267; O.A.S. *Rep.* (1939), 103; M. E. Wood, '13th-cent. Dom. Archit. in Eng.', *Arch. Jnl.* cv, Supp. 60-1, facing p. 124; D. o. E., Revised Hist. Bldgs. List (unpubl.); I. Baxter and J. Blair, 'Manor Farm' (unpubl. art.): Dr. Blair, the Queen's Coll., Oxf., kindly made available his surv. of the ho.

²³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 502, photo. of 1944; *Arch. Jnl.* cv, Supp. 61.

²⁴ Baxter and Blair, 'Manor Farm'.

on the east.²⁵ Remodelling of the south fronts of both tenements with projecting three-storeyed entrance bays and gables may have been the work reportedly undertaken *c.* 1560 by Michael Nash.²⁶ The more elaborate frontage of the eastern tenement, however, with its imposing doorway, at the centre of the entire south range, and its symmetrical four-light mullioned windows surmounted by drip moulds,²⁷ perhaps dated from *c.* 1615, when the college obtained sole possession. By 1876 much of the east end had been demolished after a fire.²⁸

In the mid 17th century the buildings, said to be 'extremely ruinous', were extensively repaired and in part rebuilt by the lessee, John Harris, fellow of Balliol College. A later lessee, Robert Sheppard, was said in 1698 to have been at 'great charge' in building work and may have been responsible for inserting or rebuilding the half-hipped block at the rear, and for installing some new windows and interior fittings of that period.²⁹

From 1770 until the later 19th century the house was again partitioned, the buildings on the north used as the college farmhouse, the southern range separately leased to tenants including William Mavor, who ran a boarding school there until the early 19th century, and then to glove manufacturers who used the outbuildings for workshops. Extensive repairs carried out in 1769–70, presumably to make the house ready for partitioning, included reslating the roof, replacing windows, and renewing internal fittings. The replacement and rearrangement after 1821 of windows towards the western end of the south front may have been by the glover Richard Taylor, tenant 1823–41.³⁰ The roof, described in 1913 as 'very old' and in need of repair³¹ was probably renewed then and gables and attics removed.

Outbuildings at the rear of the house form a small courtyard with, on the eastern side, a dovecot of the 17th century or earlier.³² East of the house is a long range incorporating a cottage, formerly a tool house,³³ at its south-west corner.

St. John's hospital, Oxford, by 1435 owned a piece of arable land called St. John's croft situated at the southern end of the township.³⁴ The land passed with the hospital's other estates to Magdalen College, whose estate was said in the 16th century to comprise 6 a. and 2 butts on the north bank of the Glyme.³⁵ The land was usually leased to the tenants of Balliol College's Old Woodstock estate, and by the later 18th century comprised a close of 5 a. called Third,

or Magdalen, close, east of Manor Farm's home closes. Balliol bought the land in 1806.³⁶

A house and $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland of copyhold land known as Brotherton's held by William Brotherton at his death in 1688 was sold in 1711 by his son James to George Smith, who sold it in 1714 to Samuel Acton (d. 1728), a London grocer. Samuel was succeeded by his son Edward (d. 1750), whose sister and heir Elizabeth seems to have relinquished her claim in favour of Edward's widow Anne, who may have been a cousin since she was succeeded by Edward, son of her brother Thomas Acton. Edward sold the property in 1792 to John and Samuel Churchill, who sold it in 1795 to William Sotham. He immediately sold part of the estate, lying west of the road and including the farmhouse, to William Margetts, after whose death in 1807 the property was dispersed among his children and later further divided and sold off. His daughter Rose Betterton received Brotherton's House and was succeeded by Mary, probably her daughter, wife of Philip Pain. The house apparently stood south of Ladder and Stile Row, and was possibly that later known as no. 33 Manor Road: part of a long row of houses called the Bank, it is of the early 17th century, larger than its neighbours, and formerly free-standing. William Sotham sold the remainder of the Brotherton's estate in 1802 to George Spencer, duke of Marlborough.³⁷

A copyhold estate comprising 1 yardland and a house called Water Close was held by George Knapp at his death in 1711. His son Robert sold it in 1736 to Edward Acton, from whom it descended with that part of the family's Old Woodstock property which passed to the duke of Marlborough.³⁸ A copyhold estate comprising 2½ yardlands and a house was surrendered in 1717 by Hugh Hopkins to John Freeman, who sold it in 1724 to Samuel Acton. Thereafter it followed the descent of Water Close.³⁹

The estates acquired by the duke were run as a single farm from the house later known as Barn Piece House. The tenants for much of the 19th century were the Prior and Rowles families.⁴⁰ Thomas Whitlock (d. 1927), tenant in the earlier 20th century, bought the farm in 1920 and was succeeded by his son Frederick (d. 1950), whose widow Blanche sold the farm in 1956 to Gaston Genillard. In 1962 Genillard sold the farmhouse to Alan Sharp, and later in the 1960s he sold several acres for housing. Much of the remaining land was sold to B. J. Brooks of Hensington farm.⁴¹ Barn Piece House is of double-depth

²⁵ Balliol Coll. Mun., lease bk. 1588–1665, f. 38; *ibid.* lease logbk. 1588–1850, pp. 137–8; Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, *Supp.* 99.

²⁶ Balliol Coll. Mun., F.1.2.

²⁷ Above, plate facing p. 348.

²⁸ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1881 edn.); *inf.* from Dr. J. Blair.

²⁹ Balliol Coll. Mun., lease logbk. 1588–1850, pp. 139–40.

³⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 141, 147; *ibid.* lease bk. 1767–1836, pp. 33–7, 128–31, 462–6; lease bk. 1836–80, p. 176; *ibid.* Misc. Bursary Papers, 1769–70; *ibid.* F.9, plan i(R). Cf. above, plate facing p. 348.

³¹ Balliol Coll. Mun., Misc. Bursary Papers 130B, letter of 29 Aug.

³² Baxter and Blair, 'Manor Farm'.

³³ Balliol Coll. Mun. F.9, plan i(R).

³⁴ Magd. Coll. Mun., Woodstock 1.

³⁵ *Ibid.* EP. 110/33; *ibid.* lease bk. E, f. 90.

³⁶ Balliol Coll. Mun., F.10.1–48; *ibid.* maps 7, 9.

³⁷ P.R.O., PROB 11/392, f. 103; Blenheim Mun., box 144; *ibid.* shelf G 2, box marked '18th and 19th cent. Woodstock and Eynsham', copies ct. rolls Aug. 1853, Feb. 1866, legal papers 1866; O.R.O., Misc. Mc. I/1–25.

³⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 144.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* E/P/58; *ibid.* Old Woodstock map (1863); *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1869 and later edns.).

⁴¹ Deeds in possession of Mrs. J. M. Sharp, Barn Piece Ho.; *inf.* from Mrs. Sharp, whose help is gratefully acknowledged.

plan, with a plain, stone-built block of the 18th century to the front and a red brick extension of the late 19th century to the rear. The house was extensively remodelled internally in the earlier 20th century.

ECONOMIC HISTORY. Old Woodstock's fields were recorded from 1338, and presumably were by then cultivated separately from Wootton's;⁴² yardlands were later described as entirely in Old Woodstock.⁴³ In 1615 there were three principal fields: Park field in the north, Middle field, and Lower (or Moor) field in the south.⁴⁴ They seem to have been divided conventionally into furlongs within which yardlanders' and half-yardlanders' strips lay intermingled. The yardland was said in the 17th century to be *c.* 25 a. excluding pasture and meadow.⁴⁵ Old Woodstock men were among those who held assarts in Wootton Sarts: the Old Woodstock land, comprising *c.* 80 a. known as Old Woodstock Sarts, apparently lay south of Wootton wood.⁴⁶ Water meadows flanking the Glyme provided abundant grassland, divided into doles of an acre or so in the 15th century but by the 17th consolidated into larger blocks.⁴⁷ Despite earlier exchanges presumably aimed at consolidation much arable land remained in scattered strips as late as 1615 when it proved impossible to distinguish between land belonging to Jerome Nash and to Balliol College. The college later grumbled that the subsequent settlement deprived Balliol of pasture and meadow and gave it the 'worst land in all the fields', lying uninclosed and remote from its farmhouse.⁴⁸ Even in the later 17th century, when the college owned approximately two thirds of the township, there was still some intermingling of land.⁴⁹ At the inclosure of Wootton in 1770 the college received 183 a. for its open-field land in Old Woodstock and for Old Woodstock Sarts. The land lay as before mainly in the northern and eastern parts of Old Woodstock township, but included 34 a. north of the west end of Stratford Lane. William Bishop, occupying the Acton family's 3½ yardland estate, received 70 a. east of the main road and 5 a. in the north-east corner of the township.⁵⁰ A farm of 58 a. in Wootton and Old Woodstock accumulated in the later 18th century by the Prior family was bought in 1839 by the duke of Marlborough⁵¹ and merged with the former Acton estate. The duke's farm and the Balliol farm remained the two principal farms thereafter.

The arable land on Manor farm, the Balliol estate, was said in 1913 to be mostly shallow stonebrash, good for sheep and barley,⁵² and sheep-and-barley husbandry had long been the mainstay of farming: Barley croft was mentioned in 1556,⁵³ and Sheep croft in 1615.⁵⁴ Jerome Nash at his death in 1623 owned barley worth £71 and 191 sheep and lambs worth £41, while of less value were his wheat (£12), peas and vetches (£12), oats (£4), maslin (£4), 11 head of cattle (£17), 7 horses (£17), and 7 pigs (£3). He seems also to have grown hops.⁵⁵ Between 1813 and 1839 the college farm was split, the arable let to Thomas Prior and the pasture to Robert Pratt, a Woodstock butcher.⁵⁶ Balliol required Prior to keep also a 'good flock of sheep', and it was a condition of Pratt's lease of the reunited farm in 1839 that he build a shepherd's cottage at Field Barn.⁵⁷ There was already a shepherd's cottage, possibly short-lived, by Stratford bridge.⁵⁸ Pratt presumably utilized the rich grazing land bordering the Glyme to fatten cattle. The northern two thirds of the township have remained predominantly arable land. In 1863 the Blenheim farm had *c.* 77 a. of arable, all north of Barn Piece Farm,⁵⁹ and in 1913 the Balliol farm had 139 a. of arable in the same area and 90 a. of pasture, 35 a. of it recently laid down.⁶⁰

Claims made in the 17th century that Old Woodstock was an unlucky place, 'it being never known that any man thrived upon it', perhaps stemmed from the remoteness of much arable land from the farmhouses and the liability of the lower lying land to flood. The complaint was dismissed at the time as 'the usual apology for bad husbandry',⁶¹ but several farmers are known to have failed there.⁶² William Haynes, however, was reckoned in the earlier 20th century to have improved Balliol's farm, partly by concentrating on dairying. In 1917–18 the herd kept by his widow Annie was the sole source of milk for Woodstock, and she successfully resisted pressure from the college to plough the pastures.⁶³ Later, as elsewhere, there was increased emphasis on arable production, and in the 1980s the ancient pastures east of Manor Farm were ploughed. By then that farm was the only working farm in the township.⁶⁴

The trades and crafts practised in Old Woodstock largely reflected the demand for goods and services from the neighbouring borough. Brewing presumably on a commercial scale was in the 1540s carried on at an Old Woodstock brewhouse by Christopher Smith, a prominent

⁴² Balliol Coll. Mun., F.8.4–5, 9.

⁴³ Ibid. F.8.56.

⁴⁴ Ibid. F.8.82, 93.

⁴⁵ e.g. *ibid.* F.8.4–5; *ibid.* lease bk. 1663–1762, entry at back; Magd. Coll. Mun., Woodstock 1.

⁴⁶ Balliol Coll. Mun., F.8.81; F.9.8; P.R.O., LR 2/202, f. 35.

⁴⁷ Balliol Coll. Mun., F.8.60–1, 63, 82, 91; *ibid.* map 7.

⁴⁸ Ibid. F.8.57; *ibid.* lease bk. 1588–1665, ff. 37–9; lease logbk. 1588–1850, p. 137; H. Savage, *Balliofergus*, 82–3.

⁴⁹ Balliol Coll. Mun., A.22.39; F.8.91; *ibid.* map 7.

⁵⁰ O.R.O., incl. award; Blenheim Mun., box 144, copy of ct. roll, 31 July 1780; above, Estates.

⁵¹ Blenheim Mun., box 146; *Oxf. Jnl.* 9 Feb. 1839.

⁵² Balliol Coll. Mun., Misc. Bursary Papers 130B, letter of 29 Aug.

⁵³ Magd. Coll. Mun., lease bk. E, f. 90.

⁵⁴ Balliol Coll. Mun., F.8.82.

⁵⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 47/2/40.

⁵⁶ Balliol Coll. Mun., F.1.24–7; *ibid.* lease logbk.

1588–1850, p. 141; *ibid.* lease bk. 1767–1836, pp. 134–41, 354–66.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* lease bk. 1767–1836, pp. 354–9; *ibid.* 1836–80, pp. 98–109.

⁵⁸ *Oxf. Jnl.* 9 Feb. 1839.

⁵⁹ Blenheim Mun., E/P/58; *ibid.* Old Woodstock map (1863).

⁶⁰ Balliol Coll. Mun., Misc. Bursary Papers 130B, letter of 29 Aug.

⁶¹ Savage, *Balliofergus*, 84.

⁶² e.g. in 1649 and 1813: Balliol Coll. Mun., lease logbk. 1588–1850, pp. 138, 141.

⁶³ *Ibid.* Misc. Bursary Papers 130B, letters of 29 Aug. 1913, 12 July 1917, 20 Apr. 1918.

⁶⁴ Local inf.

New Woodstock freeman. The premises were leased in 1549 by Leonard Chamberlain⁶⁵ and may later have been occupied by Roland Hamond, described in 1571 as an Old Woodstock brewer and freeman of the borough.⁶⁶ The Brothertons, wealthy dyers in the later 17th century, had land in north Oxfordshire and mills at Cassington. William Brotherton (d. 1688) left £400 to a daughter, and his son William (d. 1703) had goods worth £250.⁶⁷ Old Woodstock's position on an important road and close to a major coaching centre provided employment. The Margetts family of wheelwrights was in business from the mid 18th century to the mid 19th,⁶⁸ and in 1851 there were five wheelwrights, a road surveyor, a toll collector, and two road menders. By 1871 there was only one wheelwright, unemployed,⁶⁹ but John and William Margetts revived the family business briefly in the earlier 20th century.⁷⁰ Tailoring employed 4 people in 1851, dressmaking 8, and shoemaking 5, and there was a scattering of less common occupations such as boat building, and basket, lace, and umbrella making.

The mainstay of employment in the 19th century was the gloving industry, in which Old Woodstock was closely linked with Woodstock as a manufacturing centre, unlike more distant villages which were restricted to outwork. For that reason gloving was as important to male employment as to female: in 1851, for example, 46 men worked in the industry, mostly as leather dressers, grounders, and cutters, compared to 53 women, many of whom were outworkers.⁷¹ The principal workshops in Old Woodstock were at Manor Farm and at Glove House. James Lamb of Southwark leased Manor Farm in 1813, and he was succeeded by leading manufacturers such as Richard Taylor and the Godden family who continued there until the 1850s or later.⁷² James Hedges, possibly at Glove House by 1820, was one of those convicted and demonstrated against in 1830 for trucking.⁷³ He emigrated in 1833⁷⁴ and seems to have been succeeded by William Green, who continued in business at Glove House until his death in 1881.⁷⁵ The Worcester firm of Frank Bryan took over at Glove House by 1891 and remained until the 1960s, when glove manufacture in Old Woodstock ceased.⁷⁶ William Ryman seems for a time in the 1850s to have carried on large-scale manufacture at the

Wheatsheaf, possibly from workshops, later demolished, north-east of the inn.⁷⁷ Charles Buckingham similarly operated from the 1850s at the Rose and Crown; his son Charles continued the business in the 1880s, though possibly from premises across the road.⁷⁸

Although gloving had supplanted agriculture as the major source of employment, there were still c. 20 agricultural labourers in Old Woodstock for much of the 19th century, many of them probably working elsewhere, and in 1851 there were three shepherds.⁷⁹ A declining population continued to look primarily to agriculture and gloving for employment in the early 20th century, but the mechanization of farming and the closure of the Glove House factory virtually eliminated employment within the township. Almost all those who moved into Old Woodstock from the 1960s worked elsewhere. A few shops and businesses, including the firms of William Knibbs, carriers, at no. 90 Manor Road and Bowerman, builders, at no. 9 Manor Road, survived in the 1970s,⁸⁰ but in 1989 there was only one shop, selling clothes, at no. 77 Manor Road.

MILLS AND FISHERY. The king's mill at Old Woodstock stood where the Chipping Norton road crosses the river Glyme at the south end of the hamlet. It was probably one of the two mills recorded in 1086 on the royal manor of Wootton.⁸¹ Later it was closely associated with the borough and the royal park, and in the 13th century and early 14th it was accounted for directly by the bailiff of Woodstock manor.⁸² Presumably then, as later, the burgesses of Woodstock were expected to grind there, since no separate borough mill was established. In 1246 the bailiff was ordered to build two mills on the site of the old mill,⁸³ and in 1279 the king's two mills were described as outside the park close.⁸⁴ By 1293, however, there were two distinct mill sites, that of the old mill, said to be in the vill but evidently in Old Woodstock, and that of the new mill in the park.⁸⁵ In 1334 the park mill was removed on the king's orders to a 'suitable place outside the park',⁸⁶ which later evidence suggests was next to the Old Woodstock mill. The site of the short-lived park mill was identified in 1976 on the lake shore south of Fishery Cottage.⁸⁷

⁶⁵ P.R.O., E 315/67, ff. 58v.-59; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 181, f. 57 and v.; *Cal. Pat.* 1548-9, pp. 191-2.

⁶⁶ P.R.O., E 178/1824.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* PROB 11/392, f. 103; O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 116/1/27. For the family's Old Woodstock land, above, Estates.

⁶⁸ e.g. O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 46/2/57; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1864).

⁶⁹ P.R.O., HO 107/1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1449.

⁷⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1911, 1920).

⁷¹ P.R.O., HO 107/1730. For the gloving ind., above, Woodstock, Econ.

⁷² Balliol Coll. Mun., lease bk. 1767-1836, pp. 348-53, 462-6; *ibid.* 1836-80, p. 176; *ibid.* lease logbk. 1588-1850, p. 147.

⁷³ *Oxf. Jnl.* 11 Dec. 1830, 8 Jan. 1831; Westgate Libr., Woodstock par. reg. transcripts, bap. Thos. son of Jas. Hedges.

⁷⁴ *Oxf. Jnl.* 20 Apr. 1833.

⁷⁵ P.R.O., HO 107/890; HO 107/1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512; Blenheim Mun., Old Woodstock map (1863);

Westgate Libr., Woodstock par. reg. transcripts.

⁷⁶ N. L. Leyland and J. E. Troughton, *Glovemaking in W. Oxon.* (Co. Mus. publ. 4), 18.

⁷⁷ P.R.O., HO 107/1730; *Lascelles' Dir. Oxon.* (1853); *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1854).

⁷⁸ P.R.O., HO 107/890; HO 107/1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1854 and later edns.).

⁷⁹ P.R.O., HO 107/1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512.

⁸⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Oxf.* (1973).

⁸¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 400.

⁸² P.R.O., SC 6/962/13, 16, 22.

⁸³ *Cal. Lib.* 1245-51, 79.

⁸⁴ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 839.

⁸⁵ P.R.O., SC 6/962/13, 16, 22. The boundary between Old Woodstock and the borough followed the mill stream: O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 edn.). The new mill probably stood south of the stream in the part of the park which remained in the borough until 1897: below, Blenheim, Intro.

⁸⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1333-7, 243; P.R.O., E 101/497/30.

⁸⁷ *Blenheim*, ed. J. Bond and K. Tiller, 34-7.

The farmer of Woodstock mills in 1478–9 was Henry Austen, a prominent townsman who probably sublet.⁸⁸ Repairs were carried out regularly during the Middle Ages.⁸⁹ In the early 16th century the mill house was extended by the addition of four bays,⁹⁰ and in 1551 the two mills were said to be under a single roof, although one, presumably the earlier, was on demesne land, the other on customary land; there was 1 a. of meadow called Mill ham.⁹¹ By then 13s. 4d. of the rent of £6 13s. 4d. was payable to the rector of Wootton for tithes.⁹²

The Chamberlain family, farmers of Woodstock manor, held the mills in the earlier 16th century, but from 1566 they were leased directly by the Crown for 21 years to Thomas Ashe.⁹³ By 1571 the lease had been assigned to Sir Thomas Peniston, who tried, probably in vain, to enforce the monopoly of the mills upon the burgesses. The Chamberlains, by force and bribery, had induced most townsmen to use Old Woodstock mills, although other local mills were better served with water.⁹⁴

Peniston's interests in the mills, as in the park, seem to have passed to Sir Henry Lee.⁹⁵ In 1593–5 the mills were rebuilt at the Crown's cost, being 'so decayed they could not go'.⁹⁶ The Crown continued to let the mills at the same nominal rent in the early 17th century, but Henry Cornish, lessee from 1616,⁹⁷ seems to have acquired the freehold, which he sold in 1639 to Dr. Thomas Laurence, master of Balliol College. Laurence sublet to William Greene in that year, and sold the mills to him in 1648. In 1696 Greene's son Richard permitted the town's water pump-house to be built on Mill ham, and Richard's son William sold the whole property except a cottage north of the mill to James Becketts in 1717. Becketts sold to the duke of Marlborough in 1720, and became the first lessee.⁹⁸ From 1808 the duke also owned the adjacent pumping station, and probably moved Aldersea's engine, originally under the Grand bridge, to the mill site soon afterwards.⁹⁹

In 1844 the Johnson family, millers for much of the 18th and 19th centuries, unsuccessfully claimed the freehold: the property then comprised a house and corn mill in Old Woodstock, and, across the mill stream, a house, mill, and water-engine in the park.¹ The mill was still described as a corn mill in the 1870s² but in 1888 was converted into cottages; a new wheel was inserted c. 1890, presumably for the water

pumps which continued in use until the 1930s.³ The wheel was removed c. 1965, but pumps survive and may include parts from Aldersea's original engine.⁴

Liberty of fishing the Glyme from the mill as far upstream as Stratford bridge was recorded from the mid 16th century, when Thomas Ashe held it from the Crown for 5s. a year.⁵ Thereafter the fishery was leased sometimes with the mill, sometimes separately.⁶ After the duke of Marlborough bought the mill and fishery in 1720 he and his successors seem to have kept the fishery in hand.⁷

CHURCH. Although Old Woodstock lay in Wootton parish, inhabitants usually attended Woodstock church for convenience.⁸ In 1878 part of Old Woodstock was transferred to the ecclesiastical parish of Bladon and the hamlet provided with a mission room, apparently in Old Woodstock school; services there were attended by Woodstock people during the restoration of Woodstock church. The room remained in use until the building in 1886 of St. Andrew's mission chapel on land bought from Balliol College. The chapel, promoted by the Revd. Arthur Majendie, rector of Bladon, and financed principally by local contributions, was designed by Charles Blomfield.⁹ It is a plain stone building with lancet windows and a west bell turret. It was out of use by 1932,¹⁰ and was sold in 1971; it was empty in 1989 when local people were attempting to save a glass mosaic reredos given in 1896 by Mrs. Dulcibella Majendie.¹¹

NONCONFORMITY. Old Woodstock houses licensed for nonconformist meetings included, in 1737, a farmhouse occupied by William Wise.¹² William Creek's house, probably at the Bank, was registered in 1820, and Timothy Hunt's, later no. 46 Hill Rise, in 1821 and 1840. George Webley, like Hunt a glover from Worcester, took a leading part in the registration of meeting houses not only in Old Woodstock but also in Wootton.¹³ The nearest chapels were at Woodstock and Wootton.

EDUCATION. Boarding schools kept at Manor Farm in the later 18th century and early 19th¹⁴ are unlikely to have been patronized by

⁸⁸ P.R.O., SC 6/963/11, 12.

⁸⁹ e.g. *Issues of Exch. 44 Edw. III*, ed. F. Devon, 478.

⁹⁰ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/2886.

⁹¹ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, ff. 2–14v.

⁹² *Cal. Pat.* 1563–6, 474.

⁹³ P.R.O., SC 6/Eliz. I/1825; *Cal. Pat.* 1563–6, 474.

⁹⁴ P.R.O., E 178/1824.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., Dil. V/a/2. ⁹⁶ P.R.O., E 101/671/11.

⁹⁷ Blenheim Mun., box 138; P.R.O., C 104/109, loose note re mills and fishery.

⁹⁸ Blenheim Mun., boxes 136, 138.

⁹⁹ Above, Woodstock, Local Govt., Public Health and Services; below, Blenheim, Pk. from 1705.

¹ Blenheim Mun., box 138.

² O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 edn.); Borough Mun. 90, pp. 340–1.

³ Blenheim Mun., misc. box 2, no. 141; misc. box 7, no. 103; *Oxonensis*, v. 171.

⁴ County Mus., P.R.N. 300: plans.

⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1563–6, 474.

⁶ P.R.O., C 104/109, note re mills and fishery; Blenheim Mun., box 138.

⁷ Blenheim Mun., box 138.

⁸ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 39; Westgate Libr., Woodstock and Wootton par. reg. transcripts.

⁹ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 344, ff. 59–60; c 2208, no. 18; Bodl. MS. Dep. c 380, item e, p. 42; Balliol Coll. Mun., Misc. Bursary Papers 1308, letter of 20 June 1922; *Oxf. Jnl.* 27 Nov., 11 Dec. 1886. The date 1876 given in *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 279 is in error.

¹⁰ F. Bevan, 'Social Conditions in Woodstock Forty Years Ago' (TS. 1972 in Woodstock Boro. Mun.), 8.

¹¹ Inf. from Dr. M. J. Marples, Old Woodstock.

¹² O.R.O., Cal. Q. Sess. VIII, p. 807; above, Woodstock, Prot. Nonconf.

¹³ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 644, ff. 215, 232, 256; c 646, f. 130.

¹⁴ Above, Woodstock, Educ.

Old Woodstock children, who probably attended schools in Woodstock; Wootton was considered too far for children to travel.¹⁵ In 1870 W. B. Lee, rector of Wootton, and his sister-in-law Jane D'Oyley built Old Woodstock infant school, which opened in 1871 with an attendance of 24 children, allegedly 'very backward'; the attendance rose to 51 within a year. Older children went to Woodstock. Miss D'Oyley, who remained a school manager until her death in 1900, underwrote the school's

expenses, which were only slightly offset by government grant and school pence; the remainder was met by contributions raised by her and by the rent from two nearby cottages.¹⁶ Attendances still averaged 40–50 a year in the late 19th century and earlier 20th,¹⁷ but falling rolls led to the school's closure in 1932, and the children were transferred to Woodstock.¹⁸ The school was used as a village hall from c. 1940 until 1974, when it was converted into a private house.¹⁹

BLLENHEIM

Blenheim parish lies c. 8 miles (12 km.) north-west of Oxford, adjoining the west side of Woodstock.²⁰ In origin it was Woodstock Park, an ancient royal hunting reserve granted with Woodstock manor by Queen Anne in 1705 to John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, to honour his victory at the battle of Blenheim. Granted with the park were the king's houses (sometimes called the royal palace or manor house of Woodstock), demolished soon afterwards.²¹ The duke's new house there was called first Blenheim House then Blenheim Palace and the park became Blenheim Park.

Woodstock Park was extra-parochial, its tithes having been granted to Godstow abbey, allegedly in the 12th century.²² After the Dissolution the Crown granted the tithes to George Owen, the king's physician, whose son George sold them in 1612 to John Whitton; they were then held by the Whittons, comptrollers of the park, until William Whitton sold them to the duke in 1705. In 1860 they were formally merged in the land.²³ Under an Act of 1857 the extra-parochial area was deemed a civil parish, Blenheim Park;²⁴ it comprised 2,269 a., although the park itself was slightly larger, having taken in land from adjacent parishes.²⁵ In 1897 the parish was extended to the line of the park wall near Seven Arches Bridge, taking in c. 1 a. from Woodstock borough.²⁶ In 1954 a new civil parish, Blenheim, was created by adding to the former Blenheim Park parish 40 a. at the south-east corner of the park, including land outside the walls, all formerly part of Hensington Without. The new parish comprised 2,310 a. (935 ha.) and included all the park except an area in the south-east around the Lince which remained in Bladon.²⁷

Blenheim parish is divided by the river Glyme, dammed in the 18th century to form a great lake, the centrepiece of Lancelot Brown's landscape design. East of the Glyme, Lower Park rises gently from c. 250 ft. (76 m.) near the southern boundary with Bladon to c. 315 ft. (96 m.) near the palace. West of the Glyme the park comprises three main areas: the lowest is at the south end, where the land between Spring Lock Lodge and the Lince occupies a peninsula between the Glyme and the river Evenlode; on rising ground to the north is High Park, which reaches c. 380 ft. (116 m.) near High Lodge and is divided from Great Park on the north by a steep dry valley, penetrated at its south-eastern end by an arm of the lake; Great Park is a wide, open plateau rising near the centre to c. 364 ft. (111 m.), its boundaries following a dry valley on the west but elsewhere unaffected by natural features. Towards its eastern edge Great Park is cut by another dry valley which forks north of Fishery Cottage.

Most of the park lies on rocks of the Great Oolite series;²⁸ Great Park is predominantly White Limestone but its central and highest part between Park Farm and Grim's ditch is capped by Forest Marble. Lower Park and the southern peninsula are mostly Forest Marble, with White Limestone on the slopes of the valley and outcrops of Lower Cornbrash south of the palace and along the eastern edge of the park south of Hensington gate. High Park is fringed with Lower Cornbrash but its highest part is Oxford Clay of the Upper Jurassic, with a superficial deposit of clayey gravel, the Plateau Drift, providing a water table between High Lodge and Combe gate. While High Park has remained wood pasture dominated by ancient oaks, else-

¹⁵ Balliol Coll. Mun. A.22.37; *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 284.

¹⁶ P.R.O., ED 7/169.232; O.R.O., T SL 62, i, pp. 1, 237; *Public Elem. Schs.*, [C. 1882], pp. 216–17, H.C. (1877), lxvii; Westgate Libr., Wood. d 372: newspaper cutting, 1974.

¹⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1895 and later edns.).

¹⁸ O.R.O., T/SL 62, ii, p. 181.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Misc. Budd V/5(cf); Westgate Libr., Wood. d 372.

²⁰ O.S. Map 1/25,000, SP 41/51 (1982 edn.). The principal modern maps used were O.S. Maps 1/10,000, SP 41, NW., NE., SW. (1979–80 edns.); O.S. Maps 6" SP 41, NW., NE., SW. (1955 edn.); O.S. Maps 6", Oxon. XXVI (1876 and later edns.).

²¹ Below, Woodstock Manor; King's Hos.

²² *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226–57, 128; 1300–26, 329–30; *Godstow*

Eng. Reg. ed. A. Clark (E.E.T.S.), ii, pp. 667, 671–2; *Rot. Parl.* i. 331.

²³ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 178; Blenheim Mun., box 130; *ibid.* shelf G 1, misc. box 10, abstract of deeds re Woodstock incumbrances.

²⁴ Relief of Poor Act, 20 Vic., c. 19; *Pars. of Eng. and Wales*, H.C. 114, pp. 342–3 (1867–8), liii.

²⁵ O.S. *Area Bk.* (1877); below, Park to 1705.

²⁶ *Census*, 1901; Loc. Govt. Bd. Order 35, 928; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876, 1899 edns.).

²⁷ *Census*, 1961.

²⁸ Description based on Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid and drift, sheet 236 (1938 edn.); *Blenheim: Landscape for a Palace*, ed. J. Bond and K. Tiller, 5–12; W. J. Arkell, 'Geol. map of Blenheim', in D. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 293–5.

where large areas of park were turned to pasture and arable, the White Limestone and Forest Marble providing soils ranging from stony brash to friable loam, but generally suitable for corn-growing. Stone was dug in the park from an early date, and there are many abandoned quarries, of which the largest is in Great Park near Icehouse Clump. In the Middle Ages the stone was used for the park walls and other buildings; the builders of Blenheim Palace found no free-stone of sufficient quality in the park, but used the quarries for rubble and lime.²⁹

The parish contains well preserved signs of early occupation.³⁰ At the north end is a section of the north Oxfordshire Grim's ditch, a system of earthworks possibly marking a Belgic frontier of the 1st century. Running across the north end of Great Park, and apparently aligned on a gap in the section of Grim's ditch, is Akeman Street, which connected St. Albans and Cirencester and was one of the principal Roman roads of the south Midlands. Romano-British pottery and coinage has been found in concentrations that suggest possible settlements near Ditchley gate, south-east of Furze Platt, and north-west of Rosamond's well. Roman coins were discovered on the site of the king's houses, which stood on the edge of the Glyme valley opposite the present palace, and were probably established by the 10th century.³¹ In the later 18th century a burial site of unknown date containing a 'vast quantity' of bones, was discovered on the 'brow of the hill' north-east of Combe Bottom (the western arm of the great lake).³²

From the early Middle Ages the park supported a resident population in the main house and in outlying lodges and gatehouses. Large variations in population in the 19th century reflected the presence or absence of the ducal family as well as changes in staffing policy. In 1811 there were 121 residents, but in 1831, when George, the 5th duke, was in reduced circumstances, only 83. Numbers rose in the later 19th century, when there were c. 25 houses and lodges in the parish. In 1901 the resident population was 164 and throughout the 20th century was usually between 110 and 130.³³

A vestry was held for the parish, meeting annually in the 1880s in the estate office, chiefly to elect two overseers and a waywarden. From 1894 the vestry was replaced by an annual parish meeting.³⁴

WOODSTOCK MANOR. The medieval king's houses and park at Woodstock formed part of a conglomerate royal manor. Woodstock manor and its members, sometimes described as

an honor,³⁵ comprised several contiguous royal estates 'commonly called the demesnes of Woodstock',³⁶ sharing customs usually associated with ancient demesne and administered from the manor house in Woodstock Park. The 'demesne towns' were Bladon, Combe, Hanborough, Hordley, Stonesfield, Wootton, and, from the 16th century, Old Woodstock, which earlier had been treated as part of Wootton. The borough of New Woodstock, created out of Bladon parish in the 12th century, was for long answerable to the bailiffs and farmers of Woodstock manor, but finally achieved independence; the park, although usually held with the manor, acquired separate officers and administration. The formation of Woodstock manor was gradual: of its constituents only Wootton, with its hamlets of Hordley and Old Woodstock, may be identified with certainty as a pre-Conquest royal estate, and even that passed out of royal hands until 1233;³⁷ the other demesne towns had escheated to the Crown by the late 12th century.³⁸

In the 12th and 13th centuries arrangements for administering the manor and its dependents varied. In the 1190s Combe, Hanborough, Stonesfield, and Hordley paid a farm to the custodian of Woodstock manor, but later the same four estates were directly administered by the sheriff, Fawkes de Breauté, who was answerable in 1224 for stock and implements there acquired with Woodstock manor.³⁹ Bladon was granted for life to various royal officers for much of the 13th century, while Hanborough was sometimes granted at farm to royal officials, was sometimes, as in the 1240s, administered directly with Woodstock manor, and for much of the late 13th century and early 14th formed part of the dower of successive queens. Wootton and the associated Wootton hundred were treated similarly. Combe was held with Stonesfield at a combined farm in the late 12th century, but was directly accounted for by the keeper or bailiff of Woodstock manor for most of the 13th century and early 14th. The farms of Hordley and Stonesfield were for long held by the men of those villis.⁴⁰

In the 1230s the manor and park were held with Hanborough, Combe, Stonesfield, Hordley, and Barrington (Glos.) at the 'old farm' of Richard I's time of £39 4s., from which £15 was allowed for the custody of the king's houses and park; the newly escheated Wootton and Wootton hundred were added in 1233 for a farm of c. £25.⁴¹ In the 1240s, however, the bailiffs of Woodstock manor answered in the Exchequer merely for the farms and court profits of New Woodstock, Hordley, and Stonesfield, but in full detail for the park and king's houses and the

²⁹ e.g. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 56-7.

³⁰ Archaeol. finds summarized in *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 15-21.

³¹ Below, King's Hos.

³² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 197; cf. *ibid.* c 351, ff. 261-2.

³³ *Census*, 1801-1981.

³⁴ Blenheim Mun., shelf B 5, vestry min. bk. 1886-1938.

³⁵ e.g. Duke of Marlborough Estate Act, 3 & 4 Anne, c. 4 (printed as c. 6 in *Statutes at Large*); cf. A. Ballard, 'Woodstock manor in 13th cent.' *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, vi. 424 sqq.

³⁶ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, ff. 14-20v.: survey of 1551 (headed 1545). Other copies in Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 61, ff. 131-46; Blenheim Mun., box 132.

³⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 264-5.

³⁸ Ballard, 'Woodstock manor', 429-30.

³⁹ *Pipe R.* 1194 (P.R.S. N.S. v), 16; *ibid.* 1195 (P.R.S. N.S. vi), 38; *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i. 593.

⁴⁰ Above, Bladon, Manor; Combe, Manor; Hanborough, Manor; *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 185, 265.

⁴¹ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, 174; *Ex. e Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.), i. 254.

directly administered Hanborough, Combe, Bladon, and Wootton.⁴² In 1251 a new policy was tried, whereby the constituents of the manor were granted at farm for 6 years to various individuals or groups: John of Hanborough, keeper of the king's houses, for example, shared with Peter of Leigh the farm of Bladon, Combe, Hanborough, and Stonesfield. The total farm was much increased to £180, including the farm of the royal manor of Bloxham but excluding the park.⁴³ In the 1260s arrangements were similar to those of the 1240s, but later in the century Bladon and Hanborough ceased to be accountable to the Crown. Again in the early 14th century the bailiff of Woodstock was answerable for the farms only of Hordley and Stonesfield but in detail for Bladon, Wootton, and Combe, as well as the borough, the king's houses, and the park.⁴⁴

In 1194 William de Sainte-Mère-Eglise, a royal clerk and later bishop of London,⁴⁵ was accountable for Woodstock manor, but William de Breteuil held the house and park with its allowance of £15 a year; from 1195 William de Breteuil accounted in person for the whole manor.⁴⁶ Geoffrey Savage succeeded him in the house and park in 1202, and in the manor in 1203.⁴⁷ From 1204 until 1216 the manor and park were in the custody of the prominent royal official, John FitzHugh,⁴⁸ and thereafter until 1236 they were held with the county and Oxford castle by successive sheriffs.⁴⁹ Later keepers or bailiffs of Woodstock manor, such as William of St. Owen (from 1242), John le Poure (in the 1260s), and Richard Chamber (early 14th century),⁵⁰ may have been royal clerks; some, such as Walter of Tew (from 1236),⁵¹ John of Hanborough (in the 1250s),⁵² Robert le Eyr (in the 1260s),⁵³ and Ralph Mauduit (in the 1270s)⁵⁴ seem to have had strong local connexions.

In 1313 Woodstock manor was granted in dower to Queen Isabella,⁵⁵ the grant expressly mentioned Wootton and Wootton hundred, but all the demesne towns except Hanborough seem to have been included. The grant was confirmed in 1318, when the farm was £100.⁵⁶ In 1317 Isabella appointed a keeper or bailiff of the manor,⁵⁷ but she was deprived of her estates in 1324 and Woodstock was granted to Walter Beauchamp at the farm of £100.⁵⁸ Even though Hanborough was separately farmed it was by

then considered one of the members of Woodstock manor.⁵⁹ In 1330 William de Montagu, later earl of Salisbury, was granted Woodstock manor with the addition of Hanborough, for which the total farm was £127 16s. 6d.,⁶⁰ a sum unchanged until the later 15th century.

In 1344 Robert de Ferrers was granted Woodstock and Hanborough for life, and in 1349 Robert de Elmrugge, king's yeoman, was granted Woodstock and in 1352 Woodstock and Hanborough.⁶¹ At his death in 1375 he was succeeded by Philip la Vache,⁶² who was confirmed in his keepership in 1379 at the old farm, even though a survey had valued the manor at c. £217.⁶³ From 1382 the manor formed part of the dowry of Queen Anne, and in 1403 it was assigned in dower to Queen Joan, but the rights of Philip la Vache as keeper were preserved.⁶⁴ In 1408 Joan granted the keepership to John Norbury and William Wilcotes (d. 1410), and in 1411 Joan granted Woodstock to her esquire, Thomas Chaucer, Speaker of the House of Commons (d. 1434).⁶⁵ John Golafre, long associated with lesser offices within the manor, succeeded as farmer.⁶⁶ On the death of Queen Joan in 1437 the king granted Woodstock to his uncle, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (d. 1447), who was succeeded in turn by William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk (d. 1450), and Ralph Boteler, Lord Sudeley. In 1457 Woodstock was regranted jointly to Ralph and to John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury.⁶⁷

When Edward IV came to the throne in 1461 he granted Woodstock to his kinsman George Neville, bishop of Exeter and later archbishop of York, to whom it was confirmed by Henry VI in 1470.⁶⁸ From Neville's fall in 1472 Woodstock was placed in the care of Richard Croft as 'receiver and approver'.⁶⁹ In 1475 the manor was granted for 7 years to Queen Elizabeth and others, and has not been traced thereafter until granted in 1486 to Richard Croft.⁷⁰ In 1495 it was confirmed for a term of 15 years from 1492 to Edmund Hampden, who in 1486 had been rewarded for his services to Henry VII by a grant of the stewardship and other offices at Woodstock.⁷¹

From 1508 the keepership of the manor was committed for 15 years to Sir Edward Chamberlain of Shirburn (d. 1543), to whom it was confirmed for 30 years in 1521.⁷² Like the

⁴² P.R.O., SC 6/962/4.

⁴³ *Cal. Pat.* 1247-58, 87.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., SC 6/962/5-22; SC 6/963/13-14.

⁴⁵ *D.N.B.*

⁴⁶ *Pipe R.* 1194 (P.R.S. N.S. v), 15-16; 1195 (P.R.S. N.S. vi), 38; *Chanc. R.* 1196 (P.R.S. N.S. vii), 201-3.

⁴⁷ *Pipe R.* 1202 (P.R.S. N.S. xv), 205; *ibid.* 1203 (P.R.S. N.S. xvi), 188.

⁴⁸ *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i. 167, 272; e.g. *Pipe R.* 1206 (P.R.S. N.S. xx), 125; 1214 (P.R.S. N.S. xxxv), 118, 123. For FitzHugh's career see *Interdict Docs.* (P.R.S. N.S. xxxiv), 12-14.

⁴⁹ e.g. *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i. 272, 351, 400, 593; ii. 92; *Pat. R.* 1216-25, 524; 1225-32, 455; *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, 174; *Cal. Pat.* 1232-47, 16.

⁵⁰ P.R.O., SC 6/962/4-5; SC 6/963/13-14.

⁵¹ *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* (Rec. Com.), i. 1.

⁵² *Cal. Pat.* 1245-58, 87.

⁵³ P.R.O., SC 6/962/6-7. For le Eyr's grange in Eynsham, above, Eynsham, Econ.

⁵⁴ P.R.O., SC 6/962/9-10. The Mauduits held land in

Tackley and Wootton: *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 200, 268.

⁵⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, 5.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 1317-21, 115.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 34.

⁵⁸ *Cal. Fine R.* 1319-27, 318.

⁵⁹ *Rot. Parl.* i. 424-5.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Fine R.* 1327-37, 215.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 1337-47, 391, 394; 1347-56, 138, 343.

⁶² *Ibid.* 1369-77, 293-4. ⁶³ *Cal. Pat.* 1377-81, 341.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 1381-5, 528; 1401-5, 234-5, 272.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 1408-13, 144, 283, 298; *D.N.B.*

⁶⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1436-41, 77.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*; *ibid.* 1452-61, 76, 340, 391.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 1461-7, 25, 151-2; 1567-77, 244.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 1467-77, 364, 573-4; B. P. Wolffe, *Crown Lands*, 108-10; P.R.O., SC 6/963/11.

⁷⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1467-77, 543, 567; *Cal. Fine R.* 1485-1509, p. 30.

⁷¹ *Cal. Fine R.* 1485-1509, p. 232; *Cal. Pat.* 1485-94, 110; *Rot. Parl.* vi. 462.

⁷² *Cal. Fine R.* 1485-1509, p. 405; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, v, p. 14. For Chamberlain see *Par. Colln.* iii. 352.

stewardship, it presumably passed through Edward's son Sir Leonard (d. 1561) to his grandson Francis,⁷³ who was farmer until at his death in 1570.⁷⁴ The manor and stewardship were then granted to the courtier and poet Edward Dyer (d. 1607).⁷⁵ Dyer retained the keepership into the 17th century, perhaps until his death, but seems to have assigned the responsibility for Woodstock to Thomas Peniston, who acquired the reversion of the manor in 1571 and was called deputy lieutenant, and then to Sir Henry Lee of Ditchley (d. 1611), who had acquired Peniston's interests by 1573.⁷⁶

In 1611 the manor was assigned to Henry, prince of Wales (d. 1612), and in 1617 to Charles, prince of Wales,⁷⁷ but Philip Herbert, earl of Montgomery and later of Pembroke (d. 1650), who had held the reversion of the stewardship since 1604, was farmer and keeper during that period;⁷⁸ in 1626 he was formally granted the manor.⁷⁹ During the Civil War Philip supported parliament, and in 1643 the king seems to have granted Woodstock to Montagu Bertie, earl of Lindsey, but Philip resumed his rights in 1646.⁸⁰ By 1649 it was intended to sell off Woodstock along with other royal estates,⁸¹ and from then until 1652 the manorial courts were held for commissioners for the sale of Crown lands.⁸² In 1652 Woodstock manor, the king's houses, the park, and Wootton hundred were sold to Griffith Lloyd of St. Ives (Hunts.) and others,⁸³ probably acting for Lt.-Gen. Charles Fleetwood, who was lord of the manor 1652–9.⁸⁴

At the Restoration Montagu Bertie, earl of Lindsey, regained the manor.⁸⁵ At his death in 1666 it was granted to Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, after whose fall it was granted to John, Lord Lovelace, in 1668, and to his son and heir John in 1670.⁸⁶ In 1675 the reversion was granted to the trustees of Edward Henry Lee, earl of Lichfield, and his wife Charlotte, daughter of Charles II.⁸⁷ Lovelace's custody of the manor was confirmed in 1676, but for political reasons his patents were revoked in favour of the Lichfields in 1679.⁸⁸ In 1690 the Lichfields' custody of the manor was challenged unsuccessfully by Thomas, later Lord Wharton.⁸⁹

The Lichfields settled the manor on Benedict Leonard Calvert, later Lord Baltimore, on his marriage to their daughter Charlotte in 1699.⁹⁰ Although courts continued to be held in the name of the Lichfields' trustees it was Calvert who received compensation when parliament granted the honor and manor of Woodstock to John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, in 1705.⁹¹

The grant was in recognition of the victory at Blenheim on 13 August 1704. The manor was to be held of the queen in free socage by service of presenting at Windsor Castle, on the anniversary of the battle, a standard bearing the fleur-de-lys of France.⁹² Supplementary Acts conferred the estate on the duke's heirs general, barred entail, and confirmed an annual pension of £5,000 from the Post Office revenue, which was commuted in 1884.⁹³ After the duke's death in 1722 Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, retained a life interest in the estate until 1744, while the title passed to the duke's eldest daughter Henrietta Godolphin, *suo jure* duchess of Marlborough (d. 1733), and then to Henrietta's nephew Charles Spencer (d. 1758), conventionally regarded as the 3rd duke. He was succeeded by his son George Spencer, the 4th duke (d. 1817), whose son George, the 5th duke, took the additional surname Churchill in 1817 and died in 1840. Thereafter the manor descended from father to son, through George, 6th duke (d. 1857), John Winston, 7th duke (d. 1883), George Charles, 8th duke (d. 1892), Charles Richard John, 9th duke (d. 1934), John Albert Edward William, 10th duke (d. 1972), to John George Vanderbilt Henry, 11th duke.⁹⁴

OFFICERS. From the early 14th century various lesser offices within Woodstock manor and park became the subject of direct Crown grants; the most important were the office of steward or lieutenant of the manor, and that of comptroller and surveyor, treated elsewhere.⁹⁵ The stewardship may perhaps be traced to 1334 when John of Hanborough, rector of Bladon, was appointed to look after the king's houses, the stud, and the park, and to pay various minor officers, receiving £5 a year from the farmer.⁹⁶ Until 1705 a

⁷³ e.g. *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, v, p. 457; *Cal. Pat.* 1554–5, 266. For Sir Leonard, *Hist. Parl. Commons*, 1509–58, i. 616–17. For the stewardship, below.

⁷⁴ P.R.O., SC 6/Eliz. I/1825. For the later Chamberlains, *V.C.H. Oxon.* viii. 184.

⁷⁵ O.R.O., Dil. V/a/2; *D.N.B.* Cf. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1595–7, 148, where the grant to Dyer is repeated and misdated.

⁷⁶ O.R.O., Dil. V/a/2; P.R.O., E 178/1824; *Cal. Pat.* 1572–5, 291; *Hist. Parl. Commons*, 1558–1603, iii. 197; E. K. Chambers, *Sir Henry Lee*, 82 and *passim*.

⁷⁷ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 174, 177.

⁷⁸ e.g. P.R.O., E 101/671/24.

⁷⁹ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1669–71, 845, citing earlier grant.

⁸⁰ *Complete Peerage*, viii. 19; x. 415–19; *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1672–5, 486; Blenheim Mun., B/M/208: ct. rolls 1618–59.

⁸¹ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 205–6. For surveys of 1649 and 1650, Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 85, ff. 1–8; P.R.O., E 320/Z 23; *ibid.* E 317/Oxon.12.

⁸² Blenheim Mun., B/M/208.

⁸³ P.R.O., C 54/3690, no. 7; *ibid.* E 320/Z 23. Cf. Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 209–10, which dates the sale wrongly on the basis of later evidence.

⁸⁴ Blenheim Mun., B/M/208. In 1653 he was stated to be the purchaser of Woodstock manor: P.R.O., E 317/Oxon.7.

⁸⁵ Blenheim Mun., B/M/208.

⁸⁶ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1665–6, 587; 1666–7, 73; 1667–8, 245, 394; 1670, 453, 476. For accts. during Clarendon's keepership, *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1669–72, 543; P.R.O., C 104/109.

⁸⁷ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1672–5, 818.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 1676–9, 228; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1675–6, 473; 1679–80, 56; *Complete Peerage*, viii. 232–4.

⁸⁹ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1689–92, 860, 870; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1690–1, 73; P.R.O., C 104/109, copy of order of 10 July 1690.

⁹⁰ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 268–70; *Complete Peerage*, i. 393–4.

⁹¹ Blenheim Mun., B/M/211; *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1704–5, 510–11; Duke of Marlborough Estate Act, 3 & 4 Anne, c. 4; *Hist. MSS. Com.* 17, *Ho. of Lds.*, n.s. vii, pp. 8–9: note of parl. proceedings and amendments.

⁹² D. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 232.

⁹³ 5 Anne, c. 3, c. 4; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 286.

⁹⁴ *Complete Peerage*, viii. 497–504.

⁹⁵ Below, Pk. to 1705. ⁹⁶ *Cal. Fine R.*, 1327–37, 409.

'patent fee' of £5 a year was paid to the lieutenant or steward,⁹⁷ whose chief responsibilities were probably holding courts and paying wages.

Several offices within the manor were sometimes held by one man, or within a family. In 1399 Richard Wyatt was steward, while John Wyatt held the comptrollership and lesser offices in the park.⁹⁸ Ralph Boteler, Lord Sudeley, was steward by the 1430s, long before acquiring the keepership in 1450.⁹⁹ Thomas Croft was briefly steward in 1467 and recovered the office in 1478,¹ while his brother Richard was comptroller and parker for many years before becoming receiver and approver in 1472.² In 1486 Edmund Hampden acquired the stewardship and most other offices held by the Crofts,³ and thereafter the stewardship was usually held with most of the principal park offices other than that of comptroller.⁴ For much of the 16th century the Chamberlain family combined the stewardship and the associated park offices with the keepership of the manor.⁵

During the keepership of Edward Dyer the stewards emerged as the principal officers of the manor: his deputy Thomas Peniston was an active and troublesome figure in the early 1570s,⁶ and it was as steward and parker, not as farmer of the manor or 'ranger', that Sir Henry Lee dominated affairs at Woodstock for over thirty years until his death in 1611.⁷ In 1604 Sir Philip Herbert was granted the reversion of the stewardship jointly with Sir James Hay,⁸ and presumably took up the office on Lee's death. Apparently Herbert later settled the stewardship on Robert Dormer, earl of Carnarvon (d. 1643), who married his daughter Anna Sophia in 1625, but a claim to the stewardship by Dormer's son, Charles, in 1660 was unsuccessful.⁹ After the Restoration the stewardship was held by successive keepers or farmers.¹⁰

By the later 17th century there was official confusion over the significance of the various manorial offices. The Treasury seems to have treated allowances once made to the farmer or keeper of the manor as an appurtenance of the lieutenancy, and indeed referred in error to the office of lieutenant of the park.¹¹ There was uncertainty, too, over the office of ranger of Woodstock Park, a creation of the early 17th

century.¹² In 1706 the title of 'lord warden of the bailiwick or honor of Woodstock within the forest of Wychwood', perhaps referring back to a short-lived bailiwick of Woodstock created c. 1638,¹³ was assigned to the duke of Marlborough to avoid his possible subjection to the officers of the forest.¹⁴

COURTS AND CUSTOMS. In the 13th century the profits of courts and views of frankpledge were recorded for each member of Woodstock manor, including Hordley,¹⁵ but by the mid 16th century Hordley and Old Woodstock (treated as an integral part of Wootton for most of the Middle Ages)¹⁶ shared a single court with Wootton.¹⁷ Court rolls for the whole of Woodstock manor survive from 1618 until courts ceased in 1925.¹⁸ A deputy steward, sometimes the town clerk of Woodstock or another resident lawyer,¹⁹ held and recorded all the courts, including those of the attached Wootton hundred, whether held in Woodstock itself or in the demesne towns. Usually a court leet and view was held in each town in the autumn or spring, and constables, tithingmen, and sometimes fieldsmen were appointed there. For each town the courts baron, by then concerned largely with transfers of copyhold, were called as required, meeting sometimes in local public houses, sometimes at the park gate; a court baron for Hanborough held in the great hall of the manor house in 1633 may have been exceptional.²⁰ By the 18th century the courts baron were sometimes called private courts, in contrast to the general courts leet held annually in the autumn.²¹ The hundredal courts meeting near Easter and Michaelmas in later times and known as Park Gate courts were survivors of the great hundreds of the Middle Ages when the sheriff viewed the frankpledge;²² a three-weekly hundred court, by then dealing mostly with small debts, survived into the early 18th century.²³ Courts baron and hundredal courts continued to meet in the lodge at the park gate until 1925.²⁴ Although in the 14th century the hundred court met in Old Woodstock,²⁵ the park gate referred to in later times was the main entrance to the town. The chamber over the gate, or an adjacent building, probably served as a court house, for when the entrance site was

⁹⁷ e.g. P.R.O., SC 6/962/24; *ibid.* E 101/670/15; O.R.O., Dil. XXI/16: accts. of manor 1679–84.

⁹⁸ P.R.O., SC 6/962/26–7.

⁹⁹ e.g. *ibid.* 963/4.

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77, 17; 1476–85, 75; *Rot. Parl.* (Rec. Com.), v. 588; cf. P.R.O., SC 6/963/9–11.

² *Cal. Pat.* 1461–7, 343; P.R.O., SC 6/963/8–12.

³ *Cal. Pat.* 1485–94, 110.

⁴ e.g. *ibid.* 1494–1509, 603; 1569–70, 17.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1494–1509, 603; 1554–5, 266; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, v, p. 457.

⁶ P.R.O., E 178/1824.

⁷ Cf. E. K. Chambers, *Sir Henry Lee*, 82 and *passim*. Chambers confuses the various offices, calling Lee 'ranger', for which, below, Pk. to 1705.

⁸ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1603–10, 152.

⁹ *Ibid.* 1660–1, 49–50; Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 193; *Complete Peerage*, iii. 44. Dormer was controlling the park in 1641: Woodstock Boro. Mun., 79, ff. 161, 164.

¹⁰ e.g. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1665–6, 587; 1666–7, 73; 1668, 245, 394; *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1669–72, 543.

¹¹ e.g. *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1669–72, 620, 845.

¹² Below, Pk. to 1705.

¹³ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637–8, 394; Bodl. MS. Ashmole 1763, ff. 45v–46; *ibid.* MS. Add. c 132, f. 76. Cf. Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 178–9, where a petition of c. 1640 is misdated to 1617.

¹⁴ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 258; P.R.O., CP 25(2)/956/East. 4 Anne; cf. *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1672–5, 818; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1679–80, 56.

¹⁵ P.R.O., SC 6/962/4 sqq.

¹⁶ Ballard 'Woodstock manor', 424–5.

¹⁷ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, ff. 14–20v.

¹⁸ Blenheim Mun., B/M/208–28.

¹⁹ e.g. Thos. Rawlins, Edm. Hiorne, town clerks, earlier 17th cent.; Hen. Beeston, recorder, earlier 18th cent.

²⁰ Blenheim Mun., B/M/208, f. 191v.

²¹ e.g. Blenheim Mun., B/M/212, pp. 19, 39.

²² *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 4. The views there expressed about the Park Gate cts. are modified below.

²³ Blenheim Mun., box 132, two min. bks. of hundred ct. 1684–c. 1714.

²⁴ *Ibid.* B/M/228; A. Ballard, *Chron. Woodstock*, 40 n.

²⁵ e.g. *Eynsham Cart.* ii, pp. 97–100.

redesigned in 1723 a new court house was built near the Triumphal Arch, probably on the site of the later Woodstock Lodge.²⁶

The demesne towns, with minor variations, enjoyed common customs and privileges.²⁷ Tenants of Woodstock manor were quit of toll in all fairs and markets, and were not to be impanelled on juries outside their liberties. Felons taken within the manor were to be delivered by local inhabitants only to the park gate, where responsibility would pass to the manorial steward. Free tenants were sued in the manor court by writ of right close, customary tenants by a plaint naming the action in the form of which they were to sue; the court then followed the procedure of the central courts, often leading to a formal recovery. Free land was quit of heriot and liable to relief of only one year's rent. It was devisable by will or before witnesses, provided that the transaction was enrolled in court within a year and a day; descent was to the heir as at common law, and widows received one third of the rent but no land in dower. Customary lands descended by borough English to the youngest son or daughter, who paid a relief of one year's rent; such lands passed by surrender or were devisable by will, and were subject to heriot but not dower, except by the husband's gift. Surrenders could take place out of court before two or three customary tenants,²⁸ provided that enrolment followed within a year and a day.

A third category of tenure within the manor was that of bury land, or former demesne, which was held for a money rent only and at will; of the demesne towns in 1551 only Stonesfield seems to have lacked such land. No rights were attached to bury tenure, except common on all the demesnes for the six weeks between Michaelmas and Martinmas.²⁹ Sir Leonard Chamberlain (d. 1561) and in the 1570s Sir Henry Lee ejected some bury tenants³⁰ who felt that by long custom their tenure was inviolable; in a petition to the Lord Treasurer they claimed that the bury land had been granted by a king (unnamed) to his tenants in compensation for an enlargement of Woodstock Park, and that thereafter, like customary land, it had descended to the youngest son or daughter. Sir Henry Lee produced evidence that in the past bury land had been kept in hand or let out at will by the farmers of the manor.³¹ In 1580 it was decided to grant the bury land in writing to the occupiers for reasonable fines.³² Bury land remained divided among tenants in the 17th century, and by then it was

accepted that it should be held as copyhold.³³

Tenants of the demesne towns were entitled to share in the common and waste throughout the manor, and also claimed common rights in Eynsham, in North and South Leigh, and in the assarts in Charlbury, Fawler, Ditchley, Kiddingington, Glympton, and North Leigh.³⁴ Some of the claims seem to be related to ancient grazing rights in Wychwood forest,³⁵ and in the 16th century several disputes over the commoning of Woodstock manorial tenants outside their liberties came before a forest court variously known as a 'swanymout' or 'swalmouth', perhaps a 'swinemoot'.³⁶ There is no record that Woodstock's claims in South Leigh, for example, were ever pressed, and in practice such rights were probably exercised mostly by nearby townships, as at Eynsham, where intercommoning by Hanborough men caused prolonged friction, and at North Leigh, where only the rights of Combe and Stonesfield men seem to have been at issue.³⁷ In 1723 tenants of the demesne towns complained to Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, that recent inclosure of assarts in Ditchley, Fawler, Kiddingington, and Glympton had deprived them of important common rights.³⁸ In the 16th century tenants had common in various coppices close to Woodstock Park, which were fenced for seven years after coppicing and then thrown open; by 1706, however, it was the practice to prevent commoning by coppicing more frequently.³⁹

The services of all customary tenants in the demesne towns included driving deer in Woodstock Park whenever a view was taken and carrying hay to the king's barn in the park from the royal meadows there.⁴⁰ The obligations upon individual demesne towns to perform services in the park and the king's houses are described elsewhere.⁴¹

THE KING'S HOUSES. Royal interest in the chase led to the establishment at Woodstock of a hunting lodge, presumably by the reign of Ethelred II (978–1016) when a witan was held 'at Woodstock in the land of the Mercians'.⁴² The building, if on the site of the later king's houses, stood on the west bank of the river Glyme, just within Wychwood forest⁴³ and probably within the bounds of a large pre-Conquest royal estate centred on Wootton.⁴⁴ Later, as the administrative centre of Woodstock manor, the king's houses were usually

²⁶ Below, Pk. from 1705.

²⁷ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, ff. 14–20v., repeated, with changes, in later surveys: e.g. P.R.O., E 317/Oxon./12; B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, ff. 2–13; survey of 1706, printed in Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 250–8. For customs of individual demesne towns, above, Combe, Local Govt.; Hanborough, Local Govt.

²⁸ e.g. Blenheim Mun., B/M/208, *passim*.

²⁹ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, ff. 14–20v.

³⁰ For Chamberlain's evictions, P.R.O., REQ 2/6/98.

³¹ B.L. Lansd. MS. 25, ff. 189v.–190, 196–197v.; *ibid.* 27, ff. 94v.–95. Copies in Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, ff. 120 sqq. Cf. E. K. Chambers, *Sir Henry Lee*, 92–4, where the tenants' complaint is related, probably in error, to Lee's enlargement of the park in 1576.

³² Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 3, copy of Exchequer

decree; *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 276.

³³ P.R.O., E 317/Oxon./12.

³⁴ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, ff. 14–20v.

³⁵ Cf. B. Schumer, *Evolution of Wychwood to 1400* (Leic. Univ. Loc. Hist. Dept. Occas. Pps. 3rd ser. 6), 41.

³⁶ P.R.O., E 321/37/8; O.R.O., Lee V/1.

³⁷ Above, Eynsham, Econ.; North Leigh, Econ.

³⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 132, loose pps.

³⁹ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, ff. 14–20v.; Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 257.

⁴⁰ Below, Pk. to 1705.

⁴¹ Above, Bladon, Econ.; Combe, Manor, Econ.; Hanborough, Econ.; below, Pk. to 1705; *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 273.

⁴² F. Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, i. 216.

⁴³ B. Schumer, *Evolution of Wychwood to 1400* (Leic. Univ. Local Hist. Dept. Occas. Pps. 3rd ser. 6), *passim*.

⁴⁴ Below, Pk. to 1705.

known as Woodstock Manor, although also called Woodstock castle⁴⁵ and, by later writers, the royal palace.

The early Norman kings visited Woodstock, and Henry I, to whom the creation of the park was attributed, made it the 'favourite seat of his retirement and privacy'.⁴⁶ His presence there also brought the household and the great men of the realm. Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, died there in 1123 while riding with the king, and peers sat there in judgement on Geoffrey de Clinton when he was accused of treason in 1130.⁴⁷ The Empress Maud was said to have built a castle at Woodstock, perhaps fortifying the existing buildings.⁴⁸ Henry II kept his mistress Rosamund Clifford there, and was said to have founded New Woodstock merely to provide lodgings for his court.⁴⁹ At Woodstock he received the homage of the rulers of Scotland and Wales in 1163. The assize of Woodstock concerning the forest was promulgated there in 1184, and there were important ecclesiastical councils in 1175 and 1184 and a royal wedding in 1186; Henry visited at least once in each of 13 other years.⁵⁰ King John was often there, and in 1205 made as many as six visits.⁵¹ Of his successors Henry III, to judge from the extent of his building works, was perhaps the most devoted to Woodstock. Having survived an assassination attempt there in 1238, he took measures to make the buildings more secure.⁵² Of many notable gatherings at Woodstock during his reign probably the largest was for the visit in 1256 of Alexander III, king of Scots, when guests were so numerous that tents had to be put up in the fields and extra lodgings provided in Oxford.⁵³ Edward I was a frequent visitor in the first two decades of his reign;⁵⁴ his youngest son, Edward 'of Woodstock', was born there in 1301, and his daughter Eleanor in 1306.

Although from the early 14th century the manor was granted to queens in dower or was held by farmers, the king's houses remained at the disposal of later medieval kings; all frequented Woodstock, and several royal children were born there, including Edward II's daughter Eleanor in 1318 and Edward III's children Edward the Black Prince in 1330, Isabella in 1332, and Thomas 'of Woodstock' in 1355.⁵⁵ Hunting was probably the major attraction, but

tournaments, too, were held there, as in 1355 on the occasion of the royal birth⁵⁶ and at Christmas 1389, during a visit by Richard II, when John, earl of Pembroke, was killed in a jousting accident.⁵⁷ The incidence of building work at the king's houses in the 15th century suggests that Henry VI and Edward IV maintained an interest in Woodstock,⁵⁸ and Henry VII ordered a major rebuilding. Henry VIII visited infrequently,⁵⁹ and Elizabeth, imprisoned there in 1554-5 in the custody of Sir Henry Bedingfield,⁶⁰ returned only in 1566, 1574, 1575, and 1592.⁶¹ James I, a keen sportsman, stayed there in most years of his reign: in the hot summer of 1612 the whole court was entertained in a house of green boughs built in the park.⁶² Charles I also stayed regularly and 'great multitudes flocked thither' to see him.⁶³ He found time to hunt there during the Civil War, when the manor house was a royalist garrison until it was surrendered after a short siege in April 1646.⁶⁴ The damage sustained by the house then and after a sale of materials during the Interregnum, together with a lack of interest in hunting, discouraged further royal visits. Charles II and the duke of York called briefly in 1663 and 1665, and James II in 1687;⁶⁵ when William III visited Woodstock in 1695 he stayed at John Cary's house in the town.⁶⁶

In the early Middle Ages works at the manor house were usually carried out by keepers of the king's houses or the bailiffs of the manor on the direct orders of royal officers.⁶⁷ Later, when held in dower by various queens, the manor house was repaired at their cost. When farmed, expenditure on works was allowed against the rent. Responsibility for maintenance usually fell upon a resident comptroller of works, but occasionally, when larger projects were in hand, *ad hoc* clerks of works were appointed by the Crown, and in the 16th century the clerk of the King's Works was sometimes involved.⁶⁸ For a time in the early 16th century and again from the late 16th century a mason was employed permanently.⁶⁹

Several early serjeanties were associated with the king's houses: a Hanborough serjeanty was held by service of guarding Woodstock for 40 days in time of war, and a hide in Ludwell (in Wootton parish) was held by serjeanty of tend-

⁴⁵ *King's Works*, ed. H. M. Colvin, iv. 552.

⁴⁶ e.g. *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* i, no. 188; *Gesta Stephani*, ed. K. R. Potter, 91.

⁴⁷ *A.-S. Chron.* ed. D. Whitelock (1961), 188; *Chron. Rog. Hoveden* (Rolls Ser.) i. 180, 185.

⁴⁸ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. Potter, 91. For another possible adulterine castle, however, above, Woodstock, Development.

⁴⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 839.

⁵⁰ R. W. Eyton, *Itin. of Hen. II*, *passim*.

⁵¹ *Itin.* prefaced to *Rot. Litt. Pat.* (Rec. Com.).

⁵² *Mat. Paris, Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 497; *King's Works*, ii. 1012.

⁵³ *Mat. Paris, Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v. 573-4.

⁵⁴ H. Gough, *Itin. of Edw. I*, *passim*.

⁵⁵ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 94 sqq.

⁵⁶ *Black Prince's Reg.* iv. 165.

⁵⁷ *Polychronicon Radulphi Higden* (Rolls Ser.), ix. 219-20.

⁵⁸ *King's Works*, ii. 1017.

⁵⁹ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 139-44.

⁶⁰ C. R. Manning, 'State papers concerning custody of

Queen Eliz.' *Norf. and Norwich Arch. Soc.* iv. 133-226; F. A. Mumby, *Girlhood of Queen Eliz.* 127-87.

⁶¹ J. Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Eliz.* (1823), *passim*; E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iv. 90, 92; *Camd. Misc.* vi (Camd. Soc [1st ser.], civ), 19-20, 23-4; P.R.O., SP 12/105, no. 38.

⁶² Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 172-4; J. Nichols, *Progresses of Jas. I* (1828), *passim*.

⁶³ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 182, 185-6, 191; *Crosfield's Diary*, ed. F. S. Boas, 65, 80, 90; *Hist. MSS. Com.* 22, 11th Rep. VII, *Leeds*, pp. 213, 219; *ibid.* 23, 12th Rep. I, *Cowper*, i, p. 437; *ibid.* 12th Rep. II, *Cowper*, ii, pp. 136, 287; *ibid.* 73, *Exeter*, p. 203.

⁶⁴ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 195; above, Woodstock, Intro.

⁶⁵ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 228, 244; *Hist. MSS. Com.* 5, 6th Rep. *Graham*, p. 336.

⁶⁶ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 446.

⁶⁷ e.g. *Cal. Lib.* 1226-40, *passim*.

⁶⁸ *King's Works*, ed. Colvin, ii. 1016, 1049; iv. 349, 351-2.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* iv. 351, 353-4.

ing the royal garden. Some Combe tenants were obliged to provide a truss of straw when the king visited Woodstock, and the lord of Combe was charged with ensuring that the jakes, privies, and chimneys were cleaned. The tenants of Hordley (in Wootton parish) were obliged to clean the king's houses before and after royal visits.⁷⁰

In the early 13th century a chaplain for Woodstock manor was paid 50 s. a year from the county farm, and additional clerks were paid for chanting on special occasions.⁷¹ By 1240 two chaplains were each paid 50s. by the farmer of Woodstock, and soon afterwards a third was appointed.⁷² From the 1290s until the later 15th century there were usually two chaplains, the fee rising by stages to £6 13s. 4d.; they had lodgings in the manor house and a fuel allowance, and were expected to reside.⁷³ By the mid 15th century the chaplains were appointed to the perpetual chantry of St. Mary to pray for the soul of the king and his progenitors.⁷⁴ By the 16th century there was only one chaplain, probably non-resident since royal visits decreased; some were local clergy, such as Thomas Elcock, appointed in 1572, who was rector of Bladon.⁷⁵ Until the Civil War the porter of the manor house was allowed £5 a year to provide a chaplain when required.⁷⁶

The king's houses were removed and the site levelled in the 18th century.⁷⁷ The site is marked by a memorial stone on the low hill immediately north-east of the Grand Bridge in Blenheim Park. It was protected on the east and south by the steep banks of the Glyme valley, and until the 18th century was approached by converging causeways, one crossing the valley directly from the town gate, another, further south, partially preserved as Queen Elizabeth's island in the upper lake.⁷⁸ In the 13th century the upper causeway divided the royal fishponds,⁷⁹ and the lower probably formed the southern dam of a stew called King's pool, which was drained in the 15th century.⁸⁰ The principal causeway was probably the lower: in the early 18th century it was the wider and probably carried wheeled traffic, which, because of the steepness of the valley, could not cross directly from the town.⁸¹ In the 1720s the lower causeway was rebuilt to form a dam and cascade for the shallow lake that preceded the present lake.⁸²

Henry II added a new chamber in 1176–7 and repaired the chapel in 1186, presumably for the wedding of William, king of Scots, to Ermen-garde de Beaumont. An aisled hall divided by stone piers, described in 1634,⁸³ was probably of the 12th century: an aisled hall was recorded in 1233 and John Aubrey c. 1670 remembered round-headed arches and zig-zag moulding.⁸⁴ Henry III's extensive building works at Woodstock included the addition of several chapels, including one for the queen, begun in 1238–9, which was a substantial building with an undercroft and crenellated walls. The great chapel used for the royal wedding in 1186⁸⁵ may have been the same as the round chapel mentioned in 1233;⁸⁶ the round chapel was probably that described in 1599, when it was evidently the principal chapel, as 'built in the Jewish fashion in a semi-circle',⁸⁷ suggesting a parallel with the 12th-century chapel at Ludlow. The only chapel windows seen by Aubrey were of the 13th century or early 14th, but may have been of another chapel that also survived into the 17th century.⁸⁸

The 13th-century buildings included a crenellated king's high chamber at one end of the hall. The hall and chamber were reached from the courtyard by a great staircase, which was given an elaborate porch in 1231–2; the porch, approached by 35 stone steps, survived in 1599.⁸⁹ During the 13th century separate and extensive suites of chambers and service rooms were built for the queen, who also had a high-walled garden and a herb garden for her to walk in near the king's stew.⁹⁰ The main buildings were grouped around two courtyards, with the entrance apparently on the west or south-west. The outbuildings included a great barn and, near the park gate,⁹¹ separate king's and queen's stables. Some buildings were adapted to the needs of government: many payments were made in the king's wardrobe there, and in 1240 an exchequer or counting house was ordered for the hall, displaying the verse *Qui non dat quod amat non accipit ille quod optat*. A building for the Chancellor and his clerks was maintained at royal expense outside the park on an unidentified site in Hensington; in 1232 Ralph Neville, the Chancellor, was given 40 oaks to complete his buildings there,⁹² and they were regularly repaired until 1286.⁹³

⁷⁰ V.C.H. Oxon. xi. 267, 273; above, Combe, Manor; Hanborough, Manor.

⁷¹ Rot. Litt. Claus. i. 460, 500; Marshall, Woodstock Manor, 375.

⁷² Cal. Lib. 1226–40, 384, 490; 1240–5, 75; 1245–51, 342; P.R.O., SC 6/962/4.

⁷³ e.g. P.R.O., SC 6/962/12, 22, 24, 27; SC 6/963/4; Cal. Close, 1441–7, 265, 327, 413; ibid. 1476–85, p. 259.

⁷⁴ e.g. Cal. Close, 1441–7, 265; 1468–76, p. 3.

⁷⁵ L. & P. Hen. VIII, ii (2), p. 1218; viii, p. 455; xiii, p. 243; Cal. Pat. 1555–7, p. 230; 1569–70, p. 420.

⁷⁶ P.R.O., E 317/Oxon. 12.

⁷⁷ Description based mainly on *King's Works*, ed. Colvin, ii. 1009–17; iv. 349–55.

⁷⁸ Plot, Nat. Hist. Oxon. (1677), pl. 1.

⁷⁹ e.g. Cal. Lib. 1240–5, 164. ⁸⁰ P.R.O., SC 6/963/2, 11.

⁸¹ Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719); Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 174. The idea, derived from Plot's view, that the road along the lower causeway ran south-eastwards across the park towards Oxford (*King's Works*, ii, pl. 72; *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 43) is not supported by the

map of 1719 or other evidence.

⁸² Below, Pk. from 1705.

⁸³ *Short Survey of 26 Counties*, ed. L. G. Wickham Legg, 118.

⁸⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. c 25, ff. 155v.–157; ibid. MS. Aubrey 16, f. 6.

⁸⁵ Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Regis Hen. II* (Rolls Ser.), i. 351. ⁸⁶ Cal. Lib. 1226–40, 196–7.

⁸⁷ *Thos. Platter's Travels in Eng.*, ed. Clare Williams, 221–2.

⁸⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. c 25, f. 156; *Short Survey of 26 Counties*, 119. ⁸⁹ *Thos. Platter's Travels*, 220.

⁹⁰ Cal. Lib. 1245–51, 292.

⁹¹ e.g. ibid. 1251–60, 175, 464.

⁹² *Close R.* 1231–4, 64, 392; cf. A. Stamp, 'Some notes on the Court and Chancery of Hen. III', *Hist. Essays in Honour of James Tait*, 308.

⁹³ e.g. Cal. Lib. 1251–60, 419; 1260–7, 13, 239, 276; 1267–72, 98, 132, 225; *Close R.* 1251–3, 44; 1254–6, 349–50; 1256–9, 144; 1264–8, 344; *Cal. Close*, 1279–88, 388; P.R.O., E 101/497/15; ibid. SC 6/962/6.

The spring and pond preserved as Fair Rosamund's well, west of the site of the king's houses, was the focus of a separate group of 12th-century buildings, called in the 13th century Everswell, but persistently associated with Henry II's mistress and later known as Rosamund's well or bower. Works at the spring were carried out in 1155–6, and Rosamund's chamber there was mentioned from the early 13th century; later the whole group of buildings was referred to as Rosamund's. In the 13th century the buildings stood within an enclosure entered through a gatehouse, and comprised, besides Rosamund's chamber, chambers for the king and queen, a chapel, cloistered pools, and gardens; a larger and smaller pool were mentioned in 1235–6, and in 1239 a great pool was added.⁹⁴ In the 17th century there were three linked pools below the spring, and a separate, larger pool.⁹⁵

Close parallels have been drawn between the circumstances of Henry II and Rosamund and the 12th-century romance *Tristan and Isolde*, with its setting of an enclosed garden, cloisters, and pools. It has been suggested that such a rural pavilion as Everswell, unique in England, may have followed Sicilian examples known to the Angevins. From the 14th century the legend of a maze or labyrinth 'of Daedalian workmanship' through which Rosamund was traced by the jealous Queen Eleanor was recorded in literary sources,⁹⁶ but no unusual structures were mentioned in building accounts. Later writers implied secret passages,⁹⁷ but a vaulted tunnel discovered nearby was almost certainly associated with water-supply to the king's houses.⁹⁸

The buildings at Rosamund's well continued to be used as a rural retreat by the court, and were maintained into the 16th century; a new chamber was built there in the 1360s, Rosamund's tower was repaired by Edward IV, and in 1571–2 a fallen building there was rebuilt in timber. In 1577 Sir Henry Lee held Rosamund's 'house' and a ruined dovecot there, but by 1599 only a few walls and doorways were standing.⁹⁹ In 1642 Aubrey saw substantial ruins, but they were slighted for defensive reasons during the Civil War, leaving only the ponds, the low walls of an inner and outer enclosure, and the ruins of a 'noble gatehouse' at the north-east corner. The surviving Rosamund's well was probably the uppermost of the three linked ponds.¹

The king's houses were repaired, sometimes extensively, throughout the Middle Ages, but few notable additions were made except for a

new tower over the king's chamber in the mid 15th century. Henry VII spent over £4,000 on works at Woodstock between 1494 and 1503, including major alterations to the hall, probably reroofing. Although not mentioned in accounts the large gatehouse, which contained some 14 rooms,² was attributed to Henry VII in an inscription, and he was said to have built the front and the outer court.³ He was probably also responsible for a tennis court mentioned in 1528 and repaved in 1541–2. Aubrey, from the ubiquity of shields and 'cognizances' of Henry VII found there, concluded that he had rebuilt much of the older structure.⁴

In 1498–9 a conduit was built to carry water to the king's houses in a vaulted tunnel. When the system was repaired in 1536 with lead taken from the dissolved priory of Canons Ashby (Northants.) it included pipes laid in the tunnel; others, encased in wood, were carried on stone piers across valleys in the park. The tunnel, which culminated in a cistern house, was given new vents to provide air for the men working within it. Presumably the conduit supplied the great fountain in the principal courtyard, mentioned in 1593–5, and the baths attributed to Henry VIII in 1599.⁵ Improvements to the conduit in 1623–4 included heightening a cistern near Rosamund's well and enlarging a 'force house'.

Later evidence suggests that the conduit approached the king's houses from the west or south-west. Aubrey, discussing the labyrinth at Rosamund's bower, claimed that a vented free-stone vault, still visible, led from the bower towards Combe church.⁶ What was presumably the same vault was described in the early 19th century as an arched and paved tunnel running from the site of the palace to the edge of Combe Bottom, the valley now partly occupied by the western arm of the lake. By then the tunnel contained no pipes and was considered to be associated with Rosamund's labyrinth.⁷ Almost certainly it was the remains of Henry VII's conduit, aligned towards Combe to tap springs on the high ground on the west side of the park, perhaps near the present High Lodge.⁸ The section of conduit raised on piers presumably crossed Combe Bottom.

In 1539 repairs to the manor house cost £200 but by 1551 it was said to have been 'for many years decayed and prostrated',⁹ reflecting diminishing royal interest. When Elizabeth I was taken there in 1554 only four rooms were prepared for her and only three doors could be made secure.¹⁰ Her rooms were evidently in the east range, not, as frequently stated, in the

⁹⁴ *Cal. Lib.* 1262–40, 414–15.

⁹⁵ Bodl. Wood 276 b, f. 43v., reproduced with a transcript of the key in H. M. Colvin, 'Royal Gardens in Medieval Eng.' *Medieval Gardens*, ed. E. B. MacDougall (Dumbarton Oaks Research Libr. and Colln. 1986), fig. 6, and p. 22.

⁹⁶ *Works of Mic. Drayton*, ed. J. W. Hebel, v. 102.

⁹⁷ e.g. *Thos. Platter's Travels*, 222; Bodl. Wood 276 b, f. 43v.

⁹⁸ Below.

⁹⁹ B.L. Lansd. MS. 25, f. 191 and v.; *Thos. Platter's Travels*, 222.

¹ Bodl. Wood 276 b, f. 43v.

² P.R.O., E 351/3363. Duplicate copy in Blenheim Mun., shelf B 5.

³ I. Wake, *Rex Platonicus* (1607), 6.

⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. c 25, f. 164.

⁵ P.R.O., E 351/3363; *Thos. Platter's Travels*, 221.

⁶ Bodl. Wood 276 b, f. 43v.

⁷ *Ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, ff. 261–3.

⁸ For the water table near High Lodge see *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 11.

⁹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), p. 48; B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, ff. 14–20v.

¹⁰ F. A. Mumby, *Girlhood of Queen Eliz.* 133.

gatehouse; her graffiti scratched on a window were an object of curiosity by 1600.¹¹ The manor house was repaired sporadically, notably in 1593–5 when Sir Henry Lee's repairs included c. 90 chimneys, in 1608–9, and in 1623–4.¹² Most expenditure at Woodstock in the earlier 17th century was on the park.

By then the house occupied a site of over 3 a., and was built around three courtyards, of which the principal or great court, entered through a gatehouse in the west range, covered $\frac{3}{4}$ a.¹³ Its north, west, and south sides included chambers known respectively as the prince's, the Lord Treasurer's, and the comptroller's lodgings; the east range contained the hall, chapel, and bishop's lodgings, and north of the hall were the presence chamber, council chamber, and the privy lodgings. The last, which probably stretched into the small conduit or wardrobe court ($\frac{1}{2}$ a.), contained separate king's and queen's suites, including another chapel and Queen Elizabeth's chamber. The wardrobe court, which contained a second fountain, included the Lord Chamberlain's lodgings and the wardrobe. There was a kitchen or pastry court, a privy garden surrounded by buildings and accessible by a stair from the privy lodgings, and on the south side of the manor house a large garden called Lockley green. The tennis court, reroofed in 1593–5, was on the east side, and on the west was Lodge green, on which presumably stood High Lodge, demolished with other outbuildings during the Civil War.¹⁴

A palisaded curtain embankment was built to protect the manor house during the Civil War.¹⁵ Although fired upon during the siege the house was judged 'fitter to stand than be demolished' in 1649. Of the king's personalty little survived besides a few tapestries.¹⁶ The purchasers of Woodstock manor in 1652 were charged £1,500 for the house,¹⁷ and later it was said that of three joint owners two at once demolished and sold the materials, while the third retained his share.¹⁸ The prominent Oxfordshire parliamentarians William Draper and Thomas Appletree allegedly bought materials to rebuild, respec-

tively, Nether Worton manor house, which bears the date 1653,¹⁹ and Castle House at Deddington, dated 1654.²⁰ Materials were also used by Colonel John Butler, one of the lessees of Woodstock manor in 1650, to rebuild Begbroke House.²¹

By 1660 the manor house was 'almost turned into heaps of rubbish', but retained a few habitable rooms.²² In 1665 Charles II was considering rebuilding 'a noble house' in Woodstock Park.²³ John, Lord Lovelace, in reduced circumstances when granted Woodstock manor in 1668, repaired some rooms at the Crown's expense and seems to have occupied the gatehouse, where he died in 1670, and his son John's seat was recorded as at Woodstock in 1673;²⁴ Aubrey c. 1670 mentioned only ruins on the site.²⁵ James II dined at the palace during a progress in 1687, but in 1706 the manor house was 'altogether ruinous'.²⁶ The ruins, as depicted in the 17th century and early 18th, were extensive,²⁷ and Sir John Vanbrugh, while working on Blenheim Palace, made part habitable. The buildings were levelled in 1723, although masonry from the site was said to have been used as late as the 1760s.²⁸ Medieval masonry, including 12th-century work, has been found in the Grand Bridge, and another likely survival from the king's houses is some 16th-century panelling at Hordley manor.²⁹

PARK TO 1705. A park around the king's houses may have been defined before 1086 when woodland attached to the nearby royal manor of Wootton was said to be in the king's enclosure (*in defensione regis*).³⁰ Chroniclers asserted that Henry I built the first park wall c. 1110, and within its circuit of 7 miles kept beasts of the chase and exotic animals, including a porcupine.³¹ Woodstock remained a royal deer park until granted to John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, in 1705.³²

In the 13th century³³ the park was usually administered with Woodstock manor, whose keepers or bailiffs accounted directly in the

¹¹ Cf. T. Warton, *Life of Sir Thos. Pope* (1772), 70–5, transcribed with some amendments in J. Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Eliz.* (1823), 8–11; *Thos. Platier's Travels*, 226; *Short Survey of 26 Counties*, 118–19; Hist. MSS. Com. 9, *Hatfield Ho.* x, p. 427.

¹² P.R.O., E 351/3363, 3244, 3257; M. Toynbee and P. Young, *Strangers in Oxf.* 716.

¹³ Description based on P.R.O., E 351/3363: accts. of 1593–5; *ibid.* E 317/Oxon./12: survey of 1649–50; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 85, ff. 1–8: jury presentment, 1649; *Thos. Platier's Travels*, 220–3; *Short Survey of 26 Counties*, 118–19. For ground plans, Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37*, f. 1; Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719) in wooden chest. For drawing c. 1653 showing entrance gate and assumed to be from south, E. J. Priestley, 'Pictured Palaces', *Country Life*, 16 June 1988, 178–80.

¹⁴ Below, Pk. to 1705.

¹⁵ B.L. Harl. MS. 944, f. 15v.

¹⁶ P.R.O., E 317/Oxon./12; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 85, ff. 1–8; O. Millar, *Invs. and Vals. of King's Goods 1649–51* (Walpole Soc. xliii), 244.

¹⁷ P.R.O., E 320/Z 23.

¹⁸ Warton, *Life of Sir Thos. Pope*, 71; Bodl. MS. Dep. e 286, f. 7; cf. *ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 77.

¹⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 78; *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 288, written without knowledge of previous ref.

²⁰ Bodl. MS. Dep. e 286, f. 7; *ibid.* MS. Rawl. D 1054, f.

11v.; *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 98.

²¹ P.R.O., E 317/Oxon./12; Bodl. MS. Dep. e 286, f. 7; above, Begbroke, Manor.

²² [T. Widdowes], *Just Devil of Woodstock* (Lond. 1660), 12.

²³ Hist. MSS. Com. 5, 6th Rep. Graham, p. 336.

²⁴ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1669–72, 74, 218; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1668–9, 227; Warton, *Life of Sir Thos. Pope*, 72; *Complete Peerage*, viii. 231–2; R. Blome, *Britannia* (1673), 416.

²⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. c 25, ff. 155v.–7, 164.

²⁶ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 244, 254.

²⁷ B.L. King's Maps XXXV, 28a, reproduced in *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 32; Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxon.* (1677), pl. 1; *Country Life*, 16 June 1988, 178; B.L. King's Maps XXXV, 28c, reproduced in Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pls. 1–2.

²⁸ Below, Pk. from 1705.

²⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, ff. 83, 85, 89.

³⁰ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 400.

³¹ *Eulogium Historiarum* (Rolls. Ser.), i. 269; iii. 297; Wm. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Angl.* ed. T. D. Hardy, ii. 485; J. Rous, *Hist. Regum Angliae*, ed. T. Hearne, 138.

³² Duke of Marlborough Estate Act, 3 & 4 Anne, c. 4 (printed as c. 6 in *Statutes at Large*).

³³ 'The ministers', works, and foreign accts. for the park have been sampled only. For full lists see P.R.O., *L. & I. v*, viii, xi, xxxiv, xxxv, Suppl. ser. 2, 9.

Exchequer.³⁴ In the 1240s they were allowed £6 13s. 4d. for keeping the park.³⁵ By the later 13th century minor officers, such as a janitor for the town gate and a gardener, were paid 2d. a day.³⁶ When the manor and park began to be let at farm in the 14th century a full range of park offices developed, with wages which remained fixed for centuries and became known as 'patent fees'.³⁷ Even minor offices were sometimes the subject of direct Crown grants, as in 1331 when a keeper of the park meadows was appointed, and in 1335 a keeper of the foreign, presumably town, gate.³⁸

The principal officer, beneath the farmer and the steward or lieutenant of the manor,³⁹ was the comptroller of works (*contrarotulator*) and surveyor, whose duties included preparing a counter-roll of accounts to accompany the farmer's account in the Exchequer. The office, established by the later 14th century, carried a wage of only 1½d. a day and was probably created in 1334 when John of Hanborough, probably the first steward, was authorised to pay that wage to a man looking after the manor house.⁴⁰ The comptroller's original responsibility for works carried out on the king's houses and park seems to have widened: by 1496 he was also 'supervisor of the foresters, park keepers, and officers, and woods' in the manor and park, entitled to valuable common and fuel rights, and to lodgings in the manor house.⁴¹ By the early 14th century there were two parkers,⁴² and sometimes the two posts were held together, a single parker receiving 3d. a day for the park and 3d. for the 'other parks' within the manor.⁴³ Some offices, such as that of verderer of the park recorded in 1398 and gamekeeper recorded in 1442,⁴⁴ seem not to have become permanent.

The amalgamation of minor offices in the hands of comptrollers became common. In 1399 John Wyatt was comptroller, gardener, and keeper of meadows, and in 1461 Richard Croft acquired those offices and both parkerships.⁴⁵ In 1476 a new post of keeper of the 'outwoods' was created,⁴⁶ and in 1479 a keeper was appointed for a short-lived 'new forest' created between Woodstock Park and Charlbury.⁴⁷ The rangership of the new forest continued to be granted into the 17th century.⁴⁸ In 1486 Edmund Hampden, steward of the manor, was also

comptroller, parker, and nominal holder of most other park offices;⁴⁹ his successors as steward in the 16th century also held most offices except that of comptroller.⁵⁰ From the 1570s the steward Sir Henry Lee's active interest in the park, where he sometimes resided, brought him into conflict with the comptroller, George Whitton.⁵¹ The comptrollership, held by Robert Whitehill from 1496, and passing to Owen Whitton in 1523 and George Whitton in 1551, remained in the Whitton family until surrendered to the Crown in 1705.⁵² The later Whittons, however, seem to have been much less dominant figures, largely subservient to other park officers.

Sir Henry Lee's long period of control (from the 1570s until his death in 1611) seems to have resulted in administrative changes in the park. From 1604 the farmer of the manor was allowed £40 a year to pay keepers, of whom there were four in 1649.⁵³ Although there had long been keepers in outlying lodges, presumably appointed by stewards and parkers, the office seems to have acquired a new status, keeperships changing hands in the early 17th century for as much as £350; in 1649 Nicholas Whitton, comptroller, also held a keeper's place.⁵⁴

New posts emerged in the earlier 17th century, for in 1649 Sir Gerard Fleetwood (d. 1658) claimed the keepership of the manor house and wardrobe by grant of Philip Herbert, earl of Montgomery, farmer and steward. He was made gamekeeper within the manor and 10 miles around it by Crown grant in 1625, and seems to have been in residence there, probably at the principal lodge, until succeeded in 1637 by his kinsman Sir William Fleetwood,⁵⁵ who in 1649 claimed under the earl of Pembroke the office of ranger. He held extensive common and fuel rights, and until the Civil War occupied the principal lodge and surrounding closes.⁵⁶ By then the ranger was clearly the chief park officer, and after the Restoration it was Sir William Fleetwood, not the farmer and steward of the manor, who accounted for extensions made to the park.⁵⁷ On Fleetwood's death in 1674 the rangership was granted directly by the Crown, although the recipient, John Wilmot, earl of Rochester, was made answerable to the farmer and steward.⁵⁸ Despite uncertainty over the post

³⁴ e.g. P.R.O., SC 6962/4 sqq.; *Cal. Lib. passim*. The park was sometimes excepted from grants of the manor: e.g. *Ex. e Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.), i. 254; *Cal. Pat.* 1247-58, 87.

³⁵ P.R.O., SC 6962/4.

³⁶ e.g. *ibid.* SC 6962/15, 22.

³⁷ e.g. *B.L. Harl. MS.* 433, ed. R. Horrox, iii. 248; cf. accts. for 1334-5, 1349-52, 1513-16, 1560s, and 1660: P.R.O., E 101/497/30; E 101/498/7; *ibid.* SC 6/Hen. VIII 2886; SC 6/Eliz. I/1825; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 80.

³⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1330-4, 219; 1334-8, 95.

³⁹ Above, Blenheim, Woodstock Manor.

⁴⁰ *Cal. Fine R.* 1327-37, 409.

⁴¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1494-1509, 45; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 85, ff. 1-8.

⁴² *Rot. Parl.* i. 325; P.R.O., E 101/497/30; *ibid.* SC 6962/27.

⁴³ e.g. *Cal. Pat.* 1494-1509, 603; 1572-5, p. 291.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 1396-9, 327; 1441-6, 52, 54.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 1399-1401, 67; 1461-7, 44, 84, 89.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 1467-77, 603.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 1476-85, 177; Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 133.

⁴⁸ e.g. *Cal. Pat.* 1476-85, 253; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1603-10, 152.

⁴⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1485-94, 110.

⁵⁰ e.g. *ibid.* 1572-5, pp. 291, 542; 1578-80, p. 96.

⁵¹ E. K. Chambers, *Sir Henry Lee*, 95 sqq., where Lee is wrongly called ranger and his lodge assumed to be the present High Lodge: cf. below.

⁵² *Cal. Pat.* 1494-1509, 45; 1549-51, 308-9; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i (1), p. 171; iii (2), p. 1204; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1628-9, 375; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 85, ff. 1-8; *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1704-5, 510-11. For Whitton, *Hist. Parl. Commons*, 1558-1603, iii. 614.

⁵³ O.R.O., Dil. XXI/3, p. 251; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 85, ff. 1-8.

⁵⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 85, ff. 1-8.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1625-6, 547; Woodstock Boro. Mun. 79, ff. 82v., 93v., 136, 138v., 139, 141.

⁵⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 85, ff. 1-8.

⁵⁷ P.R.O., E 101/501/1.

⁵⁸ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1673-5, 182, 238; *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1672-5, 520.

in 1675 Rochester retained it until his death in 1680, when it passed to the earl and countess of Lichfield, holders of the reversion since 1675 and already farmers and stewards. In 1705 the three offices were held by Benedict Leonard Calvert, son-in-law of the Lichfields.⁵⁹

The park wall attributed to Henry I was repaired in 1164–5, and probably then, as in the 13th century, was largely of stone.⁶⁰ In the 13th century levies for its upkeep were raised from neighbouring parishes, and landowners were encouraged to protect their crops by improving the walls.⁶¹ The 12th-century park was almost certainly confined to the west side of the river Glyme.⁶² The later park east of the Glyme, known in the Middle Ages as Hensgrove and now as Lower Park, was taken out of Hensington (in Bladon parish) by an exchange with the Templars, perhaps in the later 12th century when New Woodstock was laid out.⁶³ In 1256 men were presented for breaking into the king's park of Bladon; Bladon gate, probably then, as later, in Hensgrove, was mentioned in 1260, and in 1276 stone was being dug for the park walls 'towards' Bladon and an unidentified hoarstone.⁶⁴ Hensgrove was certainly in the king's hands by then,⁶⁵ although its separate identity continued to be observed: a keeper of outwoods appointed in Edward IV's reign controlled the royal woods outside the king's park of Woodstock and Hensgrove, and in the late 16th century a royal officer was allowed wood out of the park or out of Hensgrove.⁶⁶ There may have been another accession to the park from Hensington in the early 14th century, but the evidence is from a much later plea.⁶⁷

On the west side of the Glyme the early park was smaller than that mapped in the early 18th century,⁶⁸ but recorded extensions to it are few and relatively minor. In 1576 Sir Henry Lee was empowered to enlarge an area of park known as the Straights 'for the keeping of red deer' by enclosing adjacent grounds and woods belonging to Woodstock manor.⁶⁹ The Straights or Straits may be identified as the part of the present High Park around High Lodge;⁷⁰ Bladon wood and Heynes close, which Lee then imparked by building a stone wall over 1½ mile

long,⁷¹ probably lay further south near Spring Lock gate, where the straight sections of the Bladon parish boundary, crossing the park between Long Acre and the Glyme,⁷² may indicate the limits of Lee's annexation. Lee's new enclosure was called Queen's Park,⁷³ a name sometimes applied in the 17th century to the whole of the later High Park: thus in 1629 a keeper referred to his lodge in 'Queen Park *alias* the Straits', but in 1649 it was remembered that 'Queen's wood within the Straits' was, as a new extension, the only area of park exempt from tithes payable to the successors of Godstow abbey.⁷⁴ The wall built by Lee in 1576 may not have included the southern section along the Bladon boundary, or there may have been a further undeclared realignment of the boundary, for some 30 years later he built a new stone wall, c. 800 yd. long, from the Glyme near Bladon gate (at that time some way north-west of the present gate) to the postern gate in Queen's Park,⁷⁵ probably the gate 'next Bladon' in Queen's Park mentioned in 1595.⁷⁶

The name New Park⁷⁷ was applied in the early 16th century to a wooded area lying near the Straights, abutting the park meadows and near a Cheyne gate,⁷⁸ until blocked in the mid 16th century that gate was used by the tenants of Combe and Hanborough on their way to do service in the meadows.⁷⁹ Since the park meadows were in the central valley of the park, New Park may have been an internal division rather than an extension of the medieval park.

In the 1660s the western park boundary was altered when c. 35 a. of furze called Combe leys were bought by royal officers as a deer covert and enclosed with a stone wall.⁸⁰ In 1706 it was recorded, perhaps mistakenly, that 60 a. of Combe had been annexed.⁸¹ The new enclosure, shown on early 18th-century maps as a rectangular plantation,⁸² occupied the plateau between High Lodge and the present Combe gate⁸³ and required a wall over 1,100 yd. long, even though two sides were the earlier park walls.⁸⁴ The internal walls were removed in 1727 and Combe leys 'laid all open together' with the park.⁸⁵ The enclosure was distinct from the rectangular embanked New Park, north of

⁵⁹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1675–6, 341–2; *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1672–5, 818; 1676–9, 226; 1704–5, 510; cf. above, Blenheim, Woodstock Manor.

⁶⁰ *Pipe R.* 1165 (P.R.S. viii), 68; e.g. *Close R.* 1231–4, 63; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 41.

⁶¹ *Close R.* 1227–31, 500; 1251–3, 219.

⁶² The medieval park is discussed, with different conclusions, in *Blenheim: Landscape for a Palace*, ed. J. Bond and K. Tiller, 48–51, 59–60.

⁶³ Above, Bladon, Intro.; above, Woodstock, Intro.

⁶⁴ P.R.O., E 32/251; E 101/497/14; *Cal. Lib.* 1260–7, 12.

⁶⁵ e.g. *Cal. Close*, 1272–9, 281.

⁶⁶ e.g. *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77, 603; 1572–5, 542.

⁶⁷ P.R.O., E 368/161, fines for Mich.

⁶⁸ e.g. Bridgman's plan of 1709 preserved in the palace, reproduced in Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 25.

⁶⁹ Hatfield Ho., Cecil Pps. 9/14; P.R.O., E 101/670/28.

⁷⁰ e.g. P.R.O., E 317/Oxon./12. The name was also used in the 16th cent. for some nearby meadows on the Glyme: e.g. Blenheim Mun., box 132, rental c. 1560.

⁷¹ P.R.O., E 101/670/28.

⁷² e.g. O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXVI. NE (1881 edn.).

⁷³ e.g. P.R.O., E 101/671/11; E 317/Oxon./12. Both make

it clear that Queen's Park adjoined Bladon parish.

⁷⁴ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 31/2/18; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 85, ff. 1–8.

⁷⁵ O.R.O., Lee VIII/1.

⁷⁶ P.R.O., E 101/671/11.

⁷⁷ The name, lost by the 17th cent., should not be related to the New Park of c. 1790 near Combe gate: cf. below.

⁷⁸ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/2886.

⁷⁹ Ibid. E 178/1824.

⁸⁰ Ibid. E 101/501/1; ibid. SP 29/51, f. 26; SP 29/60, ff. 59v., 108; SP 29/78, ff. 1–2; SP 29/142, ff. 309–10.

⁸¹ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 254.

⁸² e.g. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 25; Bodl. Gough Maps 26, f. 50v.: plan of pk. c. 1710, reproduced in Green, op. cit. pl. 32.

⁸³ The Combe gate in Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 32 is not the present gate: cf. below.

⁸⁴ P.R.O., SP 29/51, f. 26. The wall was 143 perches, presumably the 24 ft. wall-perch commonly used at Woodstock.

⁸⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 218, f. 36 and v.: 18th-cent. memo. of changes at Blenheim. Copy in B.L. Add. MS. 61354, f. 115.



Combe gate,⁸⁶ which was clearly part of Old Assart furlong in Combe until imparked c. 1780.⁸⁷ At the east end of Combe green c. 17 a. near Combe leys were imparked during the 18th century, but were still regarded as part of Combe parish in 1778.⁸⁸ The only other major enlargement was at the inclosure of Bladon in 1767, when the area called the Lince in the south-west and strips of land on both sides of the river Glyme north of Bladon village were imparked, leaving the parish boundary within the park.⁸⁹

Until the 17th century or early 18th the northern park (later Great Park) was called High Park.⁹⁰ Except for the changes near Combe no extensions to it are known, but the contrast between its bare landscape and the well preserved ancient woodland of the later High Park, its bold protrusion into Wootton parish north of Akeman Street, and a 19th-century allegation that Akeman Street within the park was perambulated as a boundary by Wootton parishioners⁹¹ have all been interpreted as signs of a northward enlargement of Henry I's park; indeed Sir Henry Lee's extension of 1576 was long thought to have been in that area.⁹² Akeman Street, however, was not a boundary for the part of Wootton parish east of the park, containing Old Woodstock, and within the park the pre-Conquest royal estate of Wootton probably extended at least to the site of the king's hunting lodge. Thus the whole northern park, not merely the section north of Akeman Street, may have been taken out of Wootton parish, and the lack of evidence, in an area well documented from the 12th century, suggests that the imparkment was very early. In a perambulation of Wychwood in 1298 the park wall was reached and followed to the Glyme after passing between Gunnildegrove and Wootton's 'old field', both of which lay well to the north of Akeman Street.⁹³ In 1478–9 a new lodge at Callow hill (in Stonesfield parish) was said to be 'in the new forest next to the park',⁹⁴ an odd description if the park boundary lay much to the south of its present line. By the early 16th century the park extended north of Akeman Street since it included Gorrel gate and Gorrel Lodge, the latter (on the site of the present North Lodge) probably established by the 14th century.⁹⁵ The alleged perambulation of Akeman Street by Wootton parishioners probably represents a

struggle for new rights in the park rather than a memory of a boundary so long redundant.

A possible medieval park boundary visible on air photographs of the north-west quarter of the park is more likely to have been a ditch dividing farmland from the 18th-century perimeter plantations,⁹⁶ and an area of possibly ancient ridge and furrow near the Column of Victory⁹⁷ lies so close to the site of the king's houses that it was probably well within the early park. The 7 miles of wall referred to by the 15th-century chronicler John Rous⁹⁸ may be exaggerated, but the available evidence suggests that Henry I's park included most of the present northern park and much of the ancient woodland of High Park.

Many references to park walls relate to internal divisions of the park, particularly those built to exclude deer from the central meadows: in 1400, for example, c. $\frac{3}{4}$ mile of new fencing was put up round the meadows, and in 1577–8 Sir Henry Lee felled 40 oaks for fencing.⁹⁹ Hensgrove was probably separately enclosed in the Middle Ages, and by the 16th century there were walls, fences, or hedges around New Park, the Straights, and Little Park, an enclosure near the king's houses which comprised some of the upper meadows and perhaps the higher ground towards the town.¹ In the 16th century the perimeter walls and some internal walls were of stone, 8 ft. high, but repeated expenditure on capping and on 'bushing' gaps suggests that their condition was poor;² from the later 16th century a mason was permanently employed³ but in the early 17th century much internal fencing was decayed.⁴ Sir Henry Lee's recommendation that stone should be used in order to save the park's timber seems to have been followed then and later.⁵

A major reconstruction of internal walls, begun in 1621, included the stretch (c. $\frac{1}{2}$ mile) between Hensgrove and the meadows,⁶ and in 1633–5 large sums were spent on an ambitious scheme to merge Queen's Park (i.e. probably the whole of the present High Park), Hensgrove, and the intervening meadowland into a single park for red deer, surrounded by a high stone wall.⁷ Civil War fortifications, probably restricted to the area close to the manor house,⁸ have left no certain trace. In the 1660s, besides the construction of the Combe leys enclosure, much work was done on the meadow walls, which were considered too low.⁹ Early 18th-

⁸⁶ Cf. *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 27, 60–1, and pl. 44. Remarks made there about the boundary ditch and pillow mounds at New Park require modification in the light of the misdating of the extension.

⁸⁷ *Blenheim Mun.*, Combe map (1778); *ibid.* box 69, particular of land in hand (1792); T. Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789); copies in *Blenheim Mun.* and W. Mavor, *New Description of Blenheim* (1789 and later edns.).

⁸⁸ *Blenheim Mun.*, Combe map (1778).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* E/P/21; O.R.O., Bladon incl. award; O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXVI. SE., NE. (1881 edn.).

⁹⁰ e.g. P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/2886; *ibid.* E 317/Oxon./12.

⁹¹ County Mus., Wickham Stead MSS. 2.1.5, p. 83.

⁹² e.g. E. K. Chambers, *Sir Hen. Lee*, 92–4.

⁹³ *Eynsham Cart.* ii. 94; *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 272.

⁹⁴ P.R.O., SC 6/963/12; cf. *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi. 259, citing *King's Works*, ed. H. M. Colvin, ii. 1017, where the lodge is said in error to be in the park.

⁹⁵ Below.

⁹⁶ *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 59–60; cf. Pride, *Blen-*

heim Map (1789), which delimits the perimeter belt with a line similar to that used for the surviving haha in Lower Park.

⁹⁷ *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 49–50.

⁹⁸ *Hist. Regum Angliae*, ed. T. Hearne, 138.

⁹⁹ P.R.O., SC 6/962/27; SC 6/Eliz. I/1825.

¹ e.g. *ibid.* SC 6/Hen. VIII/2886; *ibid.* E 351/3422. For the components of Little Park see e.g. *Blenheim Mun.*, box 132, rental of c. 1560.

² e.g. P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/2886; SC 6/Eliz. I/1825.

³ e.g. *ibid.* E 101/671/11, 15, 24.

⁴ O.R.O., Lee VIII/1, where refs. to the Straights are to the present High Park and those to High Park are to the present Great Park.

⁵ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1603–10, 549; P.R.O., E 351/3396.

⁶ P.R.O., E 351/3396.

⁷ *Ibid.* E 351/3408; B.L. Add. MS. 37999, f. 63; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1633–4, 213; *Crosfield's Diary*, ed. F. S. Boas, 77.

⁸ Above, *Blenheim, King's Hos.*

⁹ P.R.O., C 104/109, bdle. of accts.

century maps depict stone walls flanking the central valley and another crossing the park from Old Woodstock to Combe leys;¹⁰ the latter was taken down with the Combe leys enclosure in 1727.¹¹

The rebuilding of the perimeter walls in the 1720s and later¹² has left no clearly identifiable stretch of earlier wall. The medieval walls were presumably lined on the inside with a deep ditch to prevent deer escaping, but even in the southern park, where the precise line of the early wall was marked by the Bladon parish boundary, there are few traces of earthworks.¹³ The deep ditch around New Park, claimed as a medieval park boundary,¹⁴ and another ditch south of Combe gate are in areas outside the park before the 17th century.¹⁵

The principal gate was that from the town, rebuilt in 1260¹⁶ but presumably dating from the town's foundation. In the 16th century, when it was called the great gate and the park gate,¹⁷ it included a chamber over the gateway; beside it was a janitor's house and a stable.¹⁸ The janitor's house, recorded from the 13th century and still occupied in 1649,¹⁹ may have been either the building which, in the early 18th century, projected into the park from the west end of Chaucer's House or the small house then standing south of the gate.²⁰ Both were probably removed when the park gate was demolished and the Triumphal Arch built in 1723, but a new court house was built on the site of the small house.²¹ In the 13th century a serjeanty of guarding the Wood gate of Woodstock manor was attached to a house and land in Hanborough.²² Gates mentioned in the early 16th century²³ included on the south Bladon gate, on the north-west Gorrel gate, rebuilt in 1565–6,²⁴ on the west Cheyne gate, probably named from the mid 14th-century comptroller, Roger Cheyne,²⁵ and on the east, on the site of Old Woodstock stile,²⁶ Podde or Podge gate, presumably named from the 13th-century Woodstock family of Pod.²⁷ A Combe gate mentioned in the later 16th century²⁸ perhaps replaced Cheyne gate, blocked in the 1550s;²⁹ it was not on the site of the present Combe gate, opened c.

1780,³⁰ but stood close to High Lodge in a section of wall presumably demolished when part of Combe was annexed in the 18th century.³¹ Other 16th-century gates,³² probably on internal walls, included Queen Pool gate and gates into Hensgrove, the Straights, and Rookswood (an enclosure south of the park gate).³³ Wootton gate was mentioned in the early 17th century.³⁴

The early park was primarily a hunting reserve and a source of venison for the royal household.³⁵ Deer leaps were built regularly in the Middle Ages, and in the 16th and 17th centuries much was spent on the provision of wooden or stone 'standings' from which deer were shot.³⁶ Salted venison from the park was transported great distances to stock the royal larders,³⁷ gifts of venison were made to individuals and to religious houses, and live deer were taken to stock other parks.³⁸ Poaching was a recurrent problem; the scholars of Oxford university were banned from the park in 1413 and in the early 17th century.³⁹ Royal enthusiasm for red deer inspired enlargements of the park in the late 16th century and 17th, and Sir Henry Lee was apparently expected to maintain a herd of between 2,000 and 3,000.⁴⁰ In a petition of c. 1640 against a short-lived new bailiwick of Woodstock, which extended forest laws into the neighbouring demesne towns, Lee was blamed for introducing the red deer which were overrunning the countryside.⁴¹ In 1649 there were said to be 1,000 deer in the park.⁴² Although the later Stuarts were not interested in hunting, Woodstock was maintained primarily as a deer park: more 'standings' were built, venison was regularly presented to local landowners, and 'fee bucks' were claimed by park officers.⁴³

Besides deer and the menagerie of Henry I the early park also contained an eyrie of falcons, recorded in 1250, and falcons were sent to Woodstock in 1357.⁴⁴ Part of the royal stud was at Woodstock until 1360, when all the horses there were sold.⁴⁵ In the mid 13th century the royal stable and shoeing forge were close to the town gate,⁴⁶ and in 1295–6 an embanked stock-

¹⁰ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 32; Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719).

¹¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 218, f. 36 and v.

¹² Below, Pk. from 1705.

¹³ *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 27–8.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 27.

¹⁵ Blenheim Mun., Combe map (1778); above, s.v. Combe leys.

¹⁶ e.g. *Cal. Lib.* 1260–7, 12.

¹⁷ e.g. P.R.O., E 101/671/2, 15.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* E 101/671/15; B.L. Lansd. MS. 25, f. 191 and v.

¹⁹ e.g. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 85, ff. 1–8.

²⁰ Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719); Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37*, f. 12v.

²¹ Below, Pk. from 1705.

²² P.R.O., C 143/87 (10); *ibid.* JUST 1/703, m. 1d.

²³ e.g. *ibid.* SC 6/Hen. VIII/2886.

²⁴ *Ibid.* E 101/670/15.

²⁵ e.g. *ibid.* E 101/498/16, 29; *Cal. Pat.* 1377–81, 247.

²⁶ P.R.O., E 178/1824.

²⁷ e.g. *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 839.

²⁸ P.R.O., E 101/670/23.

²⁹ *Ibid.* E 178/1824.

³⁰ Not shown in Blenheim Mun., Combe map (1778), but appears as Combe Green gate in Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789).

³¹ Cf. *ibid.* Combe map (1778); Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 32.

³² e.g. P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/2886; *ibid.* E 101/670/2, 15, 23; E 101/671/1.

³³ Located by deeds of Woodstock Ho. in Blenheim Mun., box 128.

³⁴ P.R.O., E 101/671/24.

³⁵ *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 25 sqq. summarizes the evidence from printed sources.

³⁶ e.g. P.R.O., E 101/500/6; E 351/3408.

³⁷ *Close R.* 1254–6, 245, 255; *Cal. Lib.* 1251–60, 272.

³⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1441–6, 277; *Rot. Lib.* (Rec. Com.), 43; *Cal. Close*, 1279–88, 73; 1288–96, 467.

³⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1413–19, 75–6; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1627–8, 402; *Crosfield's Diary*, ed. F. S. Boas, 55; Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 186.

⁴⁰ E. K. Chambers, *Sir Hen. Lee*, 83.

⁴¹ Bodl. MS. Ashmole 1763, ff. 45v.–46; *ibid.* MS. Add. c 132, f. 76. The petition is misdated to 1617 in Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 178–9.

⁴² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 85, ff. 1–8.

⁴³ e.g. P.R.O., E 101/501/1; *ibid.* C 104/109, bdle. of accts. and loose corresp.; B.L. Add. MS. 61469, ff. 51–2.

⁴⁴ *Close R.* 1247–51, 285; *Cal. Inq. Misc.* iii, p. 93.

⁴⁵ *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 31; *Cal. Fine R.* 1356–68, 134.

⁴⁶ *Cal. Lib.* 1251–60, 175, 464.

ade seems to have been built nearby at Rookwood for penning the royal stallion.⁴⁷ Wild boar were kept in the park in the mid 14th century,⁴⁸ and in the 16th century partridge and hare provided sport.⁴⁹

Pasture rights for pigs may have survived from before imparkment, and pannage was accounted for in the 13th century. There were 164 pigs in 1254, probably over 600 in 1279, and over 300 in 1306–7.⁵⁰ In 1240 the bailiff was ordered to buy oxen for the park; cattle from the royal demesne in surrounding villages were pastured there, and in 1254 there were 70 oxen and 12 cows, mostly belonging to John of Hanborough, farmer of the park.⁵¹ Payments for agistment were rarely recorded, and in the 1470s the lack of revenue from that source was blamed on the multitude of royal animals in the park.⁵² By then park officers had acquired rights to graze cattle and horses: the Chamberlains, keepers in the 16th century, held commons for 70 cattle and 40–50 horses,⁵³ and overstocking by officers was one of many points of conflict over the management of the park in the 16th century.⁵⁴ Officers retained various common rights in the mid 17th century, but grazing was also let to others and in 1681 agistments yielded £100 at the rate of £2 a year for a horse and £1 for cattle.⁵⁵

In the 13th century there was a park dovecot, and pigeons, honey, and reeds were sold.⁵⁶ There was a warren at Coneygarth hill near the king's houses in the 16th century, and a warren mentioned later may be that shown on early 18th-century maps near the present Home Lodge.⁵⁷ In the 1570s the comptroller, George Whitton, laid out a hopyard near Rookwood.⁵⁸

The park stew mentioned in 1163⁵⁹ was regularly stocked and repaired.⁶⁰ In the 1240s eels were sold in quantity; in 1241 the bailiff was ordered to buy 1,000 pike for stock, and bream were brought to Woodstock from other royal stews in 1256 and 1305.⁶¹ A garden fishpond was built in 1256, but the two main ponds, divided by a causeway and dam,⁶² were on the river Glyme probably in the area now occupied by the upper lake called Queen pool; the upper pond evidently stretched northwards towards the present Fishery Cottage, for its head was raised in

1334 when a short-lived mill there was demolished.⁶³ The lower, or great stew, called King's pool in the 15th century, had been drained and turned into meadow by 1470.⁶⁴ A 'forinsec fishery' mentioned in 1231 may have been the fishpond outside the park mentioned in 1279,⁶⁵ probably the site of the later corporation meadows which were still called le Pool when granted to the borough in 1453.⁶⁶ Queen pool, mentioned in the 16th century and later, seems to have been dammed by one of the two causeways (probably the upper one) which crossed the valley to the king's houses;⁶⁷ the causeway incorporated a bridge, sometimes called Queen's bridge, and a weir called the roaring bays, and was entered at its eastern end by Queen Pool gate.⁶⁸ Fishponds continued to be stocked in the later 17th century; one pond called Little Queen pool⁶⁹ was presumably the small pool near Fishery Cottage called Queen pool on early 18th-century maps. By then the valley above both causeways seems to have been drained, but linked fishponds, not otherwise recorded, lay in a valley on the west side of the park.⁷⁰ Fishing in the river within the park seems to have been farmed in the 13th century, and in the mid 16th century was held on lease by the farmer, Leonard Chamberlain.⁷¹

The importance attached to providing winter fodder for the king's deer was reflected in early obligations placed upon neighbouring villages to harvest the park meadows and cut winter browse, and until the mid 13th century the crop of a meadow near Oxford castle seems to have been assigned to the park.⁷² Hay was bought for the deer in 1196 after floods in Oxford, but for much of the 13th century the park produced a surplus which was sold.⁷³ Later, perhaps because of increased stocking, supplementation was necessary: in 1378–9 the farmer bought 180 carts of extra hay, in 1437–8 the 'great winter' forced the purchase of hay and peas, and in other years there were untimely floods.⁷⁴ In the severe winter of 1579 the Privy Council allowed Sir Henry Lee to buy fodder locally, provided that the poor were not harmed.⁷⁵ By the early 17th century £40 for hay was allowed each year against the farm.⁷⁶ After the Restoration hay was still bought in quantity, but John Cary, agent

⁴⁷ P.R.O., E 101/497/21; *ibid.* SC 6/962/12.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* SC 6/962/23.

⁴⁹ F. A. Mumby, *Girlhood of Queen Eliz.* 161.

⁵⁰ Ballard, 'Woodstock manor in 13th cent.' *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, vi. 446–7; P.R.O., SC 6/962/20.

⁵¹ *Close R.* 1237–42, 218; *Cal. Lib.* 1240–5, 4; *Cal. Pat.* 1247–58; Ballard, 'Woodstock manor', 447.

⁵² P.R.O., SC 6/963/11, 12.

⁵³ O.R.O., Dil. V/a/2.

⁵⁴ e.g. P.R.O., E 178/1824.

⁵⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 85, ff. 1–8; *ibid.* Dil. XXI/16.

⁵⁶ P.R.O., SC 6/962/4 sqq.; Ballard, 'Woodstock manor', 446.

⁵⁷ B.L. Lansd. MS. 25, ff. 191 and v.; *ibid.* 104, f. 35; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 85, ff. 1–8; Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719).

⁵⁸ B.L. Lansd. MS. 25, f. 194.

⁵⁹ *Pipe R.* 1163 (P.R.S. vi), 48.

⁶⁰ *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 32–4 summarizes the evidence from printed sources.

⁶¹ P.R.O., SC 6/962/4, 18; *Cal. Lib.* 1240–5, 34; *Close R.* 1254–6, 433.

⁶² *Cal. Lib.* 1240–5, 164; 1245–51, 244–5; 1251–60, 25.

⁶³ *Close R.* 1333–7, 243; above, Old Woodstock, Econ., Mills.

⁶⁴ P.R.O., SC 6/963/2, 11.

⁶⁵ *Close R.* 1231–4, 10; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 839.

⁶⁶ Above, Woodstock, Local Govt., Boro. to 1886 (Finance and Property).

⁶⁷ Above, Blenheim, King's Hos.

⁶⁸ P.R.O., E 101/501/1; E 101/670/2, 3; E 101/671/24; *ibid.* C 104/109, bdle. of accts.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* C 104/109, bdle. of accts.

⁷⁰ Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719); Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pls. 25, 32.

⁷¹ P.R.O., SC 6/962/4; Blenheim Mun., box 132, rental c. 1560.

⁷² e.g. P.R.O., SC 6/962/4. In 1251, however, the meadow was farmed by the men of Woodstock borough: *Cal. Pat.* 1247–58, 87.

⁷³ *Chanc. R.* 1196 (P.R.S. N.S. vii), 270; P.R.O., SC 6/962/4–22.

⁷⁴ P.R.O., SC 6/962/24; SC 6/963/4; SC 6/Hen. VIII/2886.

⁷⁵ *Acts of P.C.* 1578–80, 45–6.

⁷⁶ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1603–10, 401; O.R.O., Dil. XXI/3, p. 251; *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1669–72, 845.

for the earl of Clarendon, improved the park meadows by building sluices to allow controlled flooding.⁷⁷

The park meadows, valued in 1254 at £6 13s. 4d.,⁷⁸ stretched along the Glyme valley from near Woodstock mill to the Bladon boundary; administered with them was Long Acre on the river Evenlode in the extreme north-west of Bladon parish. By the 16th century much of the valley between the king's houses and the town, formerly covered by the fishponds, was occupied by several Mill meads, Tennis Court mead, and, below the king's houses, Mare Moor mead; in the wide valley below Rosamund's well were the customary meadows of Stanton Harcourt and South Leigh, frequently grouped together as Rosamund's mead, and further south other customary meadows called Eight Acres and the 'customs' of Hanborough, Combe, and Bladon.⁷⁹ In 1649–50 the park meadows were reckoned to be c. 150 a., although another estimate of c. 1644 reckoned that they required 201 man days' work, and were therefore 201 a., each yielding two loads of hay.⁸⁰

The lord of Stanton Harcourt's serjeanty in the park was recorded in the 13th century, but was probably created in the 12th.⁸¹ In 1551 his obligations included mowing, stacking, and carrying one of the royal meadows, for a single payment of 6d. or 2 gallons of ale.⁸² Sutton and South Leigh formed part of Stanton Harcourt manor until the early 17th century, and evidently the South Leigh tenants took responsibility for their own named meadow. After the division of the manor the lord of South Leigh urged his tenants to neglect the custom but in 1630 the obligations of Stanton Harcourt and South Leigh were confirmed; by then the services were usually commuted.⁸³ By 1551 the tenants of Bladon, Combe, and Hanborough seem to have been responsible for mowing not only their named meadows but also Eight Acres, and each vill was paid 6d. or 2 gallons of ale;⁸⁴ in the Middle Ages their customary meadows were called Law mead. In the 13th century the men of Bladon were expected to mow Long Acre but later it seems to have been worked by paid labourers.⁸⁵ Tenants of all the demesne towns had to carry the hay from the park meadows to the barn near the king's houses, each carter in 1551 being paid 12d. a day and hay sufficient to

fill the body of his cart.⁸⁶

The meadow services of Stanton Harcourt and the demesne towns were regularly performed for the 6d. fee until the late 16th century⁸⁷ but large additional labour costs were paid: in 1403 lifting the park meadows required 274 man days, and Long Acre 122 days; carrying all the hay in 1441–2 required 40 man days.⁸⁸ Total meadow costs rose from c. £6 10s. in the late 15th century to over £40 by the 1640s.⁸⁹ By then the carrying service of the demesne towns had been commuted for £3 and the meadow services for smaller sums.⁹⁰ Meadow costs remained at over £30 in the later 17th century.⁹¹ The first math of the royal meadows was devoted exclusively to the king's deer, in recognition of which the farmer was allowed £16 a year against the farm, reduced in the later 16th century to £15.⁹² After haymaking the farmer used or let the grazing, but Long Acre was commonable by Bladon and Hanborough men until Lady Day.⁹³ By the 1570s some of the park meadows were let to the comptroller, George Whitton.⁹⁴

The winter fodder for deer was supplemented by ivy cut and, like the hay, dispersed around the park: in 1530–1 as many as 192 loads were carried.⁹⁵ In the 13th century the tenants of Bladon and Combe were expected to cut ivy.⁹⁶ A similar obligation on the lord of Stanton Harcourt⁹⁷ survived in the 16th century. He was to find browsers (customarily two by the 17th century)⁹⁸ whenever snow lay on the ground and the bailiff of Woodstock summoned them by horn at the gate of Stanton manor house; the browsers were given lodging and a billet the length of an axe helm each night, the summoning bailiff was given victuals, and the lord of Stanton a buck in summer and a doe in winter.⁹⁹ The custom was commuted by the earlier 17th century, but 'fee bucks' were presented to the Harcourts at least until the 1720s, when Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, withheld them because of arrears of service; the bucks were still claimed in 1829.¹ Browsing was also carried out by paid labourers: in 1491–2 browsers were paid 3d. a day for 212 man days.² In the 1570s conflict arose over a practice of declaring browse days when, for 10s. a day, men could cut and carry browse wood.³

The park's timber was used extensively for

⁷⁷ P.R.O., C 104/109, bdle. of accts. and loose corresp.

⁷⁸ Ballard, 'Woodstock manor', 446.

⁷⁹ e.g. Blenheim Mun., box 132, annotated copy (c. 1644) of survey of 1579; *ibid.* rental of c. 1560; P.R.O., E 317/Oxon./12.

⁸⁰ P.R.O., E 317/Oxon./12; Blenheim Mun., box 132, survey of 1579.

⁸¹ *Bk. of Fees*, iii. 1375; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 34; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* i, p. 111; iii, p. 75; xii, p. 348; above, Stanton Harcourt, Manor.

⁸² B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, ff. 14–20v.; survey of 1551 (headed 1545). Copies in Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 61, ff. 131–46; Blenheim Mun., box 132.

⁸³ P.R.O., E 134/5 Chas. I Mich./4.

⁸⁴ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, ff. 14–20v.

⁸⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851; e.g. P.R.O., SC 6/962/29; SC 6/963/5; SC 6/Hen. VIII/2886.

⁸⁶ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, ff. 14–20v.

⁸⁷ e.g. P.R.O., SC 6/962/27; *ibid.* E 101/670/23.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* SC 6/962/29; SC 6/963/5.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* SC 6/963/11–12; SC 6/Eliz. I/1825; Blenheim

Mun., box 132, survey of 1579.

⁹⁰ P.R.O., E 317/Oxon./12. Cf. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 23, f. 42, which states, probably mistakenly, that Combe's meadow service was performed in the 18th century.

⁹¹ Blenheim Mun., box 132, survey of 1579; e.g. P.R.O., C 104/109, acct. for 1670.

⁹² P.R.O., SC 6/962/27; SC 6/Eliz. I/1824, 1826; Blenheim Mun., box 132, survey of 1579.

⁹³ Blenheim Mun., box 132, rental c. 1560.

⁹⁴ B.L. Lansd. MS. 104, f. 35.

⁹⁵ P.R.O., E 101/500/6.

⁹⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 851–2.

⁹⁷ *Bk. of Fees*, iii. 1375; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 34; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* i, p. 111; iii, p. 75; xii, p. 348.

⁹⁸ P.R.O., E 134/5 Chas. I Mich./4. A claim to 4 browsers in the 1640s was probably mistaken: Blenheim Mun., box 132, survey of 1579.

⁹⁹ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, ff. 14–20v.

¹ *Ibid.* Add. MS. 61469, ff. 51–2; Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 68–9.

² P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VII/1805.

³ *Ibid.* SC 6/Eliz. I/1825, s.a. 1577–8; *ibid.* E 178/1824.

building and fencing, and in the early Middle Ages oaks were often granted to individuals and religious houses. Grants of fuel were also made, although even in the 13th century the park's woodland was conserved by obtaining fuel from elsewhere.⁴ There was a planned felling of *trenches*, possibly rides, in the 1270s, but otherwise few hints of woodland management within the park,⁵ where deer presumably took priority. By the 14th century there was a great laund (lawn or clearing), probably in the northern park.⁶ In the 16th century timber continued to be taken for building and fuel: 30 oaks were felled to rebuild Woodstock mill in 1594–5⁷ and many more were taken for fencing until Sir Henry Lee recommended the use of stone; in 1642 New Lodge was repaired with 25 trees deemed unfit for the navy.⁸ Frequent complaints that park officers were abusing their fuel rights suggest that the woodland was at risk: the rights were substantial, Sir Leonard Chamberlain claiming as many as 108 loads a year.⁹

The 'outwoods', administered with the park from the later Middle Ages and let separately to the farmer by the 17th century,¹⁰ were coppiced. In the mid 16th century they comprised seven woods in neighbouring parishes (over 300 a.), reduced in 1576 when Bladon wood was brought into the park. The woods were enclosed for seven years after coppicing and were then commonable.¹¹ Charcoal to supply the king's houses during a visit by Henry VIII was prepared in the coppices, and wood sales from coppices yielded over £100 in 1562–3; in 1582–3 coppice wood from 52 a. was sold after nine years' growth.¹² The coppices, sold separately from the park during the Interregnum, were reunited later; sales of underwood from them continued¹³ and several were in good condition when granted with Woodstock manor to the duke of Marlborough.¹⁴

By 1649–50 the park woodland was concentrated in the southern part, with trees worth over £500 in both the Straights and Hensgrove, whereas the northern park contained only £110 worth and was particularly denuded in the north; most of the timber was said to be suitable only for fuel, except for 2,500 trees (roughly two-thirds of the stock) marked for use by the navy.¹⁵ In 1655 the Admiralty commissioners were ordered to postpone sales of growing tim-

ber until the park's owner, Charles Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland, returned to make his case, and felling then may not have been extensive;¹⁶ in 1660 further despoliation was forbidden and felled timber impounded.¹⁷ The heavily wooded appearance of the southern park in the early 18th century¹⁸ suggests that the wholesale felling planned in 1649 was never carried out. Waste and felling were still causing concern in the 1670s¹⁹ but there was some small-scale replanting, including the creation of walnut and ash nurseries in the 1660s and the planting of standards in the 1670s; circular and triangular plantations in the northern park recorded in the early 18th century may date from the late 17th.²⁰

The division of the park into walks or ridings supervised by parkers or keepers in remote lodges began in the Middle Ages. In 1649–50 a suggested partition into four probably represented long-established subdivisions, each with a lodge.²¹ The northern park was divided by Gorrel road, running from Woodstock to Gorrel gate, into a north-east section of 558 a. and a south-west section of 583 a.; the former contained Gorrel Lodge on the site of the present North Lodge, and the latter New Lodge on the site of Park Farm.²² Probably the two northern divisions were the Gorrel ridings north and south mentioned in the early 16th century.²³ The other divisions of 1649–50 were, in the south-east, Hensgrove (333 a.), which had long been separately walled, and, in the south-west, Straights walk (255 a.). Hensgrove Lodge stood south-west of the present kitchen gardens until demolished in the later 18th century;²⁴ Straights Lodge was on the site of the present High Lodge. Walks named after individual keepers in the 16th and 17th centuries²⁵ probably referred to the above divisions; New Lodge walk, mentioned in the 1580s,²⁶ was probably Gorrel riding south. The principal lodge was High Lodge, the ranger's house until demolished during the Civil War. Its site was evidently Lodge green, immediately west of the king's houses, and it was presumably demolished because it provided a strong point from which to attack the garrison. It was not rebuilt, for in 1649 the ranger, Sir William Fleetwood, was refitting an outlying lodge, evidently Straights Lodge.²⁷ Fleetwood's successor John Wilmot, earl of Rochester, enlarged or rebuilt the lodge and died there in

⁴ *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 39–41 summarizes the evidence from printed sources.

⁵ *Ibid.* 41–2.

⁶ Below.

⁷ P.R.O., E 101/671/11.

⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1641–3, 317.

⁹ *Ibid.* E 178/1824.

¹⁰ e.g. *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77; *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1669–72, 845; O.R.O., Dil. V/a/5.

¹¹ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, ff. 14–20v. For the outwoods in the mid 17th cent., P.R.O., E 317/Oxon./12–13; E 320/O 11.

¹² P.R.O., STAC 2/17/234; *ibid.* SC 6/Eliz. I/1825–6.

¹³ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 210, 256–7; *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1672–5, 662; 1676–9, 228; P.R.O., C 104/109, bdle. of accts.

¹⁴ B.L. Lansd. MS. 758, ff. 2–13: survey of Woodstock manor 1706, printed in Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 250–8. For another copy, *Blenheim Mun.*, E/P/1.

¹⁵ P.R.O., E 317/Oxon./12; E 320/Z 23; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 85, ff. 1–8.

¹⁶ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1655, 265, 507.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 1660–1, 79.

¹⁸ e.g. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 25; *Blenheim Mun.*, map of pk. (1719).

¹⁹ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1672–5, 784.

²⁰ P.R.O., C 104/109, bdle. of accts. and loose corresp.; *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1676–9, 948; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 25; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 132.

²¹ P.R.O., E 317/Oxon./12; E 320/Z 23.

²² For identification of lodges cf. 1706 survey in Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 255 and *Blenheim Mun.*, map of pk. (1719); Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pls. 25, 32.

²³ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/2886.

²⁴ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 255; cf. *Blenheim Mun.*, map of pk. (1719); Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789).

²⁵ e.g. P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/2886; *ibid.* E 101/671/24.

²⁶ *Ibid.* E 101/671/2.

²⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 85, ff. 1–8; P.R.O., E 317/Oxon./12; *Short Survey of 26 Counties*, ed. L. G. Wickham Legge, 119.

1680.²⁸ Straights Lodge probably became known as High Lodge in Fleetwood's time, and was certainly so called by the early 18th century.²⁹

The High Lodge occupied by Sir Henry Lee in 1577 and given a new hall in 1594–5 was thus the central lodge,³⁰ frequently referred to simply as the lodge; it was probably the lodge mentioned as early as 1337.³¹ At that date there were two parkers, who by 1349 were each allowed 13s. 4d. a year to maintain lodges later described as next to the great laund.³² The two lodges were still allowed for in the 1450s, but by 1463 there were three lodges in three launds.³³ By the mid 16th century there were four, including the central lodge: a lodge in Gorrel laund was mentioned in 1538–9, and New Lodge and Hensgrove (or Bladon) Lodge were mentioned in the 1560s.³⁴ In 1577 Sir Henry Lee held all four, besides the house at the park gate.³⁵ A fifth lodge was built in the Straights in 1586–7.³⁶ Since Gorrel and New lodges required complete rebuilding in 1572³⁷ it seems likely that, with the central lodge, they were the lodges of 1463. The naming of the two northern ridings after Gorrel suggests that it preceded New Lodge and was possibly one of the two early 14th-century lodges; if so, the great laund was in the northern park.

After the sale of the manor in 1652³⁸ the park seems to have been let in parcels during the Interregnum, the chief lessee being Sir Arthur Haselrig with 646 a. of pasture and meadow; Col. Henry Smith held 316 a., and there were three other holdings of between 120 a. and 140 a. Haselrig was said to have created pastures in the northern park for his bloodstock (perhaps the paddocks lining the western edge in the early 18th century), while other areas were ploughed up.³⁹ In all 1,285 a. of pasture and 78 a. of meadow were let, from a park reckoned to be 1,793 a.;⁴⁰ the rest may have been woodland. After the Restoration the park was once more administered as a unit by its officers, principally as a deer park.⁴¹ Renewal began with the acquisition of Combe leys in the 1660s, and there were improvements to meadows, ponds, plantations, and lodges under Lord Clarendon and his successors.⁴² Woodstock Park never regained its popularity with the royal family, however, and its chief importance in the later 17th century was as the site of a popular race meeting. The 'four

mile course' recorded in 1684 was laid out in the northern park, and there was a separate, shorter course for foot races and smock races; both survived the landscaping of the park in the early 18th century.⁴³ In the 1670s, when both the earl of Rochester and John, Lord Lovelace, were resident in the park, their wild behaviour caused much scandal.⁴⁴

When the 'incumbrances' of the park were bought out in 1705 there were still four lodges. High Lodge, usually reserved for the ranger's underkeeper, was occupied by Charlotte, Lady Calvert; New Lodge, Gorrel Lodge, and Hensgrove Lodge were held by keepers whose places were bought out for up to £900.⁴⁵ The last keeper to leave was of a family long prominent in the park: in July 1705 it was reported that 'with much ado I got out Whitton and so the park is cleared'.⁴⁶ By then its value was said to be only 'the pleasure and beauty thereof, with the produce of venison . . . and the feed of a few cows'.⁴⁷

BLenheim PALACE. In the winter of 1704–5 John Churchill, duke of Marlborough engaged Sir John Vanbrugh to build a house in Woodstock Park, and together they chose a site overlooking the Glyme valley opposite the old royal palace.⁴⁸ From the first, in accordance with the queen's wishes, the house was called Blenheim. The foundation stone was laid on 18 June 1705 on a site prepared by the royal gardener Henry Wise. Building continued at the Crown's expense until 1712, when, after the Marlboroughs had lost favour, the Treasury ceased to provide funds. On the queen's death in 1714 the Marlboroughs returned from voluntary exile, but little was done until debts to Blenheim workmen were partially settled in 1716. Building then continued at the Marlboroughs' expense, and the family took up residence in 1719. After the duke's death in 1722 Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, completed the chief features of Vanbrugh's house plan, together with outworks such as the Grand Bridge, the Triumphal Arch, and the Column of Victory. Her work was substantially complete by the early 1730s.⁴⁹

From the outset the building operation was on a vast scale, and by August 1705 Vanbrugh reckoned there were some 1,500 workmen on the site.⁵⁰ The unexpected failure of the park

²⁸ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1673–5, 182, 238; 1679–80, 580; *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1672–5, 520, 584, 761; 1676–9, 52, 226; 1679–80, 438; 1700–1, 125.

²⁹ e.g. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 32.

³⁰ B.L. Lansd. MS. 25, f. 191 and v.; P.R.O., E 101/671/11.

³¹ *Cal. Close*, 1337–9, 220.

³² P.R.O., E 101/497/30; E 101/498/7; *ibid.* SC 6/962/27.

³³ *Ibid.* SC 6/963/6–9.

³⁴ *Ibid.* SC 6/Eliz. 1/1825, acct. for 1538–9; *ibid.* E 101/670/15; O.R.O., Lee V/1.

³⁵ B.L. Lansd. MS. 25, ff. 191 and v.

³⁶ P.R.O., E 101/671/3.

³⁷ *Ibid.* E 101/670/23.

³⁸ Above, *Blenheim*, Woodstock Manor.

³⁹ P.R.O., C 104/109, loose corresp.; T. Widdowes, *Just Devil of Woodstock* (Lond. 1660), 12; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 50, ff. 1–2; *Mercurius Politicus*, no. 592: sale of Haselrig's stud, 1659.

⁴⁰ P.R.O., E 317/Oxon./12.

⁴¹ e.g. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1672–3, 387.

⁴² P.R.O., C 104/109, bdle. of accts. and loose corresp.

⁴³ *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 63–5; above, Woodstock, Intro.

⁴⁴ Hist. MSS. Com. 29, 14th Rep. II, Portland, iii, p. 356. For Lovelace's residence, above, *Blenheim*, King's Hos.

⁴⁵ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1704–5, 510–11; cf. *Cal. Treas. Papers* 1702–7, 318–19. For the lodges in 1705, Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 232.

⁴⁶ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 233.

⁴⁷ Marshall, *Woodstock Manor*, 255.

⁴⁸ For the choice of site, below, Pk. from 1705.

⁴⁹ Full accounts of the early building are given in *Complete Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. G. Webb, iv; L. Whistler, *Imagination of Vanbrugh*; K. Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1979); D. Green, *Blenheim Palace*. The last was based largely on Marlborough MSS. in B.L., and others in Blenheim Mun. transferred later to B.L. For the present account the remaining MSS. at Blenheim were searched fully, those cited by Green only in cases of doubt.

⁵⁰ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 57.

quarries to provide suitable freestone increased the cost and complexity of the undertaking. At first local quarries such as Cornbury and Glympton were used, but soon more distant quarries were called upon, notably those at Burford and Taynton, whence 136 carters were hauling stone in the summer of 1706. In all over 20 quarries were used, the most distant being those at Portland, Plymouth, and Ross-on-Wye.⁵¹ Building materials and statuary were regularly carried by Thames barge from London. The building operation affected the economy of a wide area, providing abundant and well paid employment, but provoking sharp price rises: when Vanbrugh was granted large quantities of royal timber from Wychwood forest in 1709 it was hoped that local timber prices would fall to levels which country builders might afford.⁵² Individual fortunes were presumably made but distress and bankruptcy were caused when the money supply failed.⁵³ More enduring was the development of Blenheim as a focus of tourism, which began soon after the foundation stone was laid.

The queen's decision to pay for the house was never officially recorded, and warrants of June 1705 appointing the architect and joint comptrollers of works were issued by the Lord Treasurer at the duke's request, making no reference to the Crown's interest.⁵⁴ It was understood that costs would be met from the Civil List, but those handling the payments (Samuel Travers, Surveyor General of Crown lands, and John Taylor, his deputy) were accountable not to the Treasury but to the duke.⁵⁵ When the Marlboroughs' political power declined the unbridled expenditure on Blenheim was at once called into question.⁵⁶

According to Vanbrugh the duke at first had in mind a house costing £40,000,⁵⁷ but in July 1705, when Sir Christopher Wren, Surveyor General of royal works, visited the site, he estimated the cost at c. £100,000. That estimate omitted many features of the eventual plan, notably the service courts, the ambitious northern approach, the heightening of the main block, and the laying out of the gardens and park.⁵⁸ The model which Vanbrugh later claimed that the queen had approved and which he had 'exactly followed' evidently postdated Wren's estimate and several changes of plan, and may have been prepared as late as 1708.⁵⁹

Vanbrugh's own estimates were unreliable: in July 1707 he was expecting to finish in 1709, but by 1708, after delays in acquiring suitable stone, he recognized that even two more seasons would leave the west side unfinished.⁶⁰ In October 1710, when the problem of money supply became acute and the duchess ordered all work to cease until the Crown sanctioned further payments, Vanbrugh felt that he might 'almost' undertake to finish for another £30,000, but four years later was still estimating over £54,000.⁶¹ When pressed he admitted that the total cost of the building would be £287,000, 'a large sum for a house, but a poor reward for the services that occasioned building it.'⁶²

The Crown's expenditure before its commitment ceased on 1 June 1712 (excluding £13,000 spent on clearing Woodstock park of 'incumbrances') was £220,000,⁶³ and it was later accepted that a further £45,000 was owing to Blenheim workmen.⁶⁴ After work restarted in 1716 the Marlboroughs spent a further £32,000 up to 1720,⁶⁵ and the duchess claimed to have spent another £25,000 after the duke's death, out of £50,000 left to her to finish Blenheim.⁶⁶ Elsewhere she claimed that the house had or would cost the family £100,000 to complete.⁶⁷ Expenditure in several years is unaccounted for, and the extent of unsettled debts uncertain, but it is unlikely that the building cost less than £325,000. Vanbrugh frequently protested his frugality, attributing rising costs largely to the failure of the park quarries.⁶⁸ The duchess regarded him as a spendthrift who paid excessive wages, wasted materials, and without authority changed already extravagant plans.⁶⁹

The question whether Blenheim workmen were employed by the Crown or the Marlboroughs was central to the prolonged disputes over debts. As early as 1713 a minor creditor brought a successful action against the duke, but the chief creditors, the Stronges, masons, were persuaded to await settlement by the Crown.⁷⁰ In 1716, after acknowledging debts much higher than the duchess thought reasonable, the Crown paid only a third to creditors, who then sought redress from the Marlboroughs.⁷¹ Several were successful, including the Stronges who were awarded over £12,000 in 1721.⁷² The duchess brought an action against 401 Blenheim workmen on various charges, and obtained an injunction forbidding Vanbrugh to pursue her family

⁵¹ Ibid. 56–9; W. J. Arkell, 'Building stones of Blenheim Palace', *Oxoniensia*, xiii. 49–54; xvi. 88–9.

⁵² *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1709, 249; cf. *ibid.* 1710, 278.

⁵³ e.g. *Hist. MSS. Com.* 29, *Portland*, vii, pp. 14, 19–20.

⁵⁴ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1705–6, 290, 313.

⁵⁵ e.g. *ibid.* 313, 522. For the system of money supply, Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 73–4.

⁵⁶ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 115–19.

⁵⁷ Bodl. MS. North b 22, ff. 300–301v.; Whistler, *Imagination*, 85.

⁵⁸ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1705–6, 356; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 43, 60, 237; *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. Webb, iv. 31–2.

⁵⁹ *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. Webb, iv. 45–6; but cf. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 233, 307–8.

⁶⁰ *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. Webb, iv. 14, 24, 26–7; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 244.

⁶¹ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 119, 138, 260–1; *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. Webb, iv. 50, 90.

⁶² *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. Webb, iv. 58–60.

⁶³ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1714–15, 344–5. For the incumbrances, *ibid.* 1704–5, 505, 510–11, 536. For a summary of expenditure 1705–11, Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 79, f. 121v.; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 271.

⁶⁴ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 138, 152, 268.

⁶⁵ Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 10, acct. bk. 1715–20.

⁶⁶ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 273.

⁶⁷ Bodl. MS. North b 22, f. 303 and v.

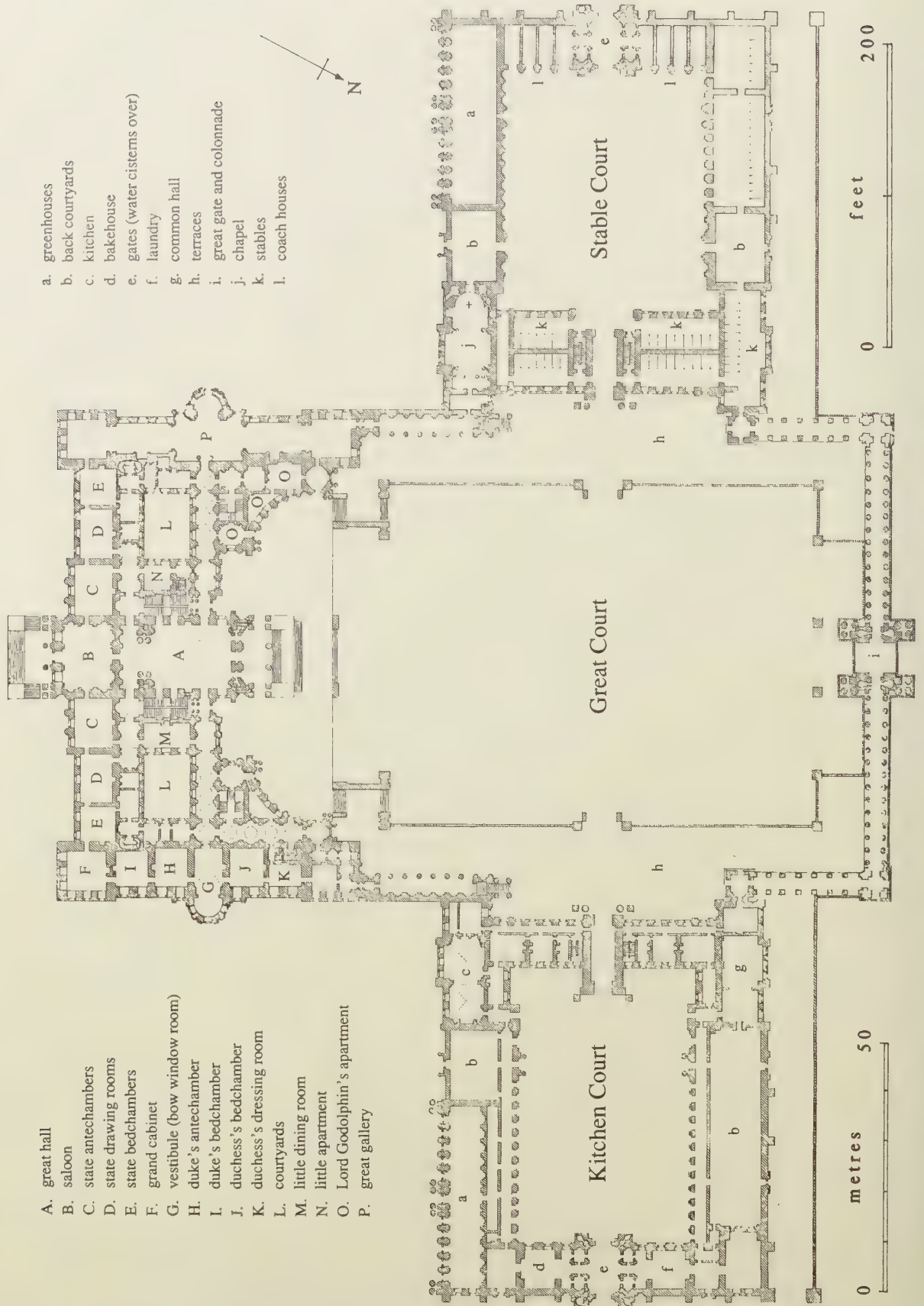
⁶⁸ e.g. *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. Webb, iv. 22–3.

⁶⁹ e.g. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 92 sqq., 268; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 218, ff. 38 sqq.: letters of Sarah, duchess of Marlborough to Tilleman Bobart.

⁷⁰ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 137–8. For a printed version of the Strong case (1721), Bodl. G. A. Oxon. a 110.

⁷¹ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 138; *Cal. Treas. Papers*, 1714–19, 323; Bodl. MS. North b 22, f. 303 and v.; B.L. Add. MS. 61354, ff. 48–9: list of debtors, 1716–17.

⁷² Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 150; Blenheim Mun., Treasury box XV/52/1: list of debts paid by the Marlboroughs.



BLEMHEIM PALACE: Vanbrugh's plan c. 1716. The stable court was completed to a different plan, and the great gate and north colonnade were never built.

for debts incurred before 1712.⁷³ Although Vanbrugh's debt was later acknowledged by the Crown⁷⁴ others were less successful, and Henry Joynes, comptroller of works and the meticulous accountant of the Blenheim building operation, was still seeking settlement in 1748.⁷⁵

In the first phase of building Nicholas Hawksmoor was responsible for much of the detailed execution of the design.⁷⁶ Wren was consulted over certain aspects of the plan, notably the northern approach to the palace.⁷⁷ Henry Joynes and William Boulter were joint comptrollers of works from 1705, and Boulter was succeeded on his death in 1708 by Tilleman Bobart.⁷⁸ In 1716 Vanbrugh resigned as architect, and by then Hawksmoor and Joynes had also left Blenheim. Thereafter the duchess took control of the building work with the help of James Moore, cabinet maker, John Desborough, clerk of works, and Tilleman Bobart, who continued at Blenheim (though increasingly confined to garden business) until 1719.⁷⁹ From 1722 Hawksmoor was again engaged to design or complete major features such as the great gallery, the chapel, and the Triumphal Arch, but was overlooked when the final stages, notably the Marlborough tomb and the Column of Victory, were undertaken.⁸⁰

For the early building the principal masons were Edward Strong, father and son; others included Henry Banckes, notably on the colonnades, John Townesend on the clock tower and kitchen, and Bartholomew Peisley (d. 1715) on the Grand Bridge.⁸¹ In the period 1708–12 Grinling Gibbons provided carved enrichments in wood and stone. Sir Charles and John Hopson and John Smallwell, father and son, were the principal joiners, Robert Wetherill the plasterer, and Matthew Banckes and John Barton carpenters for the roof of the main block.⁸² From 1716 the principal masons were Christopher Cass and Joshua Fletcher (foremen respectively of the Stronges and Henry Banckes);⁸³ the Oxford masons William Townesend and Bartholomew Peisley (d. 1727) also worked there in that period, chiefly on the kitchen court, before emerging in the 1720s as the principal builders. Sir James Thornhill painted the hall ceiling in 1716, and Louis Laguerre the saloon in 1718.⁸⁴ The plasterwork of the great gallery was by Isaac Mansfield in 1725.

The plan of Blenheim evolved from the de-

sign made by Vanbrugh some five years earlier for Castle Howard (Yorks. N.R.).⁸⁵ An outline of the palace predating surviving plans⁸⁶ shows the main block much as it was built, but without the north portico and with different arrangement of buildings around the great court; colonnades offset from the north-west and north-east pavilions linked the main block to service wings, which were half H-shaped, lacking the full courtyards of Vanbrugh's later design. At first the plan was very similar to that of Castle Howard, but in the summer of 1705 Vanbrugh decided to enlarge and heighten the proposed hall, add a north portico, and move the chapel and kitchen, which he had intended to place behind the colonnades: instead they were placed at the north end of the colonnades, aligned east-west as the southern blocks of the service wings. The north-west pavilion, where the entrance to the colonnade and chapel had already been made in the west wall, was altered accordingly in December 1705 to provide an entrance in the north wall.⁸⁷

When Vanbrugh moved the chapel and kitchen into the service wings he probably already intended to extend those wings into full courtyards, with matching entrance towers and, on their southern elevations, conservatories overlooking formal gardens on the east and west fronts of the main block.⁸⁸ He claimed later that both courts had been included on plans shown to the duke in the winter of 1707–8,⁸⁹ and, against the duchess's charge of extravagance, pointed out that the kitchen court, as the probable main entrance for visitors, justified ornamentation such as cloisters and a massive gate tower; a stable court was required to provide sufficient coach houses and other offices, and its conservatory, needed for architectural balance, was not for 'foolish plants' but would become a 'room of pleasure', with books, statuary, and pictures.⁹⁰

Another major change to the original design was Vanbrugh's decision, apparently made in the winter of 1706–7, to heighten the main block; both north and south fronts had been designed in the Doric order but, to allow for the taller elevation on the same foundations, the order was changed to Corinthian, and early in 1707 parts of the south front were rebuilt. At the same time the low roofs designed for the corner towers were changed to tall open lanterns.⁹¹

⁷³ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 152.

⁷⁴ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1720–8, 358; *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. Webb, iv, 170.

⁷⁵ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 152–3, 155; B.L. Add. MS. 24327, ff. 65–6.

⁷⁶ Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1979), 71–7; Whistler, *Imagination*, 92, 95.

⁷⁷ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 80–1; Whistler, *Imagination*, 86, 112–14, 253.

⁷⁸ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1705–6, 313; 1708, 399; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 245.

⁷⁹ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, *passim*; Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 10, acct. bk. 1715–20. For papers concerning Bobart, Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 218.

⁸⁰ Downes, *Hawksmoor*, 200–10.

⁸¹ For a full list of Blenheim craftsmen, Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 319–21.

⁸² Colvin, *Biog. Dict. Brit. Archit.* 87.

⁸³ Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 10, acct. bk. 1715–20; *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. Webb, iv, 65–7, 74.

⁸⁴ The date 1720 is usually given, but Laguerre was paid in 1718: Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 10, acct. bk. 1715–20.

⁸⁵ *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. Webb, iv, pp. xviii–xxi; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 48–9, and pls. 14–19 (comparative plans and views).

⁸⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37*, f. 1. The principal early plans (all undated and unsigned) are in Blenheim Mun., bound vol. and parcel in wooden chest in estate office; Soane Mus. I. 59, 63, the former reproduced in Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 20; C. Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, i (1717); Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37*, ff. 3–6.

⁸⁷ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 242, 301.

⁸⁸ Campbell, *Vitruvius*, i, pl. 62.

⁸⁹ Whistler, *Imagination*, 232; *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. Webb, iv, 32.

⁹⁰ *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. Webb, iv, 32–6.

⁹¹ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 84–5, pl. 29; Whistler, *Imagination*, 90–4; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37*, ff. 8–10, 14; elevation drawings reproduced in Whistler, *Imagination*, pls. 27–30.

Later costly additions to the plan included widening the archways between the great court and service wings and greatly elaborating the clock towers.⁹²

Priority was given to completing the east wing of the main block, which was to contain the family's rooms. In 1710, before all work was temporarily halted by the duchess, even the west wing was close to roof level and work had begun on the colonnade towards the chapel,⁹³ although that was vandalized soon afterwards when the workmen were dismissed.⁹⁴ Work was resumed in 1711 but at a slower rate, and the house was uninhabitable when Treasury payments ceased in 1712. In 1716 the most advanced, eastern, part lacked floors, ceilings, staircases, and chimney pieces. At the western end of the main block the shell was incomplete, with the two corner towers largely unbuilt and part of the great gallery not yet roofed. Of the service blocks the half-finished kitchen court was most advanced, while some buildings such as the chapel and the orangery were hardly above the ground.⁹⁵

Before Vanbrugh left Blenheim in 1716 new contracts had been drawn up to finish the western towers and the kitchen court, and Thornhill had completed his work on the hall.⁹⁶ In 1719 when the Marlboroughs moved in much of the exterior work on the main block and kitchen court and the interior of the eastern part and the central state rooms were complete, probably in accordance with Vanbrugh's ideas except for the engagement of Laguerre for the saloon; over 70 rooms in the main block were furnished, including rooms in both quadrants and much of the upper floors, but excluding the great gallery and the state rooms west of the saloon.⁹⁷ Thereafter the duchess departed from Vanbrugh's plan, and relied on Hawksmoor for the finishing of several principal rooms: the three unfinished state rooms were ceiled in 1724,⁹⁸ and the great gallery and chapel prepared for plastering in that year.⁹⁹ Hawksmoor supervised Mansfield's work on the gallery in 1725, and was probably responsible for much of the chapel, although out of favour before it was completed in the early 1730s.¹ Other major works completed after 1716, apart from buildings in the park, were the orangery, the great flights of steps to the north and south fronts,

most of the terraced pavement of the great court, and the boundary walls of the great and stable courts.² Vanbrugh's design for a colonnaded northern boundary wall was ignored in favour of a low fence of railings and squat stone piers, and an outer wall or fence between it and the bridge;³ the stable court, not completed beyond its eastern range, was enclosed with a wall, and a gateway placed in line with the stable arch.⁴

The finished building comprised a south front 24 bays long with raised 3-bay end towers and centrepiece. The shorter 17-bay east and west fronts were extended northwards by the blind walls backing the colonnades to the kitchen and stable blocks. From the great court on the north the wings of the main block are hardly discernible because of the projection of the hall and portico in the centre, and the concave quadrant arcades in the angles between the north front and the wings. In the course of construction Vanbrugh's ideas for the roofscape had changed from a fairly restrained distribution of urns to a towering assemblage of roof lanterns, finials, vases, trophies, gilded copper balls, and statuary.⁵ Each corner tower carried four tall finials by Gibbons representing a reversed fleur-de-lys surmounted by a ducal coronet.⁶ The centrepiece of the south front, intended to have been a representation of the mounted duke trampling his enemies, was changed to the surviving vast marble bust of Louis XIV, which fell into the duke's hands after the sack of Tournai (1709).⁷ The north portico carried Gibbons's carving of the Marlborough arms and his statue of Pallas Athene;⁸ set back above it was a massive broken pediment and the pediment of the hall clere-story, surmounted by Gibbons's reclining statues of chained slaves beneath a gilded ball. Imported Italian statues lined the balustrade flanking the portico, and on the quadrant arcades were Gibbons's statues of the Graces and Virtues.⁹ His carving of the English lion squeezing the cockerel of France (already regarded as poor taste in 1737)¹⁰ survives on the east clock tower, with later copies on the west, and his elaborately sculptured trophies at the north ends of the colonnades. Similar trophies flanking the main entrance steps¹¹ were later replaced; in the early 19th century the steps carried a combination of trophies and sphinxes,¹² and the surviving small

⁹² Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 85; Whistler, *Imagination*, 107–8.

⁹³ *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. Webb, iv. 42.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 50; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 119.

⁹⁵ B.L. Add. MS. 61355, ff. 5–6: annotated plans showing progress to 1716, one reproduced in Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 68. To the associated documents cited in Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 144, 264–5 should be added Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 10, loose paper [1716] giving duchess's summary of progress.

⁹⁶ *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. Webb, iv. 65–7, 70, 74, 89.

⁹⁷ Blenheim Mun., Treasury box XXII/74/5.

⁹⁸ Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1979), 203, following Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 276 identifies the three ceilings of 1724 as east of the saloon, but since those rooms were furnished by 1719 it seems probable that the ceilings were in the present state rooms, resealed in the 19th century.

⁹⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37*, f. 29.

¹ For the chapel and gallery, below.

² Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 265.

³ Blenheim Mun., plan of pk. (1719) in wooden chest. The plan shows an inner fence very similar to that surviving until the early 20th century: O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI.8

(1876 and later edns.); N.M.R., BB 84/2043; Westgate Libr., photo. 11969. For the outer fence, probably removed before 1789, cf. Bodl. G. A. Oxon. a 79, ff. 36–7; T. Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789): copies in Blenheim Mun. and W. Mavor, *New Description of Blenheim* (1789 and later edns.).

⁴ Blenheim Mun., plan of pk. (1719) which marks the wall as a later amendment of the earlier plan.

⁵ Whistler, *Imagination*, pls. 27–30.

⁶ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 250. For Gibbons's work at Blenheim, D. Green and C. Hussey, 'Blenheim Revisited', *Country Life*, cv (1949), 1182–6.

⁷ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 57, 108, 249, pl. 90.

⁸ The form Minerva is preferred in later descriptions, but the attribution to Britannia (e.g. Pevsner, *Oxon.* 468) is mistaken.

⁹ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 239.

¹⁰ *Gent. Mag.* vii (1737), 6–7.

¹¹ Bodl. G. A. Oxon. a 79, f. 35: view of c. 1750.

¹² J. P. Neale, *Hist. Description of Blenheim with Six Views* (1823), pl. 1. The sphinxes may have been those placed briefly on New Bridge in the late 18th century: below, Pk. from 1705.

trophies are said to have been moved from the east front.¹³ The statues flanking the portico and the statues, urns, and finials on the quadrants and colonnades were removed in the 1770s, some being used on the East Gate and others placed in the garden;¹⁴ in the early 20th century the statues flanking the portico were replaced in terracotta.¹⁵

The interior provided a series of sets of apartments on the principal floor, with the great hall and saloon, as at Castle Howard, occupying the central axis: the hall, entered from the north portico, led to the saloon which overlooked the garden on the south. Some early designs for the hall¹⁶ incorporated the passage which crosses its south end, while others placed the passage behind an open screen or large single arch;¹⁷ that solution was chosen, leaving the lateral walls with five bays. Schemes providing for attached or free-standing columns between each bay were replaced by a simpler design, with fluted Corinthian half columns in the corners, a deeply cut moulded cornice by Gibbons, and two tiers of plain open arcading on the side walls. On the south side, over an arch framing the doorway to the saloon, the first floor corridor forms a gallery with an iron balustrade. The uppermost stage is painted and deeply coved around windows on all sides. The ceiling by Thornhill (1716) depicts the duke of Marlborough offering to Britannia a plan of the battle of Blenheim.¹⁸

Earlier schemes for the saloon¹⁹ were set aside and Laguerre was chosen to paint the walls in 1718 with figures representing the four continents looking into the room through a giant colonnade; the upper walls were also painted with architectural features, figures, and trophies. The figures included portraits of Laguerre and of the duke's domestic chaplain, Dean Jones.²⁰ The ceiling was badly damaged by fire in 1896.²¹ The marble doorcases were probably designed by Hawksmoor; the west doorcase was carved by Gibbons, the others added after 1716.²² The double-headed eagles in the tympana allude to the duke's title of prince of Mindelheim, conferred on him by the Emperor Leopold in 1705.²³

Flanking the saloon on the south front were two sets of state apartments, each comprising antechamber, drawing room, and great bedchamber. The south-west corner and the whole of the west front were occupied by the great

gallery (later the long library); at the south-east corner was the duke's study or grand cabinet, the termination of his private suite of apartments which occupied part of the east front, while to the north lay the duchess's suite. Each of the principal apartments was connected to further rooms, perhaps for personal servants, in the mezzanine. A 'little apartment' west of the great hall, later called Dean Jones's room,²⁴ was linked to its own stair in the mezzanine. In the west quadrant was a two-storeyed suite intended in 1716 for Francis, earl of Godolphin,²⁵ while the east quadrant, although similarly arranged, seems to have been used chiefly to service the dining room.²⁶ The saloon may have been used for dining on formal occasions, but the main dining room was east of the great hall. Vanbrugh's plans provided for two grand staircases flanking the great hall behind the arcades, but only the eastern one was built; two other large staircases were behind the quadrants. A long east-west vaulted stone corridor with saucer domes linked the hall with the wings of the main block and provided a view of c. 350 ft. from the bow window on the east to that on the west.

On the upper floor the present arrangement of bedrooms and dressing rooms leading off long corridors may be little changed from the original plan.²⁷ In 1719 much of the first floor was arranged in suites, including one for the Marlboroughs' granddaughter, Lady Anne Spencer, comprising an apartment, a bedchamber, and a room for a female servant. A suite occupied in 1719 by Lady Pembroke, presumably Barbara Herbert, countess of Pembroke (d. 1722), was probably that still called Lady Pembroke's in 1780, when it was towards the east end of the south front. The surviving Godolphin suite towards the west end presumably acquired its name in the earlier 18th century.²⁸ There were garrets for servants, presumably the surviving housemaids' and batchelors' heights in attics flanking the great hall and saloon, but a maids' tower and a footmen's tower in the main block in 1719 may have been the attics in the north-east and south-east towers.

The main block incorporated two large lightwells which, at basement level, were lined with arcaded passages. In the basement²⁹ surviving decoration and the descent of the east wing staircase suggest that the room at garden level below the bow window room was intended at

¹³ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 287.

¹⁴ Ibid. 283.

¹⁵ D. Green and T. Rayson, 'Restoring Blenheim Palace', *Country Life*, cxxiv (1958), 1400-1; cf. Pevsner, *Oxon.* 468 and n., where the various groups of statues are confused.

¹⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37*, f. 16; Soane Mus. AL 24, f. 59; J. Harris, *Cat. Brit. Archit. Drawings in American Collns.* [New Jersey, 1971], 112, pl. 74.

¹⁷ Blenheim Mun., plans vol., general plan; Lambeth Public Libr., Minet colln.; Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1979), 77, pl. 16a b.

¹⁸ For Thornhill see Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 306-8; Whistler, *Imagination*, 103-7.

¹⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37*, ff. 16, 32; Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1979), 80; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 85-6, 148, 306-7, pls. 58-60; Whistler, *Imagination*, 103-7.

²⁰ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 269, pl. 62.

²¹ Blenheim Libr., scrapbk. 1896.

²² Pevsner, *Oxon.* 471; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 86, 265; *Country Life*, cv (1949), 1185-6.

²³ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 242.

²⁴ Ibid. 200. Dean Jones's apartment 'with garrets over' was referred to in 1720: B.L. Add. MS. 61354, f. 80.

²⁵ B.L. Add. MS. 61355, f. 5.

²⁶ Ibid.; *ibid.* 61473: inventory 1740; Blenheim Mun., Treasury box XXII/74/5: inventory 1719.

²⁷ B.L. Add. MS. 61354, ff. 137 sqq.: early plans of first floor, north-east corner of main block. The arrangement of upper rooms may be partially deduced from Blenheim Mun., Treasury box XXII/74/5-6: inventories 1719, 1780; B.L. Add. MS. 61473: inventory 1740.

²⁸ It was so called by 1780. For the Godolphin connexion, *Complete Peerage*, viii. 497-8.

²⁹ Blenheim Mun., plans vol.; Campbell, *Vitruvius*, i, pl. 55.

first for family use, and the vaulted rooms below the great gallery were intended for a grotto.³⁰ In the mid 18th century much of the basement was given over to wine cellars and store rooms, but there were also dining halls for servants, and separate dining halls for the steward and chaplain.³¹

The kitchen occupied the south-west corner of the kitchen court, while the range flanking the great court probably contained preparation rooms on the ground floor and servants' accommodation above; the common hall was in the northern cross-wing which balanced the kitchen. The central archway was crowned by a clock tower built by John Townesend (d. 1728), the clock being made by Langley Bradley in 1710.³² East of the kitchen on the south side of the cloistered court lay a small open yard and a long greenhouse or orangery; much of the north side was also an open yard, serving as a drying area for the laundry in the east range; a dairy mentioned in that area in 1719³³ probably, as later, occupied the north-east corner. In the centre of the east range was a tall entrance arch flanked by massive tapering pilasters, above which was the water cistern. The east gate (now Flagstaff gate) incorporated a porter's lodge, and between that and the orangery was a bakery. In 1716 Vanbrugh reluctantly chose cheaper stone to finish the kitchen court, and, as a result, costly repairs were necessary in modern times.³⁴

The stable court, of similar design, was never completed; the eastern range was apparently up and roofed by 1709,³⁵ but was later modified to include a coachhouse on its west side, while the duchess reluctantly added a tower 'of more than ordinary expense' to balance the clock tower on the kitchen court.³⁶ Both outer courts were planned with well-fenestrated elevations to the south, where they overlooked formal gardens, but their outer elevations to the north, east, and west had high walls with few windows and massive projecting buttresses. Presumably they were intended to continue on the north side of the house the military character of the banks and bastions enclosing the gardens on the south.

The chapel, like the rest of the stable court, seems to have been replanned after Vanbrugh's departure and before 1723-4 when its unfinished walls were completed and William Townesend of Woodstock was engaged to provide

carpentry for it.³⁷ The early plans³⁸ providing for an apsed western (altar) end were successfully adapted;³⁹ all show the chapel projecting one bay west of the central stable block, but by 1752, and probably from its completion in the 1720s, the chapel's west end appears to have been in line with the stables, and to have contained two long round-headed windows rather than the single window of the early plans.⁴⁰ Likewise the projecting centre of the south front was probably changed in the 1720s to the surviving arrangement of two tall round-headed windows. An elevation drawing by Hawksmoor, which includes a design for a monument to the first duke, shows the interior still apsed and the walls with Corinthian pilasters and round-headed recesses.⁴¹ Although his monument design was eventually rejected, Hawksmoor was evidently concerned with the chapel in 1725,⁴² and much of the interior, with its fluted giant pilasters and plasterwork similar to that of the great gallery, was probably his work.

In 1727 the chapel was paved beneath a raised gallery, which had evidently been retained from the original plan; later it was said to have Doric piers.⁴³ Presumably the building was nearing completion by 1728, when the duchess quarrelled with the bishop of Oxford over its consecration, which eventually took place in 1731.⁴⁴ The elaborate Marlborough monument dominating the interior was designed by William Kent and executed by Michael Rysbrack; it was commissioned in 1730 and completed in 1733.⁴⁵ When the duchess died in 1744 the duke's remains were removed from Westminster Abbey to the family vault beneath the chapel.⁴⁶

Hawksmoor was not responsible for the final details of the interior, and the duchess claimed its 'very plain' finish as her own.⁴⁷ In 1744 the chapel was said to have neither altar nor altar piece, and its plainness was contrasted with that of the rest of the house.⁴⁸ After refurbishment in 1787 it was described as 'extremely grand', finished in grey and white. By then there was an altar piece, the Descent from the Cross by Jordaens, which was removed shortly after 1840.⁴⁹ Further alterations made in 1857-9 under the direction of S. S. Teulon included the removal of the gallery and the introduction of a double flight of alabaster steps at the west end, a font, a richly ornamented marble and alabaster

³⁰ The 'grott under the gallery' was probably never built, and in 1714 Vanbrugh was estimating for vaulting the 'arcade' under the gallery: *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. Webb, iv. 34-6; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 241; B.L. Add. MS. 61354, ff. 22, 28-9.

³¹ Bodl. G. A. Oxon. a 79, f. 29.

³² Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 71, 251-2. For Townesend see Colvin, *Biog. Dict. Brit. Archit.* 830.

³³ Blenheim Mun., Treasury box XXII/74/5.

³⁴ *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. Webb, iv. 69-71; *Country Life*, cxxiv (1958), 1400-1.

³⁵ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 328.

³⁶ B.L. Add. MS. 61355, f. 9v. For Vanbrugh's estimate for finishing the stable court and tower in 1714, Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 260-1.

³⁷ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 147; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37*, f. 29.

³⁸ e.g. Blenheim Mun., bdle. of plans in wooden chest, no. 2 A; Campbell, *Vitruvius*, i, pl. 62.

³⁹ Blenheim Mun., bdle. of plans, nos. 5 B and 4 C.

⁴⁰ Below, plate facing p. 460.

⁴¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37*, f. 18, reproduced in Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 78.

⁴² Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 160.

⁴³ Blenheim Mun., Treasury box XV/52/1; Neale, *Hist. Description Blenheim* (1823). For a design for the marble floor of the 'upper part of the chapel' (presumably the east end), agreed in 1726, B.L. Add. MS. 61354, f. 101.

⁴⁴ Hist. MSS. Com. 29, *Portland*, vii, p. 467; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 160; Bodl. MS. Oxf. Archd. Oxon. b 27, ff. 414-17.

⁴⁵ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 160, 274.

⁴⁶ B.L. Add. MS. 61409, ff. 205 sqq.

⁴⁷ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 160; idem, 'Rysbrack at Blenheim', *Country Life*, cxlix. 26-8.

⁴⁸ T. Salmon, *Present State of the Universities*, 7-8.

⁴⁹ *Oxf. Jnl.* 9 June 1787; W. Mavor, *New Description of Blenheim* (1789 and later edns.). The 13th edn., dated [1840] in Bodl., is probably c. 1845.

pulpit, and new seating.⁵⁰ It is not known what was done by David Brandon, who was working on the chapel c. 1870,⁵¹ but when Sir Thomas Jackson refitted the interior c. 1890 he complained of the previous work of 'some bungler', which he had been unable to remove entirely;⁵² the pulpit was sent to Waddesdon church (Bucks.), the font to a Woodstock chapel, and some of the pews to Combe.⁵³ Jackson was responsible for the surviving organ case, and probably the pulpit, reredos, and benches. The statue of Lord Randolph Churchill (d. 1895) is by Waldo Story.⁵⁴

The interior of the great gallery, completed as a picture gallery c. 1725, was altered by the 3rd duke to accommodate the Sunderland Library, which had been collected by his father Charles Spencer, earl of Sunderland (d. 1722) and was removed to Blenheim before 1749 from Sunderland House, Piccadilly.⁵⁵ The carved bookcases were not entirely successful: those blocking windows at the north and south ends suffered from damp, while the rest, on the east wall, were exposed to sunlight.⁵⁶ Most of the surviving decoration of the long library is Hawksmoor's design of the 1720s, notably the plasterwork by Mansfield and the doorcases by William Townsend and Bartholomew Peisley.⁵⁷ The Sunderland Library was sold in 1881–3,⁵⁸ but the intention to reconvert the room to a picture gallery was postponed.⁵⁹ Bookcases still lined the east wall in 1900, but had been removed by 1909 except from the south end.⁶⁰ The change may have been made in 1902 when the organ, by Henry Willis, first placed by the 8th duke in the bow window in 1891, was removed to the north end and its case rebuilt, allegedly incorporating 18th-century carved woodwork.⁶¹ Before 1912 the 9th duke restored the room as a library, making pastiches of the original bookcases, of which some were re-used.⁶² The statue of Queen Anne by Rysbrack was placed in the bow window in 1738, but was given its present pedestal in 1746,⁶³ perhaps marking its removal to the

south end and the refitting of the gallery as a library. Also in the long library are Rysbrack's busts of the 1st duke, on a pedestal of 1772 by Sir William Chambers, and of Charles Spencer, 3rd earl of Sunderland.⁶⁴

Of the few external changes made to the palace after its completion in the 1730s the most notable concerned the great court, which in the later 18th century not only lost much of its roof ornamentation but also, in keeping with Capability Brown's transformation of the formal gardens to the south, east, and west of the palace, was stripped of its terracing and pavements and turned to grass. A few pedestals opposite the archways to the kitchen and stable courts seem to have been retained, and probably the original inner boundary fence on the north.⁶⁵ Between 1900 and 1910 the 9th duke, using early plans and drawings, and with the assistance of Achille Duchêne, restored the great court to something like its original appearance, with terracing and statuary. On the north he added a sunk wall, railings, and tall, wrought iron gates.⁶⁶ The east gate into the kitchen court was altered by the 4th duke c. 1773 under the direction of Sir William Chambers, who tried to mitigate its uncompromising military appearance by adding swags, laurels, and lions' heads, together with statues and pinnacles taken from the north front of the palace.⁶⁷ An inscription recounting, somewhat inaccurately, the circumstances of Blenheim's construction was placed over the archway.⁶⁸ The surviving wrought iron gates were inserted in the 1840s.⁶⁹

By the mid 18th century the division of the principal floor into suites had been largely abandoned in favour of an established circuit of public rooms in which was displayed the family's vast collection of pictures, tapestries, and sculptures.⁷⁰ The circuit began at the great hall, passed along the corridor to the bow window room, turned south to the grand cabinet, then west to the long library.⁷¹ The 4th duke refurbished and made several interior alterations to

⁵⁰ M. Saunders, *Churches of S. S. Teulon*, p. 17; *Ecclesiologist*, xix (1858), 71–2, 284; *Builder*, xvii (1859), 312; G. Scharf, *Cat. Raisonné of Pictures in Blenheim Palace* (1862), 82.

⁵¹ Pevsner, *Oxon.* 472.

⁵² B. H. Jackson, *Recollections of T. G. Jackson*, 215–17.

⁵³ *Blenheim Palace* (official guide, 1976), 39; Pevsner, *Bucks.* 275.

⁵⁴ H. Taunt, *Blenheim, Woodstock* (1914), 55.

⁵⁵ A. K. Swift, 'Libr. of Chas. Spencer, 3rd Earl of Sunderland' (Oxf. Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 1986), 281–2; J. Nichols, *Illus. of Literary Hist. of 18th cent.* (1822), iv, 368–9; *Survey of Lond.* xxxii, 368–9. Green (*Blenheim Palace*, 182) implies that the books were transferred to Blenheim in Sarah, duchess of Marlborough's lifetime, but his sources do not suggest that.

⁵⁶ Swift, 'Libr. of Chas. Spencer', 281–2.

⁵⁷ Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1979), 202–3; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 160, 274, 309–11. For estimate for central doorway (1723), B.L. Add. MS. 61354, f. 95.

⁵⁸ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 201; Moore, *Rambles and Rides*, ii, 84–91.

⁵⁹ Cf. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 201; J. T. Emmott, *Guide to Blenheim and Woodstock* [1897], 50, which refers to 'bookcases throughout the library'.

⁶⁰ N.M.R., Taunt and Rothchild collns.; Westgate Libr., photos. 4654, 4708, 11968, 11974; *Country Life*, xxv (2) (1909), 840–2.

⁶¹ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 201–2, 205. The photographs

of c. 1890 cited above also show an earlier organ in the bow window.

⁶² N.M.R., Taunt colln.; Westgate Libr., photo. 81/3873.

⁶³ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 178–9, pl. 81.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 275, 318; idem, 'Rysbrack at Blenheim', *Country Life*, cxlix (1971), 26–8. For the pedestal, until c. 1870 supporting a head of Alexander the Great, *Country Life*, cxvii (1975), 201.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 184; Bodl. G. A. Oxon. a 79, f. 42v.; N.M.R., especially BB 84/2043–4; Westgate Libr., photos. 4633, 11864, 11969; Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 edn.).

⁶⁶ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 203, 287. Much was completed by 1908: N.M.R., Taunt colln.; Westgate Libr., photos. 4634, 4636.

⁶⁷ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 183, 283, 317–18.

⁶⁸ The inscription is alleged to be 19th- or even 20th-century, but the plaque, present in the early 19th century, was presumably Chambers's work: Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 66, nos. 626–7; cf. Whistler, *Imagination*, 109; H. Montgomery-Massingberd, *Blenheim Revisited*, 140.

⁶⁹ *New Guide to Blenheim* [Woodstock, c. 1850, publ. Wm. Eccles], 14; Montgomery-Massingberd, *Blenheim Revisited*, 140.

⁷⁰ The art treasures are fully described in Mavor, *New Description* (1789 and later edns.); Scharf, *Cat. Raisonné* (1862).

⁷¹ *New Oxf. Guide* (Oxf. 1759), 79 sqq.

the public rooms, mostly under the direction of Sir William Chambers, and before 1789 he seems to have rearranged the entire picture collection.⁷² By then the former bedrooms flanking the grand cabinet had been turned into drawing rooms, and the former antechamber east of the saloon was a dining room, with white-painted panelling, repainted by 1817 as imitation oak; the former dining room east of the hall was used as a billiard room by 1780 and also as a library by the early 19th century.⁷³ The three rooms west of the saloon preserved something of the original arrangements, with an antechamber (called until the 1840s the green drawing room) leading to the state drawing room and so to the state bedchamber. The principal family bedrooms were at the north end of the east front.

Chambers's embellishments were carried out in conjunction with the furniture makers William Ince and John Mayhew, and the chimneypieces which he inserted in several rooms on the east and south fronts were carved by Joseph Wilton and others.⁷⁴ The new furnishings included an elaborate bed for the state bedchamber, which survives in the private apartments whence it was removed in the 1840s,⁷⁵ and pier glasses and tables for the grand cabinet and elsewhere. Chambers's pupil John Yenn also designed chimneypieces and pier glasses in the 1780s.⁷⁶ In 1789 it was noted that the bow window room ceiling was painted with arabesques and military emblems by Hakewill, probably John Hakewill (d. 1791);⁷⁷ the ceiling was painted over in the 20th century. Evidently the 4th duke redecorated many other rooms: in 1770 Walpole commented adversely on the 'vast introduction of blue paper',⁷⁸ and in 1789 mention was made of new decorations, particularly a richly gilded ceiling, in the state drawing room (now the second state room).⁷⁹ Perhaps it was at that period that all three state rooms west of the saloon lost their Hawksmoor ceilings, as described in 1724, and acquired the plainer ceilings (all evidently of one date) which survived until the 1890s;⁸⁰ it is possible, however, that the changes may not have been made until the

1840s.⁸¹ The grand cabinet, after refurbishment by Chambers, remained unaltered until the mid 20th century, when the chimneypiece and almost all other 18th-century fittings were removed.⁸²

The duke set up an observatory in the south-east tower and in 1789 was establishing another in the south-west tower; neither was mentioned after 1840.⁸³ In the mid 18th century a china collection was exhibited to the public 'below stairs',⁸⁴ but before 1789 was withdrawn from public display after a theft.⁸⁵ In 1796 a china gallery was built in the park to house another collection.⁸⁶ In 1787 the orangery in the kitchen court was turned into a theatre, with seats for over 200 people; plays were produced there regularly for only two years, before invited audiences,⁸⁷ but it remained a theatre until converted shortly after 1840 into offices for the duke and his steward.⁸⁸ In 1796 the supposed Titian paintings presented to the 1st duke by Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, were removed from the great hall and displayed separately in a room east of the theatre.⁸⁹ The Titian room was burnt down in 1861 and its contents, which included a notable Rubens, destroyed.⁹⁰ The fire destroyed much of the south side of the north-east court, but muniments in the office strong room were preserved. When the range was rebuilt the former orangery was restored as a conservatory and a new estate office built on the former open yard.⁹¹ A strong room was inserted in the west end of the conservatory in 1902.⁹²

The 5th duke rearranged exhibits in the public rooms to accommodate paintings moved to Blenheim from Marlborough House when it reverted to the Crown in 1817.⁹³ His principal structural alterations were in the area beneath the long library, which in the 18th century was known as the stone gallery.⁹⁴ In the 1820s he divided the area into three rooms, lavishly decorated in a variety of styles, including a room (now the restaurant) with japanned panelling and a large mural of an Indian tiger hunt.⁹⁵ The northernmost room was turned into a china

⁷² Mavor, *New Description* (1789); Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 183–4.

⁷³ Blenheim Mun., Treasury box XXII/74/6: inventory 1780; Mavor, *New Description* (1817), 29.

⁷⁴ J. Hardy, 'Neo-Classical taste at Blenheim', *Country Life*, clvii (1975), 198–201; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 317–18; R. Gunnis, *Dict. Brit. Sculptors*, 16, 435.

⁷⁵ Mavor, *New Description* (1836 and c. 1845); D. Green and M. Jourdain, 'Furniture at Blenheim', *Country Life*, cix (2) (1951), 1184–6.

⁷⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37*, ff. 26 sqq.

⁷⁷ Mavor, *New Description* (1789 edn.), 54. Cf. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 183, 283, where Hakewill is identified as John's son Henry, who was only 18 years old in 1789; Colvin, *Biog. Dict. Brit. Archit.* 376. For Hakewill's ceiling in 1890, N.M.R., Rothschild colln.

⁷⁸ H. Walpole's *Corresp.* ed. W. S. Lewis, x, p. 309.

⁷⁹ Mavor, *New Description* (1789 edn.), 72.

⁸⁰ N.M.R., Rothschild colln., photos. of 1890.

⁸¹ Below.

⁸² *Country Life*, clvii (1975), 201; cf. photos. in Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 94; *Blenheim Palace* (official guide, 1950), 17.

⁸³ Mavor, *New Description* (1789 and later edns.); Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 285.

⁸⁴ *New Oxf. Guide* (1759), 89.

⁸⁵ E. Moir, *Discovery of Britain*, 75–6.

⁸⁶ Below, Pk. from 1705.

⁸⁷ Mavor, *New Description* (1789 and later edns.); Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 188, 190; Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 11 Jan. 1788; 21 Aug., 26 Nov., 28 Dec. 1789; S. Rosenfeld, *Temples of Thespis*, 109–117; *Versatile Professor*, ed. G. C. White, 99, 101–5.

⁸⁸ Blenheim Mun., plan [c. 1850] of kitchen court.

⁸⁹ Ibid.; *New Oxf. Guide* (1759), 80–1; Mavor, *New Description* (1789 and later edns.); Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 182, 281; Scharf, *Cat. Raisonné* (1862), 83–92. For the date 1796, B.L. Add. MS. 61677, f. 149.

⁹⁰ *Illustrated Times*, 16 Feb. 1861, p. 102; *Annual Reg.* 1861, pt. 2, pp. 17–19; J. J. Moore, *Rambles and Rides around Oxf.* ii. 91–2; Scharf, *Cat. Raisonné* (1862), 83. For engravings of lost paintings, Bodl. G. A. Oxon. a 110, endpapers.

⁹¹ *Eccles' New Guide* (1858 and later edns.); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 edn.). Cf. A. L. Rowse, *Later Churchill*, 268, where the conservatory is attributed wrongly to the 8th duke.

⁹² Blenheim Mun., shelf B 5, strong room ledger.

⁹³ Mavor, *New Description* (1817), 26 sqq.

⁹⁴ e.g. Bodl. G. A. Oxon. a 79, f. 29.

⁹⁵ *Perambulation of Oxf.* [Oxf. 1825], 58–9.

gallery in the 1840s after the closure of the gallery in the park.⁹⁶

The 5th duke's financial problems led to serious neglect of the building.⁹⁷ When he died in 1840 his successor quickly obtained an Act enabling him to finance repairs by mortgages and timber sales.⁹⁸ During the 6th duke's time (1840–57) the palace was renovated 'at immense expense', reputedly £80,000.⁹⁹ The architect Thomas Allason began work there in 1841.¹ In 1844 the visiting king of Saxony found 'almost every part in disorder' and under repair, but his party judged the 'extravagant opulence' of the palace by the dairy, where a fountain, which 'in any other place' would adorn the entrance avenue, was provided simply to cool milk and butter; the fountain, in the present bookshop, was built in artificial stone by John Seeley.² The public rooms were redecorated and rearranged, the state bedchamber becoming the crimson drawing room; the rooms between the bow window room and grand cabinet (formerly the duke's study and a drawing room) were completely redecorated and turned into a billiard room and breakfast room, while the present duchess's bedchamber was briefly the state bedchamber.³ That room and the duke's morning room to the north were receiled in ornate Louis XIV style.⁴ The conversion of the theatre into offices reflects a decision to move the centre of estate administration from Hensington House, occupied by the duke's auditor since the 1760s,⁵ and it was probably also in the 1840s that the former kitchen was turned into the audit house.⁶ Then or earlier in the 19th century new kitchens were created in the basement of the main block, and the loggia in the basement of the eastern light well partly walled in and a staircase built to provide access to the dining room above.⁷ Under-floor heating of the main corridors may have been installed in the 1850s,⁸ and probably in the 6th duke's time Blenheim acquired its own gas works, built outside the stable court.⁹ The works were removed when electricity was installed in the 1880s by the 8th duke who also introduced radiators and telephones.¹⁰

The 7th duke converted the billiard room in the private apartments, the present smoking room, into a Gothic library designed by S. S. Teulon; some fittings survived later alterations.¹¹ Other 19th-century changes included alterations to the principal staircases, and that in the north-west of the main block was entirely reconstructed. The stable court had been extended piecemeal from the later 18th century:¹² a melon house built within it by the 5th duke¹³ was removed, and by the mid 19th century the peripheral buildings included a cottage and coachhouses flanking the west gate and an open-sided riding school on the north.¹⁴ In the 1880s the court's south side was built up to house the electricity generator, and the adjacent cottage enlarged.¹⁵ The riding school was enclosed to form an assembly hall for Malvern College during the Second World War.

From the time of the 7th duke the circuit of public rooms was curtailed and the whole east front reserved as private apartments.¹⁶ In the public rooms the large drawing room west of the grand cabinet became a billiard room, and the saloon was refurnished as a drawing room,¹⁷ but there were few other changes. By the 1880s an anteroom to display porcelain linked the hall to the rooms at the east end of the south front. In the late 19th century the contents of the former china gallery were displayed in the basement below the bow window room.¹⁸ In general the exhibited collections were greatly reduced by the sale of the Sunderland Library in 1881–3 and by later sales of heirlooms by the 8th duke.¹⁹ Much of the profit was devoted to agricultural development but in the 8th duke's latter years some was spent on the palace, notably on restoring the chapel.

The 9th duke recreated a formal setting on the east, west, and north fronts.²⁰ Inside he restored the long library and altered (to his later regret) the three state rooms west of the saloon by adding applied decoration in the style of Louis XIV on the walls and ceilings.²¹ He restored the third state room as the state bedchamber by 1912,²² turned the billiard room into the red

⁹⁶ Mavor, *New Description* [c. 1845], 66; *Eccles' New Guide* [c. 1850], 38–9; Blenheim Mun., plan of basement [c. 1850].

⁹⁷ e.g. [H. Puckler-Muskau], *Tour of a German Prince*, trans. S. Austin (1832), iii. 253–9; *Gardeners' Mag.* x (1834), 99; J. Timbs, 'Excursion to Blenheim', *Literary World* (1840), pp. 326–30.

⁹⁸ Blenheim Mun. H/P/3: vol. of mins. and accts. 1840–57, with copy of Act and later amendments.

⁹⁹ *Eccles' New Guide* [c. 1850], 6.

¹ Colvin, *Biog. Dict. Brit. Archit.* 66.

² C. G. Carus, *King of Saxony's Jny.* 1844 (trans. S. C. Davidson, 1846), 183; Gunnis, *Dict. Brit. Sculpt.* 347.

³ Mavor, *New Description* [1836, c. 1845], 28; *Eccles' New Guide* [c. 1850], 20.

⁴ For the duchess's bedchamber, Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 67; cf. John Hardy, 'Blenheim and the Louis XIV revival', *Country Life*, clvii (1975), 263, where its ceiling is attributed to the 8th duke.

⁵ Above, Bladon, Intro.

⁶ Blenheim Mun., plan of kitchen ct. [c. 1850].

⁷ Ibid. plan of basement [c. 1850].

⁸ Ibid. central heating plan (watermarked 1851).

⁹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 edn.).

¹⁰ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 286–7; H. Montgomery-Massingberd, *Blenheim Revisited*, 107, 111; C. Vanderbilt Bal-

san, *The Glitter and the Gold* (1952), 42.

¹¹ *Country Life*, clvii (1975), 262; illus. in *St. James's Budget*, 1 Feb. 1895. Called the east or small library: plans in Scharf, *Cat. Raisonné* (1862); *Country Life*, cv (1949), 1247.

¹² e.g. maps in Mavor, *New Description* (1789 and later edns.).

¹³ *Gardeners' Mag.* x (1834), 99–100.

¹⁴ Blenheim Mun., plan of stable ct. [c. 1850].

¹⁵ H. Taunt, *Blenheim, Woodstock* (1914), 46: plan of palace; O.S. Map, 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1898).

¹⁶ Cf. *Eccles' New Guide* (1858, 1860 edns.).

¹⁷ J. T. Emmott, *Guide to Blenheim and Woodstock* [1897]; N.M.R., Rothschild colln.; Montgomery-Massingberd, *Blenheim Revisited*, 165; Blenheim Mun., plan (watermarked 1851, with later room names).

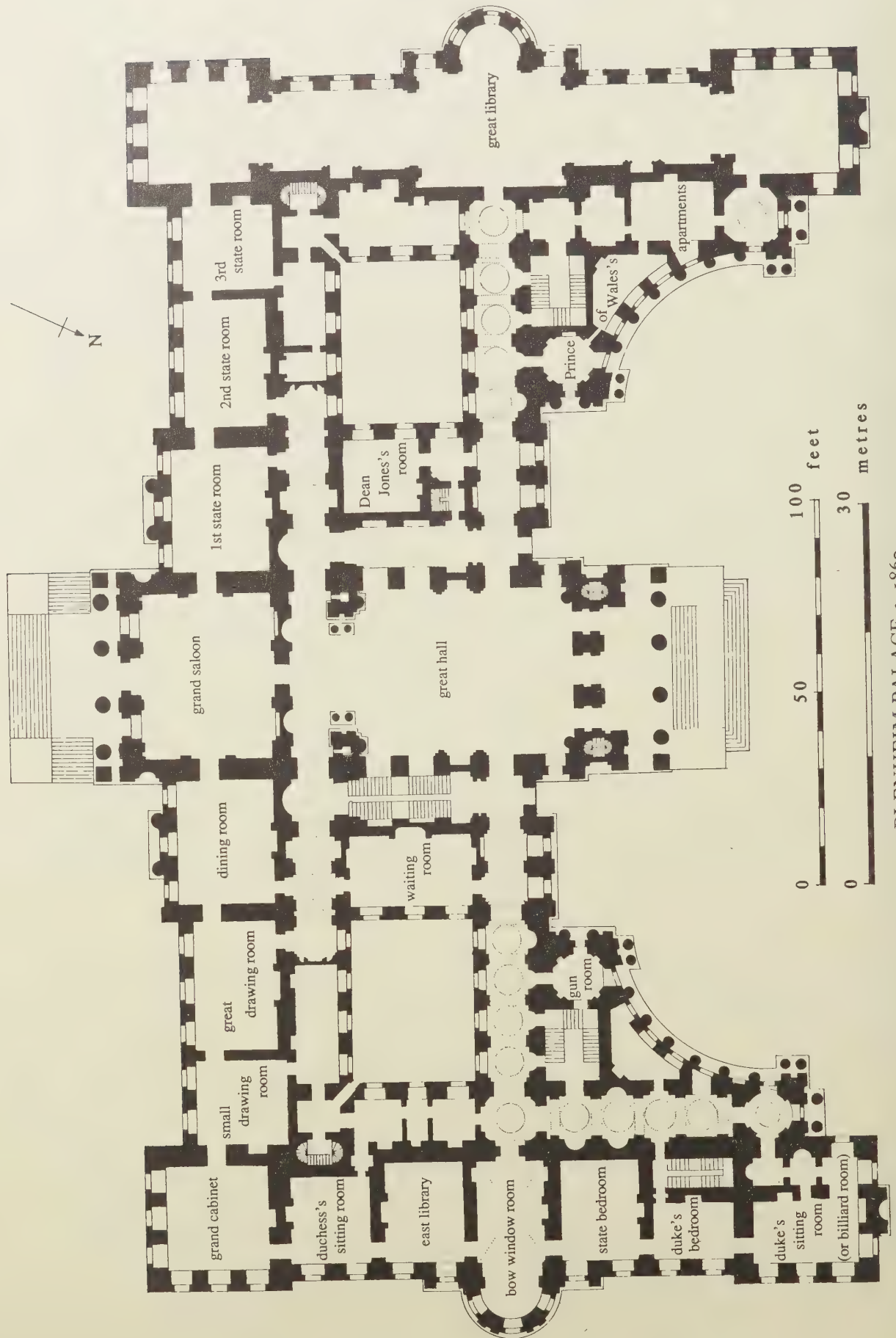
¹⁸ e.g. *Eccles' New Guide* [1883]; Emmott, *Guide* [1897].

¹⁹ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 201–2; A. L. Rowse, *Later Churchills*, 264–8; Montgomery-Massingberd, *Blenheim Revisited*, 106–7.

²⁰ Above; below, Pk. from 1705.

²¹ *Country Life*, clvii (1975), 262–5; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 204; Montgomery-Massingberd, *Blenheim Revisited*, 132; N.M.R., Rothschild and Taunt collns.

²² N.M.R., Taunt colln.; Westgate Libr., photo. 81/3866.



BLenheim PALACE c. 1860

drawing room, and the panelled dining room east of the saloon into the morning room.²³ The saloon was used as a dining room on formal occasions but the family usually dined in the bow window room. Later the third state room again ceased to be furnished as a bedchamber, and the morning room became the green writing room.²⁴

The long library was used as a hospital ward during the First World War. On the outbreak of the Second World War Malvern College was evacuated to Blenheim, but after a year the palace was taken over by the Intelligence Service until 1944, and other tenants included the British Council and the Ministry of Supply. Huts were built in the great court and partitions divided many of the principal rooms. After restoration the palace was reopened to visitors in 1950.²⁵ Thereafter costly repairs were carried out to most of the structure;²⁶ the chief alterations were the conversion of the basement below the library into a restaurant, the provision of staff flats on part of the upper floors, and of a conference centre in the kitchen court.

From the outset Blenheim housed a large domestic staff, under the control of a resident steward; in 1764 the Marlboroughs had c. 90 servants of whom over 70 were at Blenheim and their wages and liveries cost nearly £3,000 a year.²⁷ In the early 19th century it was estimated that there were 187 furnished rooms in the palace and there was a staff, not all resident, of c. 80.²⁸ The penurious 5th duke was forced to reduce his establishment greatly.²⁹ In 1841, when the 6th duke was in residence, there were 30 servants and a governess in the palace, and in 1871 a similar number; in 1851 and 1881, when the family was absent, there were fewer than a dozen resident servants.³⁰ A higher proportion of the staff lived out as park lodges proliferated and estate cottages were built in nearby villages. At the end of the 19th century the inside staff was between 35 and 40, and the outside staff between 40 and 50, excluding the hunting department based at Home Farm, Bladon.³¹ In modern times, although the family ceased to reside during the tourist season, the staff was enlarged as the palace became a commercial enterprise; by the 1980s there were c. 90 permanent employees and twice that number in the summer months.³²

²³ Cf. Emmott, *Guide* [1897]; Taunt, *Blenheim, Woodstock* (1914).

²⁴ *Blenheim Palace* (official guide, 1950, 1976 edns.).

²⁵ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 223–4; Montgomery-Massingberd, *Blenheim Revisited*, 178–84.

²⁶ Montgomery-Massingberd, *Blenheim Revisited*, 196, 220; *Country Life*, cxxiv (1958), 1400–1.

²⁷ B.L. Add. MS. 61680, ff. 55 sqq.: lists of Blenheim staff.

²⁸ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 286; Montgomery-Massingberd, *Blenheim Revisited*, 85, 92.

²⁹ M. Soames, *Profligate Duke*, 216.

³⁰ P.R.O., HO 107/893, 1730; *ibid.* RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512.

³¹ G. Horne, 'Blenheim Fifty Years Ago', *Country Life*, xcvi (1945), 326–8.

³² Montgomery-Massingberd, *Blenheim Revisited*, 203.

³³ The following is based on D. Green, 'Visitors to Blenheim', *Country Life*, cvii (1950), 648–51; E. Moir, *Discovery of Britain*, 61; Montgomery-Massingberd, *Blenheim Revisited*, 11.

³⁴ Oxf. Jnl. Synopsis, 14 Sept. 1768; *Oxf. Jnl.* 18 June, 2

In 1786 George III visited Blenheim and remarked of the view from the Triumphal Arch, 'we have nothing to equal this'.³³ Other royal visitors included the king of Denmark in 1768, the emperor of Russia in 1814, Queen Adelaide in 1835, Prince Albert in 1841, Edward VII as prince of Wales in 1859, 1870, 1873, and 1896, Edward VIII in 1936, and Charles, prince of Wales, in 1976 and 1981.³⁴ Sir Winston Churchill was born in the palace, in Dean Jones's room, in 1874.³⁵ Even as a building site Blenheim became an object of popular tourism, and c. 1720 an Oxford man complained of his recurrent obligation to take visitors there. From the outset the building was recognized as a public monument and in 1712 the duke directed his comptroller of works, Henry Joynes, to show visitors round without fee; later the duchess accused Joynes of profiting handsomely.³⁶ One notable visitor refused admission on the duchess's orders was Vanbrugh, who had to view his work from over the park wall in 1725.³⁷ Guide books, at first published as annexes to Oxford tours, proliferated from the mid 18th century. Complaints about the crowds of tourists and the rudeness and venality of porters and guides were common, and fees were regarded as exorbitant.³⁸ In the later 18th century the family maintained some privacy by restricting opening hours to a brief period in the afternoon but the park was open most days and there was also a series of public days in the late summer.³⁹ Throughout its history the palace and grounds were made available for local celebrations and other public events. Distinguished tourists were sometimes received by the family, but in 1802 the reclusive 4th duke deeply offended Nelson by sending out refreshments to him in the park. By contrast the king of Saxony was received in 1844 with a 21-gun salute.⁴⁰ The 5th duke shocked some visitors by letting shooting and fishing by the hour,⁴¹ and his successor caused outrage by raising the entry fee,⁴² which was restored in 1856 to 1s. and remained unchanged until the First World War; the fees were given to charities such as the Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford.⁴³ Damage and theft by visitors was a recurrent problem; in 1913 the park was, exceptionally, closed to the public because of a threat of damage by suffragettes.⁴⁴ The family resided more frequently from the late 19th century and

July 1814; 24 Oct. 1835; Moore, *Rambles and Rides*, ii. 59; M. Fowler, *Blenheim: Biog. of a Palace*, *passim*; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 98; *Blenheim Palace*, visitors' bk.

³⁵ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 200.

³⁶ *Blenheim Mun.*, shelf G 1, misc. box 10, summary of progress [1716].

³⁷ Whistler, *Imagination*, 122–3.

³⁸ Hist. MSS. Com. 6, 7th Rep., *Verney*, p. 248; *ibid.* 64, *Verulam*, p. 247; [A. Young], *Six Weeks Tour through the Southern Counties* (1768), 96–7; Anon., *Tour in Wales and Several Counties* (1806), 13; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 79, f. 119; C. Bede, *Adventures of Verdant Green*, 124–6.

³⁹ Mavor, *New Description* (1789 and later edns.); B.L. Add. MS. 61672, f. 137. For guest list of 5th duke's first public day, *ibid.* 61677, f. 102.

⁴⁰ C. G. Carus, *King of Saxony's Jny. 1844* (trans. S. C. Davidson, 1846), 183.

⁴¹ *Jnl. of Mrs. Arbuthnot*, ed. F. Bamford and Duke of Wellington, 304–5.

⁴² B.L. Add. MS. 61677, ff. 178–90v.; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. e 49; N. Hawthorne, *Our Old Home*, 9–10; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 199.

⁴³ *Eccles' New Guide* [1883 edn.].

⁴⁴ *Blenheim Mun.*, shelf B 5, poster.

public access to the palace was curtailed; from the 1920s only the grounds were open and tourism declined sharply.⁴⁵ When the palace was reopened in 1950 it attracted large crowds and by the 1980s there were over 350,000 visitors a year.⁴⁶

PARK FROM 1705. The laying out of the gardens and park, begun in 1705 at the same time as the building of Blenheim Palace, was the work of Henry Wise, the royal gardener, although the design probably owed much to Vanbrugh.⁴⁷ The chief elements, quickly settled after some preliminary sketches,⁴⁸ were (i) a great avenue of elms in the denuded northern park; (ii) a shorter avenue between the Oxford road and the palace; (iii) a great parterre and walled, formal garden, later (presumably because of its bastioned curtain wall) called the military garden, immediately south of the palace and linked to smaller formal gardens on the east and west fronts; (iv) a rearrangement of the rest of the heavily wooded Lower Park to create a geometric pattern of walks and vistas; (v) a very large walled kitchen garden; (vi) a treatment of the Glyme valley which included building a massive bridge and causeways, canalizing the meandering streams, and creating lakes. That the palace and some of the chief elements of its setting were conceived together is implied by the fact that a line from Ditchley gate in the north to Bladon church tower in the south passes precisely through the central axis of the palace. Once it was decided to build on the high ground overlooking the Glyme opposite the old manor house the palace was evidently aligned to provide a vista at right angles to the south front down the central walk of the great parterre and military garden to the distant church tower. That alignment in turn dictated the line of the avenue at right angles to the north front, yet the chosen site provided the vista while allowing the great avenue to bisect the northern park on the longest axis possible, also bypassing the ruined manor house which Vanbrugh wished to preserve. It seems certain that both vista and avenue were in mind from the outset.

Much of the park was retained as a deer park, particularly the ancient woodland in the south-west later called High Park, where early plans were confined to creating or preserving a few

walks and a vista south of High Lodge.⁴⁹ Some deer were brought in from Windsor in 1708, others exported from the park in 1718, and in 1722 it was said that there were never fewer than 5,000 head.⁵⁰ There were over 3,000 in 1781 and Blenheim remained a deer park until the First World War, when the deer were disposed of 'in the interests of food supply'.⁵¹

From the outset some of the northern park (renamed Great Park) was intended for agriculture: the expectation in 1705 that much would be converted to tillage raised the price to buy out the tithe owner of the park, William Whitton.⁵² Paddocks along the western edge, probably enclosed before, were extended; in 1720 Francis, earl of Godolphin, kept horses and cattle there, and farm buildings were sited there later.⁵³ Sheep and cattle were kept in the park, and the area around Furze Platt in the north-east was turned to agriculture by the mid 18th century.⁵⁴ Instead of a proposed pattern of avenues the northern park was given only the great avenue and a few circular or triangular plantations.⁵⁵ Vanbrugh seems to have accepted that there was a 'bleak, naked part of the park' where agriculture would take priority.⁵⁶ Some or all of the walled plantations which Wise was stocking in 1705⁵⁷ may have been established in the 17th century,⁵⁸ and so appear arbitrarily disposed in relation to the avenue.

John, duke of Marlborough, was said to have urged Wise to provide a ready-made garden;⁵⁹ much of the building work on the military and kitchen gardens was carried out in 1705–6, and Wise imported quantities of mature specimens from Brompton and elsewhere. Although work on the military garden was still continuing in 1710 and its walls remained incomplete until much later, the gardens were 'very fine' by September 1706, and the avenues planted.⁶⁰ The critical Thomas Hearne found the gardens already 'very extraordinary and to exceed anything of that nature in England'.⁶¹ Wise, who while laying out the gardens lived in the former Hensgrove Lodge near the kitchen garden,⁶² was responsible for massive earth moving operations, and by 1709 his bills exceeded £13,000.⁶³ His concern with Blenheim continued on a lesser scale for many years, some of his work being carried out by the resident gardener Tilleman Bobart.⁶⁴

Several early plans, one by Wise's assistant

⁴⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1920 and later edns.). The only guide bk. of the period seems to have been a reissue of Taunt, *Blenheim, Woodstock*, by Aldens after 1922.

⁴⁶ Montgomery-Massingberd, *Blenheim Revisited*, 184, 203.

⁴⁷ D. Green, *Blenheim Palace, passim*; idem, *Gardener to Queen Anne*, 96–121; L. Whistler, *Imagination of Vanbrugh*, 111–23.

⁴⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37*, ff. 1–2, reproduced in Green, *Gardener to Queen Anne*, pls. 30–1.

⁴⁹ e.g. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 50, ff. 1–2.

⁵⁰ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1708, 34, 336; 1718, 165, 203; J. Macky, *Journey through Eng.* ii (1722), 116–17.

⁵¹ *Diary of Syllas Neville, 1767–88*, ed. B. Cozens-Hardy, 280; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 231, 259.

⁵² *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1704–5, 510–11.

⁵³ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 50, ff. 1–2; d 173, f. 132; T. Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789): copies in Blenheim Mun and W. Mavor, *New Description of Blenheim* (1789 and later edns.).

⁵⁴ *Letters of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough at Madresfield Court* (1875), i. 119–20, 132–3; B.L. Add. MS. 61468, f. 11; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 172.

⁵⁵ Cf. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37, ff. 1–2; *ibid.* a 50, ff. 1–2.

⁵⁶ *Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, ed. G. Webb, iv. 34–6.

⁵⁷ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 70.

⁵⁸ Above, Pk. to 1705.

⁵⁹ J. Macky, *Journey through Eng.* ii (1722), 116–17. This and several other remarks on the early park are attributed to Defoe in Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 68 and *passim*, following an erroneous attribution in Bodl. MS. Top. d 173, f. 136.

⁶⁰ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 67–72.

⁶¹ *Hearne's Colln.* i (O.H.S. ii), 202.

⁶² Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 62. For the lodge, Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719) in wooden chest.

⁶³ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 62, 67–9; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 79, f. 121v.

⁶⁴ e.g. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 218, ff. 60, 77.



BLenheim PALACE from the north c. 1750



BLenheim PARK in 1752, with the palace, the canal, the Grand Bridge, and Woodstock church beyond



WOODSTOCK PARK: the king's houses from the east in 1677, with Woodstock church tower and Chaucer's House in the foreground



WOODSTOCK: Park Street, looking west, with the market cross, demolished in 1766, and on the left, the Crown and the Bear inns

Charles Bridgeman in 1709, show the achievement of the first few years,⁶⁵ when an estimated £20,000 was spent on the gardens, excluding the cost of the walls.⁶⁶ Some of the plans may include uncompleted features but are confirmed in general by a map of 1719.⁶⁷ By 1707 some 1,600 elms had been established in the two avenues and other plantations.⁶⁸ The great avenue, c. 1½ mile long, comprised double ranks of elms thickened at intervals to ranks of four, centred on a great ellipse, presumably designed as the setting for the monument which was eventually placed further south.⁶⁹ The idea that the avenue's design represents the disposition of opposing armies at the battle of Blenheim seems to be a variant of late 18th-century allegations relating to the park as a whole or to Wise's plantations in Lower Park.⁷⁰ The avenue proved difficult to establish and was still sickly in 1744.⁷¹ It was fairly complete in 1789 but was reduced to a few scattered clumps by the mid 19th century.⁷² Replanting with a double row of elms began in 1896, and in 1902 a more elaborate design was established, with multiple rows and a diamond-shaped centrepiece on the site of the former ellipse; c. 2,300 trees were planted.⁷³ After destruction by Dutch elm disease the avenue was replanted with limes in the late 1970s.⁷⁴

The eastern avenue, known as the Mall, was originally planned to approach the east front of the palace opposite the bow window, but soon afterwards a parallel carriage road was aligned on the east gate of the kitchen court. Both approaches were planted, creating a double avenue of which the wider, southern part was still interrupted by unfelled forest trees in 1719; a plan to build a canal down its centre was probably abandoned.⁷⁵ The 'double' avenue survived into the 19th century but much of the southern part was derelict by 1876.⁷⁶ Restoration of the Mall began in the 1890s and after its destruction by Dutch elm disease it was replanted in 1976 with a mixture of planes and limes.⁷⁷

The military garden, of which the fortified perimeter was said to be 'after the ancient Roman manner',⁷⁸ accorded with one of the earliest sketches.⁷⁹ It covered c. 70 a. and comprised a rectangular parterre the full width of the palace's south front and c. 250 yd. long, south of which lay the Woodwork, a hexagonal wilderness of trees, divided by a gravel walk and circuses. A straight central walk, aligned on Bladon church tower, led c. 750 yd. from the south entrance of the palace across the parterre, between basins and fountains at the centre of the Woodwork, to a great basin and grotto at the southern end; a cross walk in the Woodwork was c. 600 yd. long. The military garden was surrounded by a high stone wall with eight large bastions at the angles, each with a basin, and linked by a wide terraced curtain walk.⁸⁰ From walls and bastions, enclosed by a ha-ha, views were provided down avenues in the wooded southern park.⁸¹ In the Woodwork some existing forest trees were preserved; there were lime espalier walks and 'evergreen quarters', and because mature trees were planted the garden by 1744 had the appearance of 'a full grown wood'.⁸² The great southern basin and its associated grotto, partly completed in 1706 by Henry Banckes, was later condemned by the duchess, but she may not have fulfilled her intention to demolish it in 1716: when the rubble walls of the garden were being repaired in 1721 reference was made to ashlar stretches flanking the great bastion.⁸³ The two central basins and fountains in the Woodwork, replacing an original design for a vast single basin,⁸⁴ were still unfinished in 1722 but may have been the fountains mentioned in 1744.⁸⁵ Few changes seem to have been made to the military garden before the whole was swept away by Capability Brown in the 1760s; it may be discerned in outline beneath the great lawn.⁸⁶

Early plans for Blenheim Palace included smaller formal gardens on the east and west fronts, continuing the parterre northward towards the matching conservatories planned

⁶⁵ Ibid. a 50, ff. 1-2; Blenheim Mun., shelf H 3, plan of pk. (n.d., early 18th-cent.); Green, *Gardener to Queen Anne*, pl. 32. The Bridgeman plan, preserved in the palace, is reproduced in Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 25.

⁶⁶ B.L. Add. MS. 61354, f. 3: summary of expenditure to 1709.

⁶⁷ Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719), reproduced in part in Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 74.

⁶⁸ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 72.

⁶⁹ T. Salmon, *Present State of the Universities* (1744), 10, which refers to Dutch elms, but cf. *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 77. For early plan of avenue, Blenheim Mun., wooden chest; cf. Green, *Gardener to Queen Anne*, 110.

⁷⁰ Cf. H. T. Bobart, *Biog. Sketch of Jacob Bobart* (priv. print. 1884), 11; *Diary of Jos. Farington*, ed. K. Garlick and A. Macintyre, iii. 1119; Mavor, *New Description* (1806), 95 n.

⁷¹ Salmon, *Present State of the Universities*, 10.

⁷² Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789); Blenheim Mun., framed map (c. 1840) in estate office.

⁷³ *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 127; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 287; Woodstock Borough Mun. file 22; cf. O.S. Maps 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 3, 4, 8 (1876, 1899, 1922 edns.).

⁷⁴ *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 134.

⁷⁵ Green, *Gardener to Queen Anne*, 110; cf. idem, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 25; C. Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, iii (1725), pl. 71; Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719).

⁷⁶ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 edn.). For a photo. of the carriage drive in the late 19th century, *Country Life*, v. 690.

⁷⁷ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1899 edn.); *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 127, 134.

⁷⁸ S. Switzer, *Ichonographia Rustica* (1718), ii. 174. For the military garden, Green, *Gardener to Queen Anne*, 105-6.

⁷⁹ Cf. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37*, ff. 1-2; Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719).

⁸⁰ Cf. undated early drawings in Bodl. MS. North b 24, f. 154; *ibid.* MS. Rawl. B 400E, f. 17v. For an early plan of the parterre, *ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. a 50, f. 3. Descriptions following Salmon, *Present State of the Universities*, 9-10 exaggerate the size of the bastions.

⁸¹ Macky, *Journey through Eng.* ii (1722), 116-17; W. Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum* (1724), 44.

⁸² Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719); Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 71; Salmon, *Present State of the Universities*, 9.

⁸³ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 241; B.L. Add. MS. 61354, f. 82. The basin is shown in Blenheim Mun. map of pk. (1719).

⁸⁴ Bodl. MS. North b 24, f. 154; *ibid.* MS. Top. Oxon. a 50, f. 1.

⁸⁵ Macky, *Journey through Eng.* ii (1722), 116-17; Salmon, *Present State of the Universities*, 10.

⁸⁶ County Mus., P.R.N. key map (SP 41 NW) includes traced outline from air photographs.



Blenheim Park c. 1730

for the south fronts of the east and west courtyards.⁸⁷ The flower garden outside the bow window room, in progress in June 1708, was sunken to enable access from the basement and had a boundary fence to which the duchess of Marlborough objected in 1709.⁸⁸ Gate piers, possibly those later incorporated in Hensington gate, stood at the east end.⁸⁹ The flower garden and an enclosure on the west front, both shown on a map of 1719,⁹⁰ were altered in the later 18th century.⁹¹

The southern park in 1719 combined preserved forest trees with new plantings in avenues and circuses, some of the avenues radiating from viewpoints in the military garden.⁹² The avenues west of the military garden were destroyed in the later 18th century but the pattern in the south-east survived into the 19th.⁹³ By 1876, however, after heavy felling of elms there in the mid 19th century, little of the formal layout could be discerned.⁹⁴ In the 1980s a vestigial avenue running west from near Eagle gate towards the kitchen garden survived from Wise's original design,⁹⁵ in which it had provided a vista from the south-eastern bastion of the Woodwork to the distant spire of Kidlington church.

The kitchen garden, which survives, was built in 1705–6. The chief walled area covered c. 7 a. within 14 ft. high bastioned walls; a smaller enclosure, later called a potagerie, lay on its south and east sides. The main walls were entirely of locally made brick on the south and east, and of stone lined with brick on the other sides. Two great stone basins, which survive, were part of the original plan; a heated wall for vines was incorporated before 1732.⁹⁶ In 1716, when the plants were fully established, Vanbrugh judged it the finest kitchen garden in Europe.⁹⁷ The Palladian gateway forming the western entrance was inserted by Sir William Chambers c. 1770.⁹⁸ The gardener's house near the south-west corner is of the later 18th century.

The earliest plans for the park included schemes to canalize the river Glyme, inserting rectangular and polygonal basins with islands.⁹⁹

Vanbrugh's design for the Grand Bridge, accepted by 1706,¹ seems to have assumed the existence of three watercourses, a broad one to pass under the great central arch, and smaller canals under the two flanking arches. Vanbrugh also planned to form lakes in the northern and southern valleys, creating what the duchess disparaged as 'a great sea round the house'; in 1716, before Vanbrugh left Blenheim, doubts were expressed about the porosity of the valley floor, and the duchess, who preferred a simple canal, feared that the 'beautiful green meadows . . . will be all over in spots of dirty, stinking water'.²

In 1722 she engaged William Townesend and Bartholomew Peisley to finish the bridge and build canals to a revised design by the engineer, Col. John Armstrong: a straight canal 1,840 ft. long and 100 ft. wide, flanked on the north by a narrow channel to a water-engine and on the south by a channel for surplus water, was to pass under the bridge and terminate on the west in a circular basin 300 ft. wide.³ The contract, completed by 1723,⁴ was the first stage of a more elaborate scheme carried out in the next few years. The lower of the two causeways to the former manor house was built up to create a large, shallow lake,⁵ filling the valley from Old Woodstock mill and terminating in a cascade of twelve stone steps leading to Armstrong's canal and basin; both lake and cascade were complete by 1724.⁶ In 1724 Townesend and Peisley were contracted to build another canal 3,250 ft. long and 100 ft. wide in the southern valley, beginning with a cascade at the basin, another where the canal changed direction, and a third where a large oval basin at the south end overflowed into the old river. The contract, which included other conduits and reshaping many of the valley slopes, was for over £3,000;⁷ it was completed by 1725 when a hundred men were landscaping the valley near Rosamund's Well.⁸ The duchess boasted that the idea of the upper cascade, 'the finest and largest ever made', had never occurred to Vanbrugh,⁹ although an early plan, probably representing Vanbrugh's ideas,¹⁰ shows lakes linked by a canal beneath the bridge, and a dam (with presumably some form of waterfall)

⁸⁷ Blenheim Mun., plans vol. in wooden chest, particularly no. 6A; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 50, f. 3. For the proposed conservatories, of which only the eastern 'orangery' was built, above, Blenheim Palace.

⁸⁸ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 71, 255–6; idem, *Gardener to Queen Anne*, 110–11, pl. 34; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 50, f. 3.

⁸⁹ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 256; B.L. Add. MS. 61354, ff. 119–120v., referring to iron gates east of the Bow Window room. For Hensington gate, below.

⁹⁰ Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719).

⁹¹ Below.

⁹² Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719).

⁹³ Cf. ibid. Brown's plan for 'intended alterations of the Water' (c. 1764), reproduced in Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 89; Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789), and later amendments of it in Mavor, *New Description* (1800 and later edns.).

⁹⁴ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8; Blenheim Mun., H/P/3.

⁹⁵ Cf. Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 12 (1876 and later edns.).

⁹⁶ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 67, 241; Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719); Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789).

⁹⁷ *Works of Vanbrugh*, ed. Webb, iv. 70.

⁹⁸ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 317.

⁹⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37*, ff. 1–2.

¹ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 80–1.

² Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, misc. box 10, acct. of state of works [1716].

³ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 313; Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719), which has canal scheme superimposed; ibid. shelf H 3, plan for completing bridge (c. 1722). For Armstrong see D. Green, *Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, 213.

⁴ Green, *Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, 246; Berks. R.O., D/ESv (B), F 29/1. For views of canal 1724 and 1752, Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. d 14, f. 14v.; above, plate facing p. 460.

⁵ Salmon, *Present State of the Universities*, 9.

⁶ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 174; c 351, f. 221; Stukeley, *Itin. Curiosum* (1724), 44; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 313, correcting Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 218, f. 36 and v. (copy in B.L. Add. MS. 61354, f. 115), a later 18th-cent. record, giving the incorrect date 1727 for the lake.

⁷ Berks. R.O., D/ESv (B), F. 29/3. A stretch of north-south canal is clearly visible beneath the lake: *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 83. For cascades there cf. M. Soames, *Profligate Duke*, pls. 4–5; Victoria and Albert Mus. Libr., MS. 86 NN 2: sketch of lake and canal, 1728; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 221. ⁸ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 163.

⁹ Idem, *Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, 246.

¹⁰ Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, iii, pl. 71.

at the causeway. The upper lake continued to cause problems: in 1731 Hawksmoor noted that the cascade 'does not play', and in 1738 it was choked with weeds.¹¹

Vanbrugh's design for the Grand Bridge, 'a monstrous bridge over a vast hollow',¹² prevailed over less ambitious schemes by Wren and others.¹³ His intention was to maintain a view of the palace throughout the approach along the northern avenue, which required not only a long, high bridge but also the extensive reshaping of the valley sides to link them to the bridge by earthen causeways. The bridge, likened to the Rialto bridge in Venice,¹⁴ comprised a central arch 100 ft. wide, flanked by smaller arches, and four corner towers. The whole structure was c. 400 ft. long and 50 ft. high, and would have been 80 ft. high if a proposed colonnaded superstructure had been built.¹⁵ The bridge contained some 33 chambers: one large room was described sardonically by the duchess in 1716 as 'for a ball if there were occasion',¹⁶ and others included a bathing place and a boat house.¹⁷ The northern arch eventually incorporated an engine which pumped water to a cistern above the east gate of the palace. The engine, designed by John Aldersea, was first installed in an engine house in 1706, probably near the bridge, to provide water for a temporary cistern on the palace site,¹⁸ and the whole system was replumbed in 1724, presumably after the bridge and cistern tower were completed.¹⁹

The bridge was not begun until 1708, and the central arch keyed in 1710.²⁰ When work was stopped in 1712 only its western façade seems to have been near completion, and it was not linked to the valley sides.²¹ In 1716 Henry Wise again worked on the approach causeways, but did not complete them.²² In 1721 and 1722 William Townesend and Bartholomew Peisley contracted to complete the bridge by matching the east side to the west (but omitting the frostwork panels); they were allowed to dig the required rubble from the slopes west of the southern causeway and from the site of the old manor house. In 1724–5 they put iron railings in both staircases and beneath the bridge, and paved between the towers and the quadrants.²³ By 1725 the landscaping of the valley had been completed to the duchess's satisfaction²⁴ but

critics noted that the meagre canals emphasized the disproportionate scale of the bridge, which 'like the beggars at the old duchess's gate begs for a drop of water and is refused'.²⁵

Vanbrugh's attempts to retain the ancient royal manor house were finally defeated by the duchess.²⁶ In 1708 the manor house was repaired and roofed, and a forge and curtain wall added;²⁷ it seems there were plans for Francis Godolphin, Lord Rialton, to live there,²⁸ and although further work was forbidden in 1709 the habitable part was reserved for a time for Samuel Travers, surveyor-general of Crown lands.²⁹ In 1713 Vanbrugh moved his belongings into the building, and his further improvements there in 1716, to 'make it just habitable', provoked the final breach with the duchess.³⁰ The manor house was pulled down in 1723, the site landscaped and turfed, and some material used in completing the bridge and causeway; masonry from the site was said to have been used as late as the 1760s to strengthen the base of the Grand Bridge in readiness for the new lake.³¹

In 1722 the duchess was planning to rebuild much of the circuit of park walls and include some perimeter gates and lodges. The section between the Triumphal Arch and Home Lodge, unusual for its use of shallow buttresses, dates from a rebuilding by Townesend and Peisley in 1723–4, and the remaining walls were allegedly begun in 1727 and finished in 1729; in the 1720s various internal walls were removed. Much of the perimeter wall conforms to a design of Townesend and Peisley for unbuttressed walls 8 ft. high and 2 ft. thick, with a canted coping of Headington stone.³²

During the building of Blenheim the town gate remained the main entrance; a map of c. 1710 shows Bladon, Combe, Gorrel, and Wootton gates, and steps over the wall towards Stonesfield,³³ but Bladon gate was only a stile in 1738 when the duchess was proposing a simple carriage gate and the removal of an 'ugly house nearby'.³⁴ A gate and lodge at the northern entrance to the avenue was proposed in 1722, and Hawksmoor made several designs for Ditchley gate in 1724,³⁵ there seems to have been a lodge there in the 18th century, later rebuilt,³⁶ and the surviving gate piers are prob-

ably the original; B.L. Add. MS. 61354, ff. 50–52v.; Green, *Gardener to Queen Anne*, 118–21; Vanbrugh, ed. Webb, iv. 75–80.

²³ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 312–13; Berks. R.O., D/ESv (B), F 29/3.

²⁴ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 163.

²⁵ H. Walpole's *Corresp.* ed. W. S. Lewis, ix, p. 289.

²⁶ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 94–5, 303–4. ²⁷ Ibid. 94.

²⁸ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B 400E, f. 21v.

²⁹ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 95–6, 246.

³⁰ Ibid. 97, 141–2; Vanbrugh, ed. Webb, iv. 72, 81.

³¹ Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. c 218, f. 36v.; d 173, f. 176; B.L. Add. MS. 61353, f. 246.

³² *Birmingham and Midland Inst. Trans.* xii. 8; Berks. R.O., D/ESv (B), F 29/2; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 313–14, pl. 48; B.L. Add. MSS. 61353, f. 246; 61354, ff. 85–90.

³³ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 32.

³⁴ *Birmingham and Midland Inst. Trans.* xii. 15.

³⁵ B.L. Add. MS. 61354, f. 90; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 71, 272, 313, pl. 77.

³⁶ No lodge there is marked on 18th-cent. maps, but c. 1770 there was a Bennett's (formerly Lowe's) Lodge at the north end of the avenue: Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 218, f. 36 and v.; cf. B.L. Add. MS. 61680, f. 62v.

¹¹ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 177; W. J. Churchill, 'Some unpubl. letters of Sarah, duchess of Marlborough', *Birmingham and Midland Inst. Trans.* xii. 15.

¹² T. Whateley, *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1771), 78–81.

¹³ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 80–1, 301–2.

¹⁴ Macky, *Journey through Eng.* ii (1722), 114.

¹⁵ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 255, pl. 43.

¹⁶ Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, misc. box 10, acct. of state of works [1716].

¹⁷ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 126, 241, 313; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, ff. 176–8.

¹⁸ K. Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1979 edn.), 236–7; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 81, 243; Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 79, ff. 118, 121v.; d 173, ff. 156–62. The 'waterwork stream' to the northern arch is shown on a map of c. 1710: Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 32, reproducing Bodl. Gough Maps 26, f. 50v.

¹⁹ Blenheim Mun., Treasury box XV/52/1. For the later hist. of the water-engine, below.

²⁰ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 117–19, 246.

²¹ Ibid. 125–6, 130.

²² Blenheim Mun., plan of causeway [1716] in wooden

ably of the mid 18th century. The proposed main entrance to Blenheim, according to tradition, was to be at the east end of the Mall, but the duchess was unable to buy the necessary land. No gate had been built by 1719, when a cottage and garden blocked access to the avenue, and by 1731 the duchess had resolved 'never to come into the park that way';³⁷ the offending cottage was still there in 1750 and there may have been no entrance at Hensington until the 1760s.³⁸ Instead the main entrance, designed by Hawksmoor in 1722 and later called Woodstock gate or the Triumphal Arch, replaced the town gate at the west end of Park Street; it did not face the street but was placed on the south side of a high-walled courtyard or 'esplanade'. The town's reported opposition may have been an attempt to preserve the medieval gateway.³⁹ The Triumphal Arch, of the Corinthian order, incorporated a small porter's lodge which was still in use in the mid 19th century; the two flanking doorways are thought to have been added later, perhaps removed from the formal gardens c. 1770.⁴⁰

An inscription over the archway, recording its completion in 1723, refers to a pillar commemorating the duke's achievements, but at that date the Column of Victory was not begun. Hawksmoor made many designs for an obelisk, but in the end the column, built by Townesend at the southern end of the avenue between 1727 and 1731, was 'conducted' by Henry, Lord Herbert; Roger Morris was also concerned in its construction. The plinth bears lengthy inscriptions reciting the Acts bestowing the estate on the duke, together with a long panegyric composed by Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.⁴¹ By 1728 the fluted Doric column was surmounted by a bronze statue of the duke in Roman costume, possibly from the workshop of Sir Henry Cheere; the monument is over 134 ft. high.⁴²

Of the four keepers' lodges acquired with the estate only High Lodge is known to have been altered in the early years: although largely rebuilt in the later 17th century, it was heavily renovated in 1706 and a new wing added; the Marlboroughs used High Lodge until the palace was ready, and it was also used by friends and

relatives, notably the duchess's mother, Frances Jennings.⁴³ North Lodge was at first reserved for Brigadier William Cadogan, Woodstock's M.P. from 1705 until 1716, although he probably rarely lived there.⁴⁴ Hensgrove Lodge was used by Henry Wise, and at the later Park Farm Francis, earl of Godolphin, for a time kept colts.⁴⁵ Before 1713 Vanbrugh occupied a house in the park, which 'properly belonged to the baily of the park';⁴⁶ it was probably at the park gate, adjoining the west end of Chaucer's House, where a building called 'Sir John's house' was demolished to make way for the new Woodstock entrance in 1723.⁴⁷ The demolition of the old park gate and adjacent buildings probably removed the meeting place of the Park Gate court, for in 1724 a new court house was built near the Triumphal Arch, probably on the site of the surviving Woodstock Lodge.⁴⁸ Another building stood on the site of Home Lodge, presumably associated with an enclosure there called in 1719 the Warren; it was Wyatt's lodge in the 1720s, and later in the 18th century was occupied by the park bailiff.⁴⁹ In 1707 Wise was preparing an ice-house, perhaps that on the east side of the lower park, blocked in 1946, or another presumed to be beneath Icehouse Clump, north of the lake.⁵⁰

The Column of Victory was probably the last major addition to the park during the lifetime of the duchess. Extensive works thought to have been carried out at Blenheim in the 1730s by Charles Bridgeman were in fact at the duchess's Wimbledon house.⁵¹ The 3rd duke, although said to have 'enjoyed Blenheim without making a single major alteration',⁵² began to extend the gardens, planting the slopes south-west of the palace with flowering shrubs.⁵³ The 4th duke transformed the park with the aid of Lancelot Brown, who between 1764 and 1774 was paid over £21,500 for work at Blenheim.⁵⁴ His achievement may be reconstructed partially from maps of c. 1764, 1772, and 1789 and from field evidence and later views.⁵⁵ Much detail attributed to Brown may have been carried out later under the management of Benjamin Read (d. 1794), whom Brown had recommended as a gardener 'above all others in this kingdom, next to himself'.⁵⁶ In 1787 the duke was still 'sticking

³⁷ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 157-9, 272; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 210; A. Green, 'Letters on the Column of Victory', *Oxoniensia*, xxxi. 144-5.

³⁸ Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103.

³⁹ *Birmingham and Midland Inst. Trans.* xii. 9-10.

⁴⁰ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 158-9, 273; Downes, *Hawksmoor*, (1979), 204-6. For the lodge, e.g. *New Guide to Blenheim Palace* [Woodstock c. 1850 and later edns. publ. by Wm. Eccles].

⁴¹ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 172-3, 277-8, pls. 69-73; H. M. Colvin, *Biog. Dict. Brit. Archit.* 414; Downes, *Hawksmoor*, (1979), 206-10; *Oxoniensia*, xxxi. 139-45.

⁴² George, Lord Lyttelton, *Blenheim* (1728), 4-5; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 278. For repairs, Bodl. G. A. Oxon. c 317/19, newspaper cutting, 1877. The statue is also attributed to an unidentified Robert Pit: *Blenheim Palace* (official guide, 1976 edn.), 44.

⁴³ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 80, 276; cf. Blenheim Mun., Treasury box XXII/74/5.

⁴⁴ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 276, pl. 32.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 62, 232. Hensgrove Lodge (unnamed) is shown in Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719).

⁴⁶ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 80, 94-6.

⁴⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37, f. 12v.

⁴⁸ Blenheim Mun., Treasury box XV/52/1, s.a. 1724; cf. Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789).

⁴⁹ Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1719); Berks. R.O., D/ESv (B), F 29/2; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 191.

⁵⁰ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 83, 243.

⁵¹ F. Harris, 'Chas. Bridgeman at Blenheim?', *Garden Hist.* xiii (1), 1-3; cf. P. Willis, *Chas. Bridgeman*, 46-7, 157-60; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 181, 183, 280-1; *idem*, *Gardener to Queen Anne*, 100.

⁵² Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 183.

⁵³ *New Oxf. Guide* (1759), 90.

⁵⁴ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 184 sqq.; but for Brown's payments cf. D. Stroud, *Capability Brown*, (1975 edn.), 129 sqq.

⁵⁵ Blenheim Mun., plan for the alterations of the water (c. 1764), reproduced in Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 89; *idem*, Pride's map of Woodstock manor (1772); Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789); *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 90-114, where (p. 94) surviving contemporary views are listed.

⁵⁶ *Oxf. Jnl.* 26 July 1794; B.L. Add. MS. 61680, f. 65, where Read's salary was £105 in 1775; Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, box 3, Read's accts. 1784-5, when c. £2,800 was spent.

up twelve trees here and thirteen there',⁵⁷ and he continued to alter the park and gardens.

Brown's boldest innovation was to create the great lake, obliterating Armstrong's canals and the existing lake by damming the southern valley at the point where the canalized river turned sharply eastwards. The cascade there was presumably unfinished in 1770 when Walpole criticized it as 'not stately enough', but it was soon noted as the most spectacular feature of the pleasure grounds.⁵⁸ The flooding of the lower chambers of the bridge was prepared by casing the walls,⁵⁹ and it was presumably then that the water-engine was removed from the north arch, first to Queen Elizabeth Island, then to the weir near the cascade, and finally, by the early 19th century to Old Woodstock mill.⁶⁰ Queen Elizabeth Island, part of the medieval causeway and former lake dam preserved, perhaps unexpectedly, when the new lake filled, was planted with trees at an early stage;⁶¹ it was smaller before the water level was reduced in the late 19th century.⁶²

Below the cascade further canalization of the river was possible when the duke acquired the north part of Bladon parish at inclosure in 1767, bringing the whole lower Glyme into the park.⁶³ The river was widened, deepened, and in places rechannelled, and dammed by a long side-cut embankment near Lince Bridge. Below New Bridge the river widened into a lake before circling the wooded Lince and falling over another cascade into the river Evenlode. New Bridge was built to designs by Sir William Chambers in 1772-3; lead sphinxes on its corner piers were removed in the late 18th century and the piers redesigned by John Yenn.⁶⁴ Lince Bridge and Seven Arches Bridge over the Glyme near Old Woodstock mill, are both plain structures, presumably of the later 18th century.

Brown's treatment of the water won approval, even from Walpole;⁶⁵ the steep sides of the valley were transformed into 'the bold shores of a noble river', and the Grand Bridge lost its 'extravagance' and gained 'propriety'.⁶⁶ Brown has been credited with changing the contours of the valley, but it seems that it was not until later that the 4th duke, to provide a view of the water from the palace, reshaped the whole length of the valley's rim from the forecourt to the Triumphal Arch.⁶⁷

Brown's intention was to create a unified 'naturalistic' landscape providing constantly

changing views from a circuit of walks and carriage drives. Some of the formal elements of the original scheme were removed. The military garden was destroyed entirely and replaced by a wide lawn, and the great courtyard on the north was grassed over. Hahas were created in the southern park to enable a *ferme ornée* to occupy the area south of the lawn while protecting gardens to the east and west; other hahas in the northern park protected the perimeter belt of trees which Brown planted round most of the park.⁶⁸ The great avenue and the Mall, the radiating avenues in Lower Park, and the ancient woodland of High Park were preserved, although some felling probably took place to create vistas, and Brown's winding carriage drives took no account of existing formal lines. Plantations in the northern park were preserved and Brown added others, notably Fourteen Acre Clump and clumps in the valleys north of the lake, while south of the palace the great lawn towards Bladon was framed by and interspersed with trees. His most intensive planting was along the lake, where the shape and texture of his surviving clumps are still apparent.⁶⁹

Brown introduced Gothic architectural features into the landscape. High Lodge was entirely rebuilt, probably in 1764 and presumably to Brown's design.⁷⁰ It is a castellated stone building, with a three-storeyed central tower, flanking wings, and two-light windows: it was evidently built as a folly to be seen at a distance, and is flimsy in detail and structure. Other designs by Brown⁷¹ included one for a granary and cart house, usually associated with Park Farm, although it may not have been built.⁷² A medieval gateway removed by the duke from the site of Eynsham abbey 'for some business at Blenheim' has not been traced.⁷³ In general the 4th duke seems to have favoured the neo-Classical style of Chambers for buildings in the park and gardens.

By the late 1760s Brown had already formed the lake and laid out the grounds.⁷⁴ The park was further enlarged by bringing into it land north of Bladon village and, before 1789, land near Combe gate.⁷⁵ Thus by the later 18th century the circuit of park walls was much on its present lines, and most of the surviving gates established.⁷⁶ Hensington gate, described as new in one of Brown's sketches,⁷⁷ incorporates piers designed by Hawksmoor for Wise's formal garden, surmounted by vases by Grinling Gibbons;

⁵⁷ *Torrington Diaries*, ed. C. B. Andrews, i. 323.

⁵⁸ *Walpole's Corresp.* ed. Lewis, x, p. 309; cf. Stroud, *Capability Brown*, 131; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 191. For Brown's drawing of cascade, *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 100.

⁵⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 176.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* f. 161; above, Old Woodstock, Econ., Mills.

⁶¹ Omitted from Brown's plan for the lake: cf. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pls. 89, 91.

⁶² Cf. O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876 and later edns.).

⁶³ *Blenheim Mun.*, E/P/21; O.R.O., Bladon Incl. award.

⁶⁴ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 317; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 37*, f. 24.

⁶⁵ *Walpole's Corresp.* ed. Lewis, x, p. 309.

⁶⁶ T. Whateley, *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1771), 78-81.

⁶⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 193.

⁶⁸ The hahas are shown on Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789).

⁶⁹ *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 106 sqq.

⁷⁰ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 35, 231, pls. 3-4; Stroud, *Capability Brown*, 130.

⁷¹ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pls. 91-3.

⁷² For plan and associated corresp., *ibid.* 285, pl. 92; Stroud, *Capability Brown*, 131; B.L. Add. MS. 61672, f. 119. Neither locate the proposed building, for which a more likely site was Furze Platt.

⁷³ *Torrington Diaries*, i. 214.

⁷⁴ Hist. MSS. Com. 64, *Verulam*, p. 247; T. Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767), showing planting progress, e.g. of the perimeter belt.

⁷⁵ Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789); above, Combe, Intro.

⁷⁶ e.g. *Blenheim Mun.*, Pride's map of Woodstock manor (1772). ⁷⁷ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 91.

the piers and railings of the curved flanking arms are also of the early 18th century.⁷⁸ Ditchley gate and lodge were redesigned by John Yenn in 1781,⁷⁹ but his scheme may not have been carried out: the surviving piers are probably earlier and the lodge much later. Eagle gate, so called by 1750,⁸⁰ perhaps in reference to associated statuary, was later rebuilt with plain piers. By 1789 Combe gate (then called Combe Green gate) was established, and a lodge built there by 1806; another Combe gate further north, also established by 1789, was later blocked.⁸¹ When the wall near Bladon was moved southwards a new gate was made and an adjacent village house became Bladon Lodge.⁸²

Within the park Home Lodge was rebuilt, possibly in the 1780s when it was given furniture from the palace; it replaced a house occupied by the park bailiff, which was said to have been demolished in 1765.⁸³ The house, occupied in modern times by the duke's agent, was extended at the rear in the late 19th century.⁸⁴ It is sometimes called China Corner because in 1796 a cruciform china gallery was built south of Home Lodge to display porcelain offered to the duke in 1793 by Samuel Spalding in return for accommodation as caretaker of the collection; the building was demolished c. 1840 and the collection displayed thereafter in the palace.⁸⁵ North Lodge, used as a keeper's lodge during the 18th century, was altered and a large ancient wing demolished, allegedly in 1788; its surviving front is of that period.⁸⁶ Fishery Cottage, at the north end of the lake, also contains 18th-century work; in the early 19th century waterfowl were bred there by the duke's fisherman.⁸⁷ Lince Lodge in the south-west is a Georgian building with late 19th-century additions, presumably built after the area was taken into the park in 1767; it may have been associated with a pheasantry established in the Lince in the 1790s.⁸⁸ The heavy planting of the Lince, sometimes attributed to Brown, seems to have occurred after 1789, although the riverside walk from New Bridge to the lower cascade was established and planted earlier.⁸⁹

⁷⁸ Ibid. 256, pl. 51. It is said (ibid. 272) that the gates were removed from the east formal garden, but the source cited (Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 210) states that they were taken from 'Bladon gate' at the 'south boundary of the garden'.

⁷⁹ J. Harris, *Cat. of Brit. Drawings in American Collns.* (New Jersey, 1971), 310.

⁸⁰ Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103: map of Hensington (1750).

⁸¹ Cf. Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789); Blenheim Mun., Combe map (1806).

⁸² For the earlier gate and the lodge site in 1750, Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxon. 103.

⁸³ Blenheim Mun., Treasury box XXII/74/7, s.a. 1786; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 191. Cf. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 283 where the lodge and former china gallery are confused.

⁸⁴ Cf. O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876, 1898). For earlier tenants, e.g. Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, ff. 275, 287; A. Whitman, *Chas. Turner* (1907), 2.

⁸⁵ Blenheim Mun., shelf B 5, Reg. of Docs. 1748–1816, p. 156; B.L. Add. MSS. 61672, f. 177; 61678, f. 196; Mavor, *New Description* (1797), 65–6 and map; *New Guide to Blenheim Palace* [n.d. c. 1845, publ. Hen. Slatter, Oxf.], 28.

⁸⁶ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 276; Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767); Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 204.

⁸⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 211.

Park Farm was used in the 18th century not only as farm buildings but as a menagerie for exotic birds and beasts, including tigers; by the late 18th century and until the mid 19th it was called the Dog Kennel and presumably housed the duke's hounds.⁹⁰ It was rebuilt as a large farmery, apparently in the 1840s, and added to in the 1870s.⁹¹ In the later 18th century the northern park was farmed chiefly from buildings at Furze Platt, said to have been established in 1751, although most of the surviving buildings are later.⁹² The farmland, separately administered from most of the park, was usually held with land outside the walls in Hanborough and Bladon. It was mostly pasture but more land was ploughed in the early 19th century when a large enclosure in the north-west corner was added to existing arable on the eastern edge near Furze Platt.⁹³

The design of the 4th duke's pleasure grounds seems to have owed little to Brown's ideas. Although Wise's flower garden on the east front was turned into a lawn the duke soon created another formal flower garden further south, approached by winding paths through shrubberies.⁹⁴ The new flower garden, described in 1787 as 'a conception of Paradise', was a large oval with geometrical beds and radiating paths 'after the plan of Madame de Pompadour at Versailles'.⁹⁵ In it stood a temple of Flora, probably that now in the western gardens; it may have been designed by Chambers in 1772.⁹⁶ Chambers's Palladian gateway of c. 1770 in the kitchen garden was evidently meant to decorate the pleasure gardens, and in 1789 the small Corinthian temple of Health, designed by John Yenn and celebrating George III's recovery from illness, was built north of the flower garden.⁹⁷ Before the 4th duke's death in 1817 the flower garden was redesigned to accommodate an aviary, a semi-circular construction of wood and wire designed by Henry Hakewill and acquired by the duke in 1812 under the will of Harriet, Lady Reade, of Shipton-under-Wychwood; it was set up around the temple of Flora.⁹⁸ A new flower garden 'arranged

⁸⁸ Cf. Mavor, *New Description* (1797 and later edns.).

⁸⁹ Blenheim, ed. Bond and Tiller, 107; cf. Pride, *Blenheim Map* (1789); O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 12 (1876 edn.); Mavor, *New Description* (1789), 122–3.

⁹⁰ Blenheim, ed. Bond and Tiller, 122–3; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, ff. 179, 214–24; B.L. Add. MS. 61678, ff. 78–9; framed map (c. 1840) in Blenheim Estate Office.

⁹¹ *New Guide to Blenheim Palace* [Woodstock, c. 1850, publ. Wm. Eccles], 40; Blenheim Mun., box 139, improvement loan, 1875. Park Farm is usually dated c. 1858; e.g. Pevsner, *Oxon.* 474.⁹² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 173, f. 172.

⁹³ Ibid. ff. 214–24; ibid. c 351, ff. 238–40; Blenheim Mun., shelf G 1, boxes 1, 3; map in Mavor, *New Description* (1800 and later edns.).

⁹⁴ Mavor, *New Description* (1789 edn.), 85–9.

⁹⁵ *Torrington Diaries*, i. 323; Mrs. Morgan, *Tour to Milford Haven*, 1791, 83–4; J. C. Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (1822), no. 2163.

⁹⁶ Cf. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 317, which relates Chambers's ref. to a temple in the flower garden to his temple of Diana, which was on its present site by 1789.

⁹⁷ Colvin, *Biog. Dict. Brit. Archit.*, 965; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 283, gives a date 1791 in error: cf. Mavor, *New Description* (1789), 86–7.

⁹⁸ B.L. Add. MS. 61674, ff. 107–17; Mavor, *New Description* (1817 edn.), 64–5; cf. Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 193, where the aviary is said, wrongly, to have been attached to the temple of Health.



Blenheim Park c. 1870

in twenty oval beds' was then created outside the east front of the palace.⁹⁹

The pleasure grounds on the west¹ comprised plantations and shrubberies on lawns between the palace and the cascade; part of the ground was terraced, and there were statues and buildings, notably the surviving Ionic temple of Diana by Sir William Chambers. By 1789 a new garden on the far side of the river was reached by a 'Chinese bridge of mean effect' immediately below the cascade;² the bridge was probably replaced by the surviving light iron bridge, sometimes called the Swiss Bridge, in the 1820s. The new garden contained the Newfound Well, a mineral spring feeding a decorative basin, and also the Bernini fountain, a gift to the 1st duke from the Spanish ambassador at the Vatican, set up by Chambers in 1774; it was removed to its present position on the water-terrace c. 1930.³ From the new garden in 1789 a path climbed the high ground west of the cascade, passing 'grottoes', presumably the rocks placed by Capability Brown as a background to the cascade,⁴ and returning over an iron bridge, presumably on the site of the later iron bridge at the south end of the lake. The pleasure grounds on the east and west were linked by a rural path through the *ferme ornée*, known as the Sheep Walk, where there was a rustic Shepherd's Cot and a flock of over a thousand pedigree sheep. Before 1817 the present sunk fence was inserted between the kitchen garden and New Bridge, and the path across the Sheep Walk closed.⁵ Visitors were particularly impressed by the scale of the gardens: 50 men were employed there in the 1780s, and another 100 or more in the park.⁶ Even in 1827, when the park was fairly neglected, 40 men were employed in mowing the lawns.⁷

Between 1817 and his death in 1840 the 5th duke, 'gardening mad',⁸ worked to create the finest botanical and flower garden in England,⁹ despite his financial circumstances. While criticized for transforming the 'rich draperies' of Brown's design into a 'harlequin jacket of little clumps and beds', he won praise for his outstanding rock garden and arboretum.¹⁰ In 1818 his son brought an action to prevent tree felling at Blenheim for profit, but tree losses continued and visitors noted the neglected lake, dam, and cascade.¹¹ From his gardens at Whiteknights (in

Reading, Berks.) the duke brought a vast collection of American plants.¹² In the eastern garden near the aviary he created an arboretum, shrubbery, and pond. In the western garden, which he closed to the public, he laid out new areas, including the arcade flower garden outside the west front of the palace, the Chinese garden, the New Holland or Botany Bay garden, and rose and dahlia gardens. The rock garden above the cascade was probably enlarged; its enclosure, formed by tall standing stones, was entered past a pivoted boulder, moveable at the touch of a spring, a feature recalled in the name of the nearby Spring Lock Lodge. Below the cascade an island in the river was brought into the gardens. There was a Swiss Cottage above the rock garden for the watchman of the private gardens, and other structures included Chinese and Druids' temples, an Eskimo hut, rustic pavilions, and a grotto, presumably that surviving near the lake shore.¹³

The 7th duke before 1860 laid out an Italian garden on the east front¹⁴ and a circular rosary, with radiating paths and a central fountain, on the site of the former Chinese temple.¹⁵ The surviving rosary was restored by the 11th duke on the same site.¹⁶ Before 1876¹⁷ features such as the Eskimo hut were removed, and additions included a large fountain north-east of the cascade and an enclosure for kangaroos and emus east of the rose garden. The boathouse built in 1888 replaced an earlier boathouse further south.¹⁸ The exedra of yew and box, called in the 19th century the Roundabout, was established on the site of the aviary before 1876; its group of marble terms were removed there from the great hall in the mid 20th century.¹⁹ An eagery and pheasantry near the exedra in 1876 were removed before 1898. By then features such as the pavilion in the arcade flower garden had been demolished, and the area outside the west front was a sunken lawn with trees and shrubs.²⁰ Although some elements of the 5th duke's elaborate private gardens were preserved in the late 19th century,²¹ the parts near the cascade later became derelict and of the rest only a few exotic trees survive.²²

By 1841 there were peripheral lodges at Woodstock, Ditchley, Combe, and Bladon gates, and Old Woodstock stile, and the chief

⁹⁹ Mavor, *New Description* (1817), 62.

¹ Ibid. (1789 and later edns.).

² *Torrington Diaries*, i. 324.

³ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 110, 217, 250, 289, 318; *Country Life*, cx. 268-9.

⁴ *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 100.

⁵ Mavor, *New Description* (1817), 67.

⁶ *Torrington Diaries*, i. 323; *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 123.

⁷ [H. Puckler-Muskau], *Tour of a German Prince*, trans. S. Austin (1832), iii. 253-9.

⁸ *Jnl. of Mrs. Arbuthnot*, ed. F. Bamford and Duke of Wellington, 304-5.

⁹ Mavor, *New Description* (1836), 58.

¹⁰ [Puckler-Muskau], *Tour*, iii. 253-9; *Gardener's Mag.* iv (1828), 87; x (1834), 103-4.

¹¹ Soames, *Profligate Duke*, 174-5, 202-3; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 351, f. 255; *Gardener's Mag.* ix (1833), 515; x (1834), 99.

¹² Bodl. G.A. Oxon. a 116, f. 168.

¹³ Mavor, *New Description* (1836, c. 1845); cf. *Eccles' New*

Guide [c. 1850].

¹⁴ For the Italian garden see N.M.R., espec. BB 81/7478.

¹⁵ *Jnl. of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, N.S. xxvi. 275-7; N.M.R., Taunt colln.; Westgate Libr., photos. 4713-4.

¹⁶ Soames, *Profligate Duke*, 219, which attributes the first rosary to the 5th duke.

¹⁷ Except where stated otherwise this paragraph is based on O.S. Map 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8, 12 (1876 and later edns.); *Eccles' New Guide* (1858 and later edns.).

¹⁸ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 287.

¹⁹ Pevsner, *Oxon.* 475 attributes them to Richard Hayward, on the evidence of Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 318, but the terms predate Hayward's work at Blenheim: *New Oxf. Guide* (1759), 81.

²⁰ N.M.R., Taunt colln.; Westgate Libr., photo. 4641; Blenheim Libr., vols. of photos. of water terraces.

²¹ N.M.R., Taunt colln. *passim*; *Country Life*, v (1899), 691-2.

²² Soames, *Profligate Duke*, 218-19; H. Montgomery-Massingberd, *Blenheim Revisited*, 156.

lodges within the park were Home, North, High, and Lince lodges. Staff were also housed at Fishery Cottage, Swiss Cottage in the private gardens, and in cottages at the aviary, the kitchen garden, and the nearby timber yard. Farm workers were at Furze Platt and Park Farm (the Kennel).²³ Spring Lock Lodge was built in the 1840s,²⁴ Middle and Eagle lodges before 1863,²⁵ and Hensington Lodge, designed by F. B. Osborn, in 1876–7.²⁶ Ditchley Lodge was rebuilt closer to the gate before 1863.²⁷ Woodstock Lodge, so called by 1863, was rebuilt in 1887, and Bladon Lodge much restored in 1888.²⁸ The Bothy, north-west of the kitchen garden, was built in the late 19th century. The 6th duke, in addition to rebuilding Park Farm, may have been responsible for the Cowyards in Lower Park, established before 1863 and further extended in the later 19th century;²⁹ an Act of 1840 empowered him to sell trees to raise money for repairs, and the area around the Cowyards began to be denuded in that period.³⁰ In the 1863 the chief arable area was in the north-west (c. 290 a.) and there was other arable near Furze Platt.³¹ In 1881 the tenant of Park Farm (then called Home Farm) was farming 1,200 a. and employing over 30 labourers.³² In the later 19th century much of the southern park (c. 300 a.) was pasture worked from the duke's Home Farm in Bladon.³³

After inheriting Blenheim in 1892 the 9th duke dredged the lake³⁴ and later transformed the park and gardens. The Italian garden on the east front was entirely redesigned in 1908–10 by Achille Duchêne, with paths of crushed brick, topiary, and box hedging in arabesques around an earlier gilded fountain by Waldo Story.³⁵ Between 1925 and 1930 Duchêne and the 9th duke built elaborate water terraces on the west front, comprising ponds, fountains, and statuary, including the restored Bernini fountain; the

duke insisted on using Rosamund's well for the water, which was piped beneath the whole length of the southern lake to the engine house at the cascade, whence it was pumped back to the palace.³⁶ In addition to restoring the northern and eastern avenues, the duke planted trees throughout the park, putting in nearly half a million between 1893 and 1919. Some of his belts and clumps alternated with Capability Brown's plantings, but he introduced coloured foliage, particularly copper beech, and in general created a more densely wooded scene than Brown's.³⁷ His most notable clumps are on the east side of the river below New Bridge, in the valleys north of Fishery Cottage and towards Combe gate, and on the high ground of the northern park.

From the 1950s the 10th duke transformed the gardens on the east side of the great lawn, creating new shrubberies, rockeries, and pathways.³⁸ Large areas of the park had been converted temporarily to arable during the First World War,³⁹ and much of the northern park and parts of the southern were later turned to arable rotation land. Mainly treeless pasture was preserved in the south-eastern park for a stud farm established at the Cowyards by the 11th duke. In addition to the large areas of woodland maintained for game there was extensive planting of conifers for commercial purposes from the 1950s. Other new features of the park include tourist attractions such as a garden centre, a model railway, and recreation grounds provided for local people near Old Woodstock and Bladon. After the large-scale destruction of trees by Dutch Elm and Beech Bark disease in the 1970s a long-term plan was devised to balance the varied and sometimes conflicting uses of the park while preserving or restoring the chief elements of its historic landscape.⁴⁰

YARNTON

YARNTON lies 4 miles (6.5 km.) north-west of Oxford, on the north bank of the river Thames.⁴¹ The river forms the southern parish boundary, and a tributary stream known as Rowel brook in the north and as Kingsbridge brook in the south formed the eastern boundary

until 1788–9, when the Oxford canal took much of the stream bed.⁴² Field boundaries separate Yarnton from Cassington on the west and from Begbroke on the north. A large detached part of Begbroke parish (118 a.) lay in the east of Yarnton in the area known as the Marshes, and a

²³ P.R.O., HO 107/893.

²⁴ *Eccles' New Guide* [c. 1850], 52.

²⁵ Blenheim Mun., map of pk. (1863) and associated survey (E/P/58).

²⁶ *Ibid.* plan in wooden chest.

²⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, map of pk. (1863); framed map (c. 1840) in Blenheim Estate Office.

²⁸ Blenheim Mun., box 7, no. 59; plan in wooden chest.

²⁹ Cf. O.S. Maps 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVI. 8 (1876, 1898 edn.). Building was in progress there in 1881; P.R.O., RG 11/1512.

³⁰ Blenheim Mun., H/P/3.

³¹ *Ibid.* map of pk. (1863) and E/P/58.

³² P.R.O., RG 11/1512.

³³ Blenheim Mun., plan of Home Farm (n.d.) in wooden chest.

³⁴ *Ibid.* S/S/114–16; Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 287.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 204, 287–8, pl. 100. Cf. Westgate Libr., photos. 4670, 11863, 81/3851, showing the fountain before

Duchêne's changes; Blenheim Libr., photo. collns.

³⁶ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 205–17, 288–9, pl. 102; Blenheim Mun., plans of water terraces; Blenheim Libr., vols. of photos.

³⁷ *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 125, 127; Blenheim Mun. E/A/193: planting bk.

³⁸ Montgomery-Massingberd, *Blenheim Revisited*, 191.

³⁹ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, 205; Orr, *Oxon. Agric.* 60–1.

⁴⁰ *Blenheim*, ed. Bond and Tiller, 133–50; G. Worsley, 'Planning into the 25th cent.' *Country Life*, 5 Mar. 1987.

⁴¹ The principal maps used are tithe map (1845) in O.R.O.; O.S. Maps 1/2,500, Oxon. XXVII.13–14; XXXIII.1–2 (1881 edn.); 6", Oxon. 27 SW., 33 NW. (1932 edn.); 1/10,000, SP 41 SE. (1981 edn.). This account, written in 1983, has minor amendments to 1988.

⁴² H. Compton, *Oxf. Canal*, 37. The stream is shown in T. Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767).

small detached close, Oxford Close (3 a.), lay north-east of the junction of Sandy Lane with the Woodstock road. The boundaries with Begbroke and its detached parts caused confusion in the 18th century and early 19th.⁴³ The route followed by 17th-century perambulations seems not to have been recorded,⁴⁴ and in 1811 the muniments at Blenheim and 'early maps' belonging to Sir Henry Dashwood were consulted without success.⁴⁵ The tithe awards for Begbroke (1844) and Yarnton (1845) settled the boundaries.⁴⁶ Oxford Close was transferred to Yarnton, but the larger detached area was not incorporated in Yarnton until 1932.⁴⁷ That change increased Yarnton's area from 1,644 a. to 1,762 a. (713 ha.).⁴⁸

An area known as Fries, lying mainly in Water Eaton, included a small part of the south-east corner of Yarnton west of King's bridge. A house stood c. 1200 on the Yarnton side of the boundary.⁴⁹ The name was preserved in the 17th century in Frize or Frice farm and grounds,⁵⁰ and that corner of Yarnton was called Yarnton Frise in the late 19th century.⁵¹

The terrain of the parish is mostly fairly flat, rising gently to 61 m. at the village and more steeply to over 91 m. in the north-west beyond Spring Hill. North and west of the village the land is Oxford clay, interspersed with terraces of river gravel. The largest gravel terrace is in the north-east, in the area known as the Sands, around Begbroke Hill and Sandy Lane. Much of the village stands on gravel, while the lower land is river alluvium.⁵² Yarnton's medieval arable lay mainly north of the village. The removal of hedges there since the 1960s has restored something of the contrast between open fields to the north and thickly hedged closes to the south where inclosure is known to have been in progress by the 15th century.⁵³ Traces of ridge and furrow in the area known as the Marshes east of the Woodstock road, and around Stonehouse Farm,⁵⁴ indicate that some meadow and pasture was temporarily ploughed, presumably in the 13th century when pressure on resources was at its greatest.

Seasonal flooding, while beneficial to the river meadows, sometimes caused inconvenience as high as the village. When the Thames Navigation Commission built a pen at King's weir in 1789 and a pound lock at Godstow in 1790⁵⁵ villagers complained that the locks, installed to aid river navigation, were misused by the owner

of Wolvercote paper mill: the river level was kept permanently high, so that low-lying ground was almost always flooded and water could not be drained from the village.⁵⁶ Improvements were made in the 20th century by changes at the locks and at the mill.

The main Oxford–Woodstock road, passing $\frac{1}{2}$ mile east of the village, attracted roadside development only at a relatively late date. The road was turnpiked in 1719,⁵⁷ and a tollhouse and gate were erected south of the Grapes inn, at the west end of Kidlington Lane.⁵⁸ The road was disturnpiked in 1878,⁵⁹ and the tollhouse demolished.⁶⁰ The ancient road to Cassington and Eynsham forms the main village street.⁶¹ It has been suggested that an earlier road from Cassington may be represented by a footpath running eastwards from Worton towards Church Lane or Mead Lane.⁶² Pre-inclosure maps of Cassington do not confirm that⁶³ but Yarnton's road pattern may have been altered in the early 17th century by the rebuilding of Yarnton Manor and by the laying out of its park. Until the late 18th century Church Lane and Mead Lane remained an alternative to the Woodstock road for light traffic to Oxford.⁶⁴ Church Lane was referred to as a 'causeway' in the 17th century,⁶⁵ and the track across Oxe mead to the ford at its south-west corner was usually under water in winter.⁶⁶ From the west end of the village a hollow way known as Frogwelldown Lane runs north-westwards towards Long Hanborough and Witney; it was referred to in 1693 as the Witney to Oxford road.⁶⁷ The lack of protest in Yarnton at its curtailment in 1801, when Cassington was inclosed,⁶⁸ suggests that it was by then little more than a footpath. The southern extension along Church Lane and Mead Lane towards Oxford was already disused because the raising of the river level had made the Thames unfordable. Rutten Lane runs north from the village to join the Oxford–Woodstock road, and in the east two converging lanes, Sandy and Kidlington lanes, lead from the main road towards Kidlington; the dog-leg in Sandy Lane west of the railway predates the line.⁶⁹ The canal bridge, near the junction of Sandy and Kidlington lanes, seems to have replaced an earlier bridge over the stream whose bed the canal took.⁷⁰ The Oxford northern bypass, the A40, was completed in 1935⁷¹ across the southern tip of the parish.

The Oxford–Birmingham railway was opened

⁴³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke c 3(a); Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 19, ff. 216 sqq.

⁴⁴ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 7, *passim*.

⁴⁵ Ibid. d 3, f. 9 and v. The maps have not been traced.

⁴⁶ Ibid. Begbroke and Yarnton tithe awards.

⁴⁷ Ibid. RO 15.

⁴⁸ O.S. *Area Bk.* (1881).

⁴⁹ Above, Kidlington, Intro., Other Estates (Fries).

⁵⁰ O.R.O., Dash. XV/i/6–8, 12–13.

⁵¹ B. Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* (O.H.S. xxiv), 210 n.

⁵² Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid and drift, sheet 236 (1947 edn.); O.S. Map 1/25,000, SP 41 (1963 edn.).

⁵³ Below, Econ. ⁵⁴ County Mus., aerial photo. (1962).

⁵⁵ Compton, *Oxf. Canal*, 40, 52.

⁵⁶ Complaint of Sept. 1812 in par. vestry bk.: O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton d 3; V. Thomas, *Night March of Chas. I from Oxf.* 22 n.: copy in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. 8°73(7); Thomas, 'Sanitary Survey of Yarnton' (1853): copy in Westgate Libr., Oxford.

⁵⁷ Stokenchurch Turnpike Act, 5 Geo. I, c. 1 (Priv. Act).

⁵⁸ O.R.O., tithe map.

⁵⁹ Annual Turnpikes Acts Continuance Act, 40 & 41 Vic. c. 64.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., CH/5/VIII/ii; *ibid.* Dash. XV/viii/1–3.

⁶¹ Ibid. QSR viii, pp. 535–6, 607–8.

⁶² H. A. Evans, 'Yarnton Yesterday and Today', *Yarnton Quarterly Paper*, xvi: copy in Bodl. Per. G.A. Oxon. 8°779.

⁶³ e.g. Ch. Ch. Arch., Cassington map 1; T. Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767).

⁶⁴ Thomas, *Night March of Chas. I*, 19.

⁶⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 7, *passim*.

⁶⁶ *Hearne's Colln.* vi (O.H.S. xliii), 187.

⁶⁷ Above, Cassington, Intro.; O.R.O., QSR ix, p. 391.

⁶⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 19, f. 194.

⁶⁹ O.R.O., tithe map.

⁷⁰ T. Jefferys, *Oxon. Map* (1767).

⁷¹ *Social Services in Oxf. District*, ed. A. F. C. Bourdillon, ii. 410.

in 1852 with level crossings in Kidlington Lane and Sandy Lane. The Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton railway line, opened in 1853, passed south of the manor park and under the Cassington road. A dispute between the narrow-gauge O.W.W.R. and the broad-gauge G.W.R. gave Yarnton prominence in 1854 when a branch line, known as the Yarnton loop, was made to the Buckinghamshire line of the L.N.W.R., thereby providing the O.W.W.R. with access to London independent of the G.W.R. Yarnton Junction station was built in 1861 when a branch line was opened to Witney and Fairford.⁷² During the Second World War marshalling yards were built for the storage and transfer of war supplies. The station and the Fairford line were closed in 1962, and c. 1965 the station was demolished.⁷³

Yarnton water, said in 1853 to be 'excellent', was supplied by spring-fed wells, and there were pumps at the Grapes inn and at the parish clerk's house at the top of Church Lane.⁷⁴ The parish was connected to the Oxford city water supply in 1934. Electricity became available about the same time.⁷⁵

Early settlements of the type common on the gravel terraces of the Upper Thames valley have left traces in the north-east quarter of the parish and west of Mead Lane. Neolithic flint implements have been found over a wide area east of Begbroke Hill,⁷⁶ and the Sandy Lane gravel workings have revealed traces of ditches, huts, and pits, with pottery and metal artefacts, suggesting that the site was occupied from the Iron Age to Romano-British times. Despite some fragments of medieval pottery in the area, there is no firm evidence of continued occupation.⁷⁷ Railway construction in the mid 19th century revealed extensive traces of settlement south and south-west of the church, at the southern edge of the gravel terrace there; pottery of the Iron Age and of the late Anglo-Saxon and early medieval periods was scattered over a wide area west of Mead Lane. The discovery near the railway station of the remains of two Iron Age ring ditches, and of burials, pottery, and other artefacts from the Bronze Age to the early Middle Ages, suggests prolonged occupation which may have persisted into the 13th or 14th century.⁷⁸ The evidence is insufficient to determine whether, as has been suggested, there were two or more settlements in Yarnton at the

time of Domesday Book,⁷⁹ or only a single settlement south and west of the later village.

The name Yarnton, formerly Erdington, is said to mean a dwelling place or Earda's farm.⁸⁰ The earliest documentary evidence for changing pronunciation of the name is a reference of 1495-6 to 'Erynten'.⁸¹ The form 'Yarnton' occurred in 1517,⁸² and eventually overcame the common 16th-century form 'Yardington'.⁸³

There were 26 recorded tenants in 1086,⁸⁴ and in 1279 there were 48,⁸⁵ probably implying a population larger than any subsequently recorded until the 19th century. In 1377 poll tax was paid by only 112 adults, suggesting a loss of population, although less heavy than in some other settlements in the area.⁸⁶ An accusation of the late 15th century that Rewley abbey had partly depopulated the parish by inclosing⁸⁷ is given substance by a survey of 1538 recording only 27 tenants.⁸⁸ In 1662 25 households were assessed for hearth tax,⁸⁹ and in 1676 only 70 adults were reported,⁹⁰ indicating that the parish's population remained relatively low; the impression is confirmed by incumbents' reports of 1738 and 1759 that there were c. 20 houses in the parish.⁹¹ There was the usual population increase from the later 18th century and in 1801 there were 215 inhabitants.⁹² The increase was allegedly the consequence of building new cottages for poor families, who then 'over-filled the new cottages also'.⁹³ The temporary presence of railway workers boosted the population to 317 in 1851, after which it declined to 280 by 1901. From the 1920s workers in Oxford began to live in the parish. Contrary to common belief the first newcomers were not employees of the Cowley motor factories, for of 431 inhabitants in 1931 only one was a car worker. By 1936, however, there were 11 and the number increased with the population, which rose to 842 by 1951, and to 2,297 in 1981.⁹⁴

The development of Yarnton village shows a gradual shift northwards of the centre of settlement, leaving the church, vicarage, manor house, and Mead Farm isolated at the bottom of Church Lane. The medieval manor house probably stood on or near the later site west of the church. In the later 13th century the manorial buildings and probably a deer park beyond were walled around.⁹⁵ In the 19th century the vicar, Vaughan Thomas, claimed that Yarnton had once comprised 'a group of houses ranging at

⁷² E. T. MacDermot and C. R. Clinker, *Hist. G.W.R.* (1964 edn.), i. 239 sqq.; S. Jenkins and H. Quayle, *Oxf., Worcester, and Wolverhampton Rly. passim*.

⁷³ R. Brain et al. *Three Nature Historical Trails in Yarnton* (priv. print. 1983), 6; C. R. Clinker, *Reg. of Closed Passenger Stations and Goods Depots* (1964 edn.); Jenkins and Quayle, *O.W.W.R.* 107.

⁷⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1902); Thomas, 'Sanitary Survey', 15-17.

⁷⁵ *Social Services in Oxf. District*, ii. 314.

⁷⁶ County Mus., P.R.N. 3932, 4165, 4167.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* P.R.N. 4168-71; *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 297; *Oxoniensia*, i. 201; vii. 56.

⁷⁸ *O.A.S. Rep.* (1860-4), 110-12; *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 245, 254, 258, 356; *Oxoniensia*, iii. 13, 17, 30; vii. 56; x. 97-9.

⁷⁹ *Oxoniensia*, x. 97-9; H. C. Darby and E. M. Campbell, *Dom. Geog. of SE. Eng.* 193.

⁸⁰ Ekwall, *Eng. Place Names* (1960), 543; *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii. 297.

⁸¹ *Oseney Cart.* i, p. 302.

⁸² *Dom. of Incl.* ed. Leadam, i. 386.

⁸³ e.g. O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 181, ff. 171, 224, 231.

⁸⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 403, 405.

⁸⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 855.

⁸⁶ P.R.O., E 179/161/42.

⁸⁷ *Dom. of Incl.* i. 386.

⁸⁸ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/2924, mm. 10-11d. A transcript in Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 214-15 omits 1 name.

⁸⁹ P.R.O., E 179/161/504, m. 45.

⁹⁰ *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 422.

⁹¹ *Secker's Visit.* 181; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 557, f. 186.

⁹² O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 560, f. 223; d 563, f. 211; *Census*, 1801.

⁹³ *Census*, 1821, probably quoting Vaughan Thomas, vicar of Yarnton.

⁹⁴ *Census*, 1801-1981; *Social Services in Oxf. District*, i. 310; local inf.

⁹⁵ P.R.O., SC 6/955/2-3; SC 6/958/19.

short intervals along Church Lane' but had been 'widely scattered up and down on the wastes' when the Spencer estate was divided and sold after 1685.⁹⁶ Traces of tenements had apparently been found in Paternoster field⁹⁷ which allegedly showed signs of a division into 13 plots representing the 13 cottages regarded in the 17th century as traditionally liable for church rate.⁹⁸ In the early 19th century small houses were remembered as having stood east of Church Lane, approached by arches across the ditch.⁹⁹ That most houses in the village formerly stood closer to church and manor house, alongside a busy route into Oxford, is likely, though dispersal may have begun long before the break-up of the Spencer estate. Any houses on the west side of Church Lane were presumably removed when the deer park was re-established, probably in the 17th century.¹ There were and are 17th-century houses along the Cassington road such as Paternoster Farm, Home Close, the former Six Bells inn, and other houses and cottages since removed.² Apparently there were houses at the southern end of Rutten Lane in the later 16th century: the pasture closes between it and the Woodstock road were known collectively as the Ruttons or Ruttens, and in 1589 reference was made to 'Yarnton, Rutton, and Godstow', as though to three separate settlements.³ Rutton could be an otherwise unrecorded settlement name, but the word more probably refers to the ridge and furrow which remained a feature of the area until built over for modern housing.⁴ Houses there in 1589 might have fronted the long plots whose outlines, east of the south end of Rutten Lane, were mapped in 1845;⁵ in 1815 the elderly parish clerk remembered traces of 'many tenements' there being destroyed when hedges were grubbed up and ditches filled in.⁶ When new cottages were wanted in the later 18th century and in the 19th they were built on manorial waste along the Woodstock and Cassington roads. A survey of 1853 recorded 12 farmhouses, 10 tradesmen's houses, 2 public houses, and 39 cottages of the 'labouring poor'.⁷ Cottages were said in 1868 to be 'badly constructed, the greater proportion having only two rooms, a living room with a sleeping room over it'. Their condition was blamed on the 'extreme poverty of the labourers' and on the 'apathy of the owner', Sir Henry Dashwood, to whom 30 cottages belonged. Another six belonged to a tenant farmer, and four to a retired local tradesman.⁸ The Dashwoods, who elsewhere on their

estates built model farms and cottages, were disinclined to invest in Yarnton after 1839, when Sir George Dashwood, 'to prevent strangers coming in', spent heavily in buying up cottages that later transpired to have been his already.⁹

The predominant building material was limestone rubble. Most cottages were thatched,¹⁰ and in 1983 a few still were, but the farmhouses were probably roofed with stone slate from the first. Apart from the manor house, there are several substantial farmhouses in the village, most built following the creation of a number of freehold estates in the late 16th century: Paternoster Farm stands east of the north end of Church Lane, Exeter, formerly Southby's Farm north-east of Paternoster Farm, Jackson's Farm west of the junction of Rutten Lane and Cassington Road, College Mead west of the north end of Little Lane, and Mead Farm at the south end of Church Lane.¹¹ Home Close, an L-shaped cottage opposite the north end of Church Lane, was formerly a smithy. Hill and Windmill Hill Farms, facing each other across the Cassington road at the west end of the village, are both 18th-century buildings: Hill Farm is inscribed DD 1731, for Dorothea Dashwood, widow of Robert. Though Yarnton's fields were inclosed early,¹² each farm's closes tended to be scattered around the parish, so that there was little incentive to move farmhouses away from the village; in the later 20th century farms were amalgamated and in 1983 Paternoster Farm was the only working farmhouse in the village. The earliest outlying farmhouses were Spring Hill Farm in the north-west, and Frize, later Minnis or Stonehouse, Farm in the south-east. The origin of Spring Hill Farm, a manorial property, is unknown. Architectural evidence indicates that it was built in the 17th century, repaired in the 18th, and remodelled in the 19th. By the 19th century it was used to house labourers¹³ and was usually held with Hall Farm, Begbroke.¹⁴ Extensive farm buildings south of the house were demolished c. 1965, and it became a private dwelling.¹⁵ Stonehouse Farm is a 19th-century building, but there was a farmhouse on the site by the later 17th century and possibly earlier.¹⁶ Parker's Farm, north of Sandy Lane and east of Begbroke Hill, was probably built soon after 1829 by Thomas Robinson, nephew of William Fletcher, mentioned below, and owner of a farm in the north-east quarter of the parish.¹⁷ From c. 1850, when the land was

⁹⁶ Thomas, *Night March of Chas. I*, 22 n.; *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 506.

⁹⁷ The name is said to signify a stopping-point in processions, or a field held by service of saying a paternoster: J. Field, *Field Names*, 161-2.

⁹⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 19, f. 7v. There seem in fact to have been 11 or 12 cottages paying the rate: O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 7, chwdns' accts. 1610-1740.

⁹⁹ *Yarnton Quarterly Paper*, v.

¹ O.R.O., Dash. XV/i/24.

² Act for Confirming a Partition made between Rob. Dashwood and Cholmley Turner, 3 Geo. I, c. 22 (Priv. Act); archit. evidence.

³ P.R.O., C 142/223, no. 75; B.L. Add. Ch. 27480.

⁴ *Yarnton Quarterly Paper*, iv; Westgate Libr., Oxford, aerial photos. ⁵ O.R.O., tithe map.

⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 19, f. 93.

⁷ Thomas, 'Sanitary Survey'.

⁸ *Rep. Com. Agric. Employment Children and Women* [4202-I], pp. 336, 345-6, H.C. (1868-9), xiii.

⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke d 4, item c; below, Local Govt.

¹⁰ *Rep. Com. Agric. Employment*, p. 345.

¹¹ Below, Manor and other estates.

¹² Below, Econ.

¹³ Thomas, 'Sanitary Survey', 22-3.

¹⁴ e.g. O.R.O., tithe award.

¹⁵ Local inf.

¹⁶ Below, Manor and other estates.

¹⁷ The house is not shown on A. Bryant, *Oxon. Map* (1824), but is on the tithe map of 1845 in O.R.O.; below, Manor and other estates.

farmed from Begbroke Hill, Parker's Farm was used for farmworkers;¹⁸ it was demolished in the 1960s.

Notable 19th-century additions to the village included the parish clerk's house and adjoining schoolroom at the north-west end of Church Lane. A two-storeyed ashlar building in 17th-century style, it was built in 1817 by Alderman William Fletcher of Oxford, whose arms appear on the south gable. A new school was built in 1864 halfway along the lane.¹⁹ The largest house in the parish, apart from the manor house, was Ivy House in Gravel Pits Lane, built by 1842 for Thomas Robinson. The house is of two storeys with attic dormers; it was L-shaped, but the west wing was removed in 1938 for road widening, along with a carriage drive and lodge.²⁰

There was a village green north and, perhaps, partly south of the Cassington road where Rutten Lane and Church Lane meet. Rutten Lane divided to run each side of the green, the western arm being known as Little Lane, and there seems once to have been a similar division of Church Lane, with a branch beginning north of the old school and emerging east of the Red Lion.²¹ The emparking of land in the 17th century, and the building of houses, reduced the green by the earlier 20th century to a small triangle at the junction of Rutten Lane and the Cassington road, and road improvements in the later 20th century eliminated it entirely.²²

A licensed alehouse was recorded in the village in 1587.²³ The Six Bells inn, visited by Anthony Wood in 1670,²⁴ reputedly acquired its name c. 1620 when the new church bells were installed, as the venue for spending the bell-ringers' ringing money.²⁵ The house, which fronted the Cassington road east of the south end of Little Lane, was rebuilt in the 18th century and was bought in 1840 by Vaughan Thomas, who converted it to a private house.²⁶ An inn of unknown location was held by Anthony Kirby (d. 1672)²⁷ and another, in the late 17th century, by John Follett, tenant of a house in Mead Lane, just south-east of the later railway bridge;²⁸ there is a local tradition of a coaching inn in Mead Lane, but the site is unlikely. Follett's inn seems to have closed by the mid 18th century.²⁹ There was still a house there in 1845,³⁰ but by 1852 it served only as a cow house.³¹ The Red Lion, on the Cassington road, was recorded from the 1750s, and was for long held by the Pitt family.³² It comprised a long thatched block, possibly 17th-century, running back from the road, with a smaller, stone-slatted building with a three-sided bay fronting

the road. It was rebuilt on a new site just to the west in 1957.³³ The Grapes, on the Woodstock road, was also recorded from the 1750s. It comprises a row of rubble and brick buildings with jetties at the first floor, and is probably of the 18th century, with 19th-century additions. One of a pair of cottages north of the end of Gravel Pits Lane was reputedly briefly a public house called the Flying Arrow.³⁴

Yarnton was referred to in 1931 as a 'quiet old village stretching along a secondary road . . . very little altered during recent years'.³⁵ In the 1920s, however, 37 houses had been built;³⁶ the parish council stressed the need for yet more.³⁷ Ribbon development began along Woodstock road north of Gravel Pits Lane and Sandy Lane, and new houses, including a few council houses, were built in the village. For a time after the Second World War a number of families lived in vans parked near the junction of the Cassington and Woodstock roads. Yarnton was gradually transformed thereafter as housing estates proliferated, especially in the area between Rutten Lane and the Woodstock road. The areas around Gravel Pits Lane and Sandy Lane were further built up, but no building was allowed south of the Cassington road or west of Rutten Lane. A few houses attempted to match traditional local building materials and styles. Private housing at the Garth was for a time separated from public housing further south at Merton Way by a fenced field. When that *cordon sanitaire* was breached in the 1960s by the building of shops and houses at Spencer Avenue and Dashwood Avenue there was for a time friction reminiscent of the infamous Cutteslowe Walls episode in Oxford.³⁸ From the 1960s the parish council sought, with limited success, to influence the speed and density of new developments.³⁹ Modern institutional additions include a new primary school (1977), a children's home, Yarnton House (1967), in Rutten Lane, and a rehabilitation centre, the Ley Community (1979), in Sandy Lane. Most obtrusive was the development, at the junction of Cassington Road with Woodstock Road, of a large district headquarters for the Southern Electricity Board. A small industrial estate was built in Sandy Lane.

Yarnton became embroiled in 1344 in the violently disputed succession to the abbacy of Eynsham: the vicarage was looted and fired by adherents of William of Stamford, the expelled abbot, presumably because the vicar was reckoned to support his rival.⁴⁰ In 1596 the attempted Oxfordshire uprising, aimed at promi-

¹⁸ Thomas, 'Sanitary Survey', 23.

¹⁹ Below, Educ.

²⁰ B.L. Add. MSS. 36377, ff. 244-5: drawings of 1842 and 1845; Bodl. Per. G.A. Oxon. 8779: illustrated letter heading of 1911 bound into front of vol.; *Three Nature/Historical Trails*, 35.

²¹ *Yarnton Quarterly Paper*, xiii.

²² Local inf.

²³ P.R.O., SP 12/198/42. Ref. kindly supplied by Mr. J. Walter, Univ. of Essex.

²⁴ *Wood's Life*, ii (O.H.S. xxi), 189.

²⁵ Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 314.

²⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 145/2/13; 172/1/40; *ibid.* Dash. XV/vi/1-2, 4-5.

²⁷ *Ibid.* MS. Wills Oxon. 298/28.

²⁸ Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 314; O.R.O., Dash. XV/i/13, 51.

²⁹ It is not mentioned in victuallers' recogs. from 1753 in O.R.O.

³⁰ O.R.O., tithe award.

³¹ Thomas, *Night March of Chas. I*, 21 n.

³² O.R.O., vctls' recogs.

³³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 503.

³⁴ *Three Nature/Historical Trails*, 32.

³⁵ *Oxon. Regional Planning Rep.* 47.

³⁶ *Census*, 1931.

³⁷ O.R.O., Misc. Yarnton I/1, par. council mins. 27 Mar. 1930.

³⁸ Local inf. For the Cutteslowe walls see P. Collison, *Cutteslowe Walls*.

³⁹ e.g. O.R.O., Misc. Yarnton I/2, pp. 12, 16, 68; inf. from Mrs. R. Brain, chairman of Yarnton P.C.

⁴⁰ P.R.O., C 258/8, no. 5a; *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. xxiv-xxvi.

nent inclosers in the area, was to have numbered among its principal victims Sir William Spencer of Yarnton.⁴¹ His son, Sir Thomas, kept lordly state at Yarnton Manor, attracting minor local gentry into his retinue and household,⁴² and establishing a pre-eminence in the neighbourhood that his family never fully recovered after the Civil War. During the Civil War the manor house seems to have been used as a military hospital. Forty royalist soldiers were buried in the churchyard between May 1643 and January 1645.⁴³ King Charles's escape from Oxford, on the night of 3 June 1644, was made through Yarnton. The king's army crossed the Thames to Mead Lane, passing along Church Lane and Frogwelldown Lane to secure Hanborough bridge.⁴⁴ Later in the year, during a period of skirmishing north of Oxford, Ralph, Lord Hopton, a royalist commander, had quarters in Yarnton.⁴⁵

Abraham Wright, author and divine, married Jane Stone, member of a prominent Yarnton family. Their son James, author of *Antiquities of Rutland*, was born in the parish.⁴⁶ The career of John Radcliffe (d. 1714), the celebrated physician, was said to have been founded on the highly publicized cure at Yarnton of Jane, widow of Sir Thomas Spencer.⁴⁷ Alderman Fletcher, a wealthy banker, antiquarian, and collector, spent some of his childhood at Yarnton vicarage in the care of the parish clerk's family,⁴⁸ and was buried in the church in 1827; the church bells are still rung 87 times on 4 January, once for each year of his life.⁴⁹ Yarnton was dominated for the first half of the 19th century by its vicar, Vaughan Thomas, a close friend of Fletcher and a prominent figure in the county, deeply involved in most of the controversial issues of his time.⁵⁰ His interest in public health led him to compile in 1853 a detailed 'Sanitary Survey' of the parish, with notes on every house in it and to issue *Advice, Pastoral and Medical*,⁵¹ against the imminent approach of cholera. His local influence was strengthened by the patronage of the Spencer-Churchill and Dashwood families.⁵² He stopped, in 1851, the recent practice of holding fairs on the village feast (24 August, St. Bartholomew's day),⁵³ and much earlier he had put an end to the 'revels and riots' which traditionally concluded the mowing of the lot meadows.⁵⁴ 'The beginning of disorder' was a race run for a garland which, in the

18th century, was hung by the victor at the entrance to the Spencer aisle in the parish church.⁵⁵ Half-hearted attempts by special constables in Yarnton to maintain order led to the transfer of the revelries across the parish boundary into Cassington. In 1817 Thomas arranged that mowing should be spread over several days, removing the need for troublesome outsiders, and it ceased to be a festival.⁵⁶ The meadows increasingly attracted the interest of botanists, historians, and folklorists, and in 1955 West Mead and Pixey Mead were declared Sites of Special Scientific Interest.⁵⁷

In 1663 the maypole was re-erected on the village green,⁵⁸ and dances were still held there in the 18th century.⁵⁹ The village stocks stood on the green, east of Jackson's Farm, and were regularly repaired until 1834.⁶⁰ In 1940 the French Protestant School in Soho, London, was evacuated to Yarnton and the children taught at the manor house.⁶¹ A playing field off Rutten Lane was bought in 1958 by the parish council, which also administers a cemetery west of the manor house, opened in 1965. In 1979 a village hall was opened in the Paddocks.⁶²

MANOR AND OTHER ESTATES. In 1005 Ealdorman Aethelmaer granted 10 hides at YARNTON, formerly his cousin Godwin's, to his newly founded abbey at Eynsham.⁶³ The land was taken at the Conquest by Remigius, bishop of Dorchester, later bishop of Lincoln, who eventually returned the abbey's other estates but not, apparently, Yarnton. In 1086 Eynsham's estates were held of the bishop by Abbot Columban, but 9½ hides at Yarnton, though said to be Eynsham's, were held of the bishop by Roger d'Ivri. The estate included 1 hide formerly held freely by Maino. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, was lord of the other half hide; it, too, was held by Roger d'Ivri.⁶⁴ Nothing more is known of the half hide, which presumably merged with the larger estate on or before Odo's death in 1097. Yarnton was held thereafter of the bishops of Lincoln as 2 knights' fees, but it became increasingly difficult for the bishops to obtain their dues from the manor, and in the 14th century their claims to overlordship seem to have been abandoned.⁶⁵

Roger d'Ivri (d. 1089) was succeeded by his sons Roger (d. by 1112) and Geoffrey (d. by

⁴¹ J. Walter, 'Oxon. Rising of 1596', *Past and Present*, cvii. 90 sqq.

⁴² e.g. Woodstock Boro' Mun., 79/1, f. 36; P.R.O., C 78/1167, no. 7; *ibid.* PROB 11/119 (P.C.C. 26 Fenner); PROB 11/155 (P.C.C. 33 Ridley).

⁴³ *Papers of Capt. Hen. Stevens* (O.R.S. xlii), p. 19; O.R.O., par. reg. transcripts.

⁴⁴ Thomas, *Night March of Chas. I*; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 304-7.

⁴⁵ *Papers of Capt. Hen. Stevens*, p. 35.

⁴⁶ *D.N.B.*; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 276-7.

⁴⁷ *D.N.B.*; W. Pittis, *Life of John Radcliffe* (1715), 9-10.

⁴⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 8, note on flyleaf; *Gent. Mag.* xcvi. 179-80.

⁴⁹ Inscr. on his tomb; below, *Educ.*, Chars.

⁵⁰ D. McClatchey, *Oxon. Clergy, 1777-1869*, *passim*; *Gent. Mag.* 3rd ser. vi. 320-2.

⁵¹ Copy in Bodl. 1562 d 23.

⁵² Thomas was tutor at Eton College to George Spencer-Churchill (d. 1857), later duke of Marlborough; O.R.O.,

MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 549, f. 136; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 19, f. 184v.

⁵³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 19, f. 167.

⁵⁴ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 8, f. 170v. For the meadows see below, *Econ.*

⁵⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton d 1, f. 63v.

⁵⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 19, ff. 137-178; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 309-11.

⁵⁷ Inf. from Nature Conservancy Council, Banbury.

⁵⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 7, f. 56v.

⁵⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 19, f. 156.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 11, *passim*.

⁶¹ Inf. from Mrs. A. Adcock, Wolvercote.

⁶² *Welcome to Yarnton*: P.C. handbk. (1982); local inf.

⁶³ M. Gelling, *Early Charters of Thames Valley*, p. 138; *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 22.

⁶⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 403, 405.

⁶⁵ *Reg. Antiquiss.* i (L.R.S. xxviii), 5, 7, 193, 203; *Bk. of Fees*, i. 40; *Rot. Parl.* i. 85, 314; *Cal. Close*, 1302-7, 484; 1313-18, 156.

1120). By the mid 12th century Yarnton, with other d'Ivri lands, had become part of the honor of St. Valery, of which it formed one of the five demesne manors. It was held successively by Reynold of St. Valery (d. c. 1162), his son Bernard (d. 1191), and Bernard's son Thomas (d. 1219). Thomas's daughter and heir Annora married Robert, count of Dreux, but their English lands were seized in 1226 by Henry III, who gave them in 1227 to his brother Richard, earl of Cornwall (d. 1272).⁶⁶ Richard's son Edmund granted Yarnton in 1281 to the newly founded abbey of Rewley.⁶⁷ Yarnton remained part of the honor of St. Valery, though by the early 16th century the manor was said to be held of the honor of Wallingford, from which the honor of St. Valery was by then scarcely differentiated.⁶⁸

Eynsham abbey repeatedly sought to recover Yarnton, but although the abbey's ownership of the church was never challenged it could not regain the manor and in 1294 renounced its claim in return for the payment of tithes, from which Rewley, as a Cistercian house, had been exempt.⁶⁹

Rewley abbey was dissolved in 1536, and in 1538 Henry VIII sold Yarnton to George Owen (d. 1558), his physician.⁷⁰ Richard Andrews, who had been tenant of the manor since c. 1526 and who was presumably resident at the manor house, retained the tenancy under his friend Owen until 1541.⁷¹ The freehold passed to Owen's son Richard,⁷² who by 1570 had been succeeded by his brother-in-law John Chamberlain, third son of Sir Leonard Chamberlain of Shirburn.⁷³ John sold it in 1574 to John Durant of Cottesmore (Rut.), possibly for the latter's son William.⁷⁴ In 1580 it was bought by William (d. 1609), third son of Sir John Spencer of Althorp.⁷⁵ From William Yarnton descended in the direct male line through Sir Thomas (d. 1622) and Sir William (d. 1657) to Sir Thomas (d. 1685), whose son William predeceased him. The manor was partitioned between William's sisters Jane, Constance, Elizabeth, and Catherine.⁷⁶ Three shares were bought in 1695 by Sir Robert Dashwood of Kirtlington.⁷⁷ The fourth, that of Constance and her husband, George Marwood, passed to their daughter Jane, wife of Cholmley Turner, who sold it in 1718 to Benjamin Swete, formerly army paymaster under John Churchill, duke of Marlbo-

rough.⁷⁸ Swete devised it on his death in 1744 to his cousin Francis Fulford, whose son Benjamin Swete Fulford sold it in 1767 to the Revd. Tilleman Hodgkinson (d. 1786) of Sarsden.⁷⁹ Hodgkinson's heirs were his daughters Elizabeth and Jane, who in 1826 sold her moiety of the quarter share to Elizabeth's son and heir Thomas Vowler Short, later bishop of St. Asaph (d. 1872). He devised the quarter manor to his brother William, who sold it in 1875 to Sir Henry Dashwood, thus reuniting the manor.⁸⁰

The manor was bought in 1895 by H. R. Franklin (d. 1909), a Deddington builder who had worked for the Dashwoods at Kirtlington.⁸¹ It was sold in 1929 by Franklin's widow Jane to Margaret Hamer, who resold it in 1936 to George Kolkhorst, Reader in Spanish at Oxford University. On his death in 1959 it was bought by the Revd. C. K. F. Brown, headmaster of Cokethorpe School, near Witney. He sold it in 1963 to Richard Bradfield, from whom it was bought in 1973 by the Charles Wolfson Charitable Trust.⁸²

Yarnton Manor was built c. 1611 by Sir Thomas Spencer. The house stood 'near to the old one by the church',⁸³ and part of an older house seems to have been incorporated as a service wing at the north-west corner of the new house, which was an imposing structure of coursed rubble limestone and ashlar, some of it re-used. The new house was a rectangular block of double-pile plan, with an enriched central doorcase and slightly projecting end bays. The house was renovated in the later 17th century, but by 1718 it was in 'ruinated condition' and the park had 'lately been destroyed'.⁸⁴ Demolition of the south bay and of some of the lower service buildings on the north is usually attributed to Sir Thomas's grandson Sir Thomas c. 1662, but it is more likely that they were removed c. 1756 by Sir James Dashwood.⁸⁵ It was said in the 19th century that the dancing gallery and building materials had been removed in the 18th to the Dashwoods' house in Kirtlington.⁸⁶ Yarnton Manor was used as a farmhouse until 1895. The interior at that time was well preserved, notably the carved hall screen, much panelling, and several richly decorated armorial chimney pieces of the 17th century.⁸⁷ Restoration was begun in 1897 under the direction of Thomas Garner.⁸⁸ The balance of the east eleva-

⁶⁶ V.C.H. Oxon. v. 60-1; Sanders, *Eng. Baronies*, 9-10.

⁶⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1281-92, 132; Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 697-8.

⁶⁸ *Feud. Aids*, iv. 156; *Cal. Close*, 1288-96, 290; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, pp. 482, 487; *Dom. of Incl.*, ed. Leadam, i. 387.

⁶⁹ *Cur. Reg. R.* iv. 87, 107; xiii. 2; *Rot. de Ob. et Fin.* (Rec. Com.), 345; *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 61-2, 308, 334; Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 18.

⁷⁰ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (i), p. 328.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* xvi, p. 422; P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/2924, m. 11d.; *ibid.* PROB 11/37, f. 134v.

⁷² P.R.O., C 142/223, no. 75.

⁷³ *Ibid.* C 142/191, no. 67; C 142/264, no. 127; *Harl. Soc.* v. 127-8.

⁷⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1572-5, p. 339; *Wood's Life*, i (O.H.S. xix), 217-18; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 284-5.

⁷⁵ P.R.O., CP25(2)/Trin. 22 Eliz.; CP 40/Trin. 22 Eliz., rot. 134.

⁷⁶ P.R.O., PROB 11/140 (P.C.C. 103 Savile); PROB 11/282 (1653, p. 530); PROB 11/387 (1687, f. 83); Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* facing p. 285; A. Adcock, *Spencers at Yarnton* (priv. print. 1981).

⁷⁷ O.R.O., Dash. XV/i/30-42, 45; *Wood's Life*, i (O.H.S. xix), 218. For an acct. of Dashwood fam. see J. Townsend, *Oxon. Dashwoods* (Oxf. 1922).

⁷⁸ O.R.O., Dash. XV/ii/1. ⁷⁹ P.R.O. PROB 11/736 (P.C.C. 294 Anstis); Blenheim Mun., box 22; O.R.O., Dash. XV/ii/2.

⁸⁰ O.R.O., Dash. XV/ii/3-8.

⁸¹ Townsend, *Oxon. Dashwoods*, 12, 44; Adcock, *Spencers at Yarnton*, 10.

⁸² Westgate Libr., Oxford, TS. list of lords of manor.

⁸³ *Wood's Life*, i (O.H.S. xix), 217.

⁸⁴ *Hearne's Colln.* vi. 187; *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 506.

⁸⁵ G. Nares, 'Yarnton Manor', *Country Life*, cx. 2096-7, and Pevsner, *Oxon.* 867-8 appear to follow Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 291, where an editorial note of 1772 in *Life of Ant. Wood*, ed. W. Huddesford, 277 that 'a great part' of the house was 'pulled down about 16 years ago' is misread as an entry for 1678 in the diary.

⁸⁶ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 19, f. 156v.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* c 522, f. 19v., drawing of 1868 by A. Cobb; *ibid.* a 24, ff. 70-80, undated plans by Thos. Garner, c. 1895; O.R.O., DIL. XXIII/7, auction cat. 1889. ⁸⁸ D.N.B.



YARNTON: the manor house from the east in 1821



YARNTON: lot-drawing in Oxey mead in 1917



SHIPTON-ON-CHERWELL: the church from the north-west in 1822



WILCOTE: the church from the south-west in 1821

tion was restored by building a library across the full depth of the house, with a slightly projecting east bay. The symmetry of the east front was further enhanced by constructing shaped gables above the end and centre bays. The interior was extensively remodelled, but most 17th-century features were preserved, including the heraldic overmantel of the long gallery fireplace, one of the few in England to retain its original colouring, and the painted graining and marbling on the staircase and in some upstairs rooms. The grounds of the house were also restored, in formal Jacobean style.⁸⁹ There are remains of extensive fishponds of unknown date west of Mead Lane south of the railway line. Yarnton Manor was used c. 1960 as a dormitory for Cokethorpe School, and from 1973 housed the Postgraduate Centre for Hebrew Studies.⁹⁰

Paternoster farm formed part of the estate purchased in 1718 by Benjamin Swete. Comprising 107 a. in 1845, it was subsequently sold by William Short to William Brain of Kidlington, who sold it in 1876 to Sir Henry Dashwood.⁹¹ The farm was tenanted for most of the 19th century by the Walker family.⁹² It seems to have been bought in the late 19th century or early 20th by Stephen Howse, and sold by him shortly after the First World War to Edward Harris, whose son Edward was the owner in 1986.⁹³ The farmhouse was built c. 1600 on a three-roomed plan with a projecting stair turret in line with the large central chimney stack. Early in the 19th century the parlour was extended and remodelled, and a new staircase installed, the base of the old stair turret becoming an entrance porch.

Frize or Frice farm, comprising c. 150 a. in the south-east of the parish, immediately west of the Oxford–Woodstock road, was, like Paternoster farm, part of the quarter share of the manor. Leased to the Minn family from the later 17th century and probably earlier, it was later known as Minnis farm.⁹⁴ The farm did not pass with the quarter of the manor but was devised by Swete to his cousin Adrian Swete.⁹⁵ On Adrian's death in 1755 it passed to his mother Esther, who devised it in 1771 to a relative, the Revd. John Tripe, who took the name Swete in 1781.⁹⁶ By 1816 the estate had passed to John Swete, presumably a son, and by 1840 was held by the Revd. Benjamin Swete. Benjamin's descendants have not been traced, but the farm was sold c. 1890 by the 'representatives of the Swetes' to George Walton (d. 1900), whose family had been tenants there for much of the 19th century.⁹⁷ George was succeeded by his

children George (d. 1926) and Mary, who at her death in 1956 devised half the farm to her sister Fanny and half to the farm manager, Nigel Evans, who bought out Fanny's share soon after. He sold the farm c. 1960 to Arthur Baylis, who renamed it Stonehouse farm.⁹⁸

An estate said to comprise a house and 2 yardlands was sold in 1576 by Richard Dalby to Robert Townsend of Cassington.⁹⁹ Robert conveyed it in 1592 to Stephen Townsend, whose son Stephen sold it in 1642 to Thomas Standard (d. 1687) of Kidlington. Thomas's daughter and heir Alice and her husband Thomas Smith both died in 1708 and were succeeded by their son Humphrey (d. 1718),¹ whose widow Mary sold the estate in 1718 to Henry Jackson, a minor canon of St. Paul's cathedral, London. By will proved 1727 Jackson devised the estate, known thereafter as Jackson's farm, to Merton College, Oxford, to provide four scholarships. The farmhouse was built in the 17th century, probably on the site of an earlier house. It was extended at the rear in the 18th, but was still described in 1797 as a 'small farmhouse'. It was said in 1853 to have been 'lately rebuilt nearly', the remodelling apparently including the blocking of the former through-passage by the insertion of a central staircase. The house was sold in 1965. In 1895 the college bought Hill farm, whose land adjoined Jackson's farm, from Sir George Dashwood. Adjustment of the farms' boundaries altered the size of Jackson's farm, which comprised 100 a. in 1939, 80 a. in 1982.

An estate later said to comprise a house and 118 a. was bought in 1574 by Justinian Weller (d. 1577) from John Chamberlain. The estate passed to Justinian's daughter Agnes (d. 1602), wife of Adrian Criche.² Their son Samuel died seised of the property in 1638, but by 1662 it had passed to the Southby family of Appleton (Berks.).³ The estate followed the descent of the Southby's Appleton property until 1867, when it was bought by Exeter College, Oxford.⁴ The Southby farmhouse, later called Exeter Farm, stands at the eastern edge of the old village, north of the Cassington road. The estate was sold by the college in 1921.⁵

An estate comprising a house and 2 yardlands, perhaps that held of Rewley abbey in the 1530s by Robert Page,⁶ was among the lands sold c. 1575 by John Chamberlain.⁷ The purchaser was presumably William Phipps, who died seised of the estate in 1610. He was succeeded by his son Robert (d. 1613), by Robert's son Henry (d. by 1662), and by Henry's son Robert (d. 1709), whose heir was his daughter Elizabeth.⁸ She

⁸⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. a 24, ff. 70–80; O.A.S. Rep. (1896–1900), 140; *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.* xxxiv. 61; *Oxf. Jnl. Illustrated*, 4 July, 8 Aug. 1917; *Country Life*, cx. 2096–9, 2162–5; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 867–8.

⁹⁰ *Oxf. Mail*, 30 Nov. 1962; inf. from the bursar, Yarnton Manor.

⁹¹ O.R.O., Dash. XV/ii/3–8; *ibid.* tithe award.

⁹² *Ibid.* land tax assess.; *P.O. Dir. Oxon.* (1847 and later edns.).

⁹³ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1920); local inf.

⁹⁴ Above; O.R.O., Dash. XV/i/6–8, 13, 44.

⁹⁵ P.R.O., PROB 11/736 (P.C.C. 294 Anstis).

⁹⁶ R. Polwhele, *Hist. Devon*, iii. 463; C. Worthy, *Devon*

Pars. 241.

⁹⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. e 12; Stapleton, *Three Oxon.*

Pars. 230.

⁹⁸ Inf. from Mrs. M. J. Roe, Yarnton.

⁹⁹ Except where specified, the following acct. is based on Merton Coll. Mun., uncat. deeds.

¹ Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 46–8, 51.

² O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 185, ff. 534, 580; P.R.O., C 142/267, no. 30; O.R.O., Hodgson VIII/17.

³ P.R.O., C 142/14 Chas. I, no. 486; *ibid.* E 179/164/504, m. 45; Exeter Coll. Mun., N.III.6, Southby estate deeds.

⁴ *V.C.H. Berks.* iv. 338; Exeter Coll. Mun., N.III.6.

⁵ O.R.O., tithe award; Exeter Coll. Mun., N.III.6–7.

⁶ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/2924, m. 10.

⁷ Exeter Coll. Mun., N.III.5, Phipps estate deeds.

⁸ P.R.O., C 142/519, no. 55; C 142/338, no. 40; Exeter Coll. Mun., N.III.5; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 672, ff. 155, 158, 203, 212.

later married John Weston, and they, with their son Phipps Weston, sold the estate in 1739 to Exeter College. The estate, known as College farm, was sold in 1921. The farmhouse, College Mead, is a stone-built house of 1610, partly rebuilt in brick in 1710.⁹

Eynsham abbey held Yarnton rectory, which comprised the great tithes.¹⁰ At the Dissolution the rectory passed to the Crown. It was leased to George Owen in 1551 and granted for a time to Cardinal Pole, but in 1565 it was bought from the Crown by Sir William Petre and formed part of his endowment of Exeter College.¹¹ The rectory was leased separately to tenants until 1782, after which it was usually leased with College farm.¹² The tithes were commuted in 1845 for a rent of £250.¹³

ECONOMIC HISTORY. The presence in Yarnton of detached parts of Begbroke parish,¹⁴ and the sharing of lot meadows along the Thames, may indicate that the parishes once shared a single set of fields.

The medieval yardland in Yarnton seems to have comprised c. 25 a. exclusive of meadow and pasture,¹⁵ and in 1617 a 2-yardland estate contained 44 a. of arable.¹⁶ There were 52 yardlands recorded in the parish in 1279, but by the 17th century there were said to be only 44,¹⁷ presumably because of the loss of arable land by inclosure in the 15th and 16th centuries.¹⁸

By the later 13th century land perhaps lay in two fields: in 1272 and 1304 there were said to be 160 a. of demesne arable,¹⁹ and if there was an equal amount of fallow the combined total matches the 3 ploughlands (c. 300 a.) of demesne recorded elsewhere.²⁰ The inclosure commissioners of 1517 accused Rewley abbey in 1489 of inclosing 230 a. for pasture and allowing 6 houses and 4 cottages to become derelict, leaving 36 people homeless; 9 ploughs, an improbably large number, had allegedly been taken out of use.²¹ By the 1520s the inclosed former demesne and tenant land was leased as three farms, one of them the manor farm, another known as Alleluia farm. Half the parish remained uninclosed.²² The early inclosures seem to have comprised much of the land south and west of the village.²³ Land inclosed later lay in areas of the parish known as the Clays and the Ruttens in the north, the Sands in the north-

east, and the Marshes in the south-east.²⁴ In 1596 Sir William Spencer was one of the local landlords whose inclosing activities came to the attention of the government because of a threatened uprising.²⁵ The Privy Council's concern may have slowed the process, but it could not reverse it; in 1613 a farm of 2 yardlands still lay only partly in closes, but by 1635 the whole farm, and perhaps the whole parish except for meadowland, was inclosed.²⁶

Much land between the village and the river was meadowland. Some meadows were evidently arable in the Middle Ages; they were still known by names such as Corn Hayday in the early 18th century, long after their conversion to pasture,²⁷ and they retained traces of ridge and furrow in the 1960s.²⁸ Lot meadows flanking the river were never ploughed or inclosed, and they present a remarkable survival of immemorial custom into modern times. Oxe, or Oxhurst, mead (66 a.) and West mead (75 a.) lie along the north bank of the river with no physical boundaries between them; together they are known as Yarnton meads. Pixey mead lies between the main stream of the Thames and Wolvercote mill stream.²⁹ Some 50 a. in the east part of Pixey mead, extraparochial until joined to Wolvercote in the later 19th century, are included in Yarnton's lot meadows; the west part was also lot meadow in the 18th century, but belonged exclusively to Wytham parish,³⁰ and the north was owned by Godstow abbey, passing eventually to the dukes of Marlborough.³¹

The lot meadows were held in 13 lots, represented by 13 cherrywood balls each inscribed with the name of a lot, 9 belonging to Yarnton and 4 to Begbroke.³² The meadows were divided on the ground into 'shots', 5 in West mead, 3 in Oxe mead, and 2 in Pixey mead. Each shot contained 13 strips, the strips and shots being marked at their ends by pegs or stones. In each mead an area known as the tithals, or tydalls, was set aside for rectorial tithes and never drawn for;³³ the tithals, said c. 1818 to be the 'best land of the meads', comprised 6 a. in Oxe mead, 3 a. in West mead, and 3 a. in Pixey mead, two thirds belonging to Yarnton rectory, one third to Begbroke. Each meadow was allotted and mown on a single day on successive Mondays following the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (29 June) in the order Oxe, West mead, Pixey. The allotment was made by drawing, at the head of each

⁹ Exeter Coll. Mun., N.III.5, 7.

¹⁰ Above; *Eynsham Cart.* i, pp. 334-5; ii, pp. lxxiii-lxxiv.

¹¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1563-6, 251-2; *Exeter Coll. Reg.* (O.H.S. xxvii), pp. lxxxiv-lxxxvi.

¹² Exeter Coll. Mun., N.III.5, 7; Bodl. MS. Ch. Oxon. 644.

¹³ O.R.O., tithe award.

¹⁴ Above, Intro.

¹⁵ *Dom. of Incl.* ed. Leadam, i, 386.

¹⁶ P.R.O., C 142/338, no. 40.

¹⁷ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 19, f. 21; *ibid.* e 12, *passim*; Exeter Coll. Mun., N. III. 7, evidence of John Lay, 1818.

¹⁸ Below.

¹⁹ P.R.O., C 132/42, no. 1; C 133/97, no. 25.

²⁰ *Ibid.* SC 6/955/2-3; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 855.

²¹ *Dom. of Incl.* ed. Leadam, i, 386-7.

²² P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/2924, mm. 10-11; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 254.

²³ O.R.O., Dash. XV/i/24, 44, 51.

²⁴ Above, Manor and other estates.

²⁵ J. Walter, 'Oxon. Rising of 1596', *Past and Present*, cvii, 90 sqq.

²⁶ P.R.O., C 142/338, no. 40; Exeter Coll. Mun., N.III.5.

²⁷ O.R.O., Dash. XV/i/24, 51.

²⁸ Air photos.

²⁹ O.S. Map 6", Oxon. XXXIII (1881 edn.).

³⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Berks. b 13.

³¹ Above, Wolvercote, Intro.

³² Unless otherwise stated, the following account is based on Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon b 19: notes c, 1817, by the Revd. V. Thomas; Exeter Coll. Mun., and Merton Coll. Mun., 17th- and 18th-century deeds; O.R.O., Yarnton and Begbroke tithe awards; F. Charlett, *Statutory Declaration re Yarnton Meadows* (1936): copy in O.R.O.; R. H. Gretton, 'Hist. Notes on Yarnton Lot-Meadow Customs', *Econ. Jnl.* xx, 38 sqq.; xxii, 53 sqq.; *The Field*, cxviii, 630; T. E. Farrer, *Conveyancer and Property Lawyer*, N.S. i, 53-61; local inf.

³³ *P.N. Oxon.* (E.P.N.S.), ii, 297 mistakenly derives the word from titter, a weed.

strip, one of the balls; when a whole shot had been allotted the process was repeated, except that in Pixey mead a single draw served for both shots.

Some lots were divided into halves or quarters, which could be further subdivided so that ownership of the hay might be confined to a single meadow or shot. Some lots descended with particular farms and can be traced from the 17th century, while others were separated from ownership of land in the parish. In the 19th century the recently established farms had no rights in the lot meadows. There are indications that one lot of meadow originally went with 1 hide of land, and a quarter lot with 1 yardland.³⁴ The origin of the lot meadows may pre-date the Conquest, but the 180 a. of meadow in Yarn-ton in 1086 corresponds neatly with the nine Yarn-ton lots of the 19th century only if all the meadow recorded in 1086 was lot meadow.³⁵ The method of holding rights in the meadows seems to have crystallized, and may even have begun, in the late 13th or early 14th century: the names of six tenants or taxpayers in Yarn-ton in that period and of three in Begbroke match the names inscribed on the balls. The Yarn-ton balls are called Bolton (or Bouton), Dunn, Freeman, Gilbert, Green, Harry, Rothe, Watery Molly, and White; the Begbroke balls are Boat, Perry, Walter Geoffrey, and William of Bladon. Tenants and taxpayers recorded in Yarn-ton included Boveton, Don, Freeman, Gilbert, Green, and White; in Begbroke they included Pyrie, Walter Geffray, and William of Bladon.³⁶ The rights may have been reorganized on Rewley abbey's acquisition of the manor in 1281: the demesne meadow seems to have been improved at that period, its value rising from 8d. an acre in 1272 to 2s. in 1304.³⁷

The practice of completing mowing in a single day made it necessary to hire labour from outside the parish, but in 1817 it was decided to allow lot owners to cut their grass at any time before the meadows were thrown open to live-stock, on the Monday following the parish feast day (St. Bartholomew's day, 24 August).³⁸ Two meadsmen were elected annually from among the lot holders to supervise the lot drawing and regulate the grazing. After the opening in 1789 of Duke's Cut, linking the Thames near Oxey mead to the Oxford canal, 1s. was collected from every barge for the use of the tow-path and the money spent on the meadow's upkeep; in 1936 it was said that the charge had been dropped 'some

years ago'.³⁹ Oxey mead, traversed in the 1930s by the Oxford northern bypass, was sold in 1939 to Oxfordshire County Council,⁴⁰ which resold most of the land to the Thames Water Authority. Part of Pixey mead was sold for the construction of the Oxford western bypass, completed in 1961. The gradual acquisition of rights in the 20th century by outsiders⁴¹ and a decline in the value of the hay led to the abandonment of lot drawing, which last took place in 1978.⁴² The hay was thereafter sold as one lot and the money divided among the proprietors.

Common pasture rights on the lot meadows were restricted to the lot owners. In 1797 the stint was 1 cow to a yard of meadow ($\frac{1}{4}$ of a lot), but it was said that it had formerly been double; 1 horse was reckoned equivalent to 2 cows. The stint in Pixey mead was double that in Yarn-ton meads, because the right to graze belonged in alternate years to Wytham;⁴³ in 1936 the stint in Yarn-ton meads was said to be $3\frac{1}{4}$ cows for each yard.⁴⁴

The pasture of 80 a. recorded in 1086⁴⁵ perhaps lay east of the village, in the area known as the Marshes. Adjoining the Marshes on the north was a close known as Seed Lake, mentioned in the early 17th century as a cow common for cottagers.⁴⁶ Separate demesne pasture was said in 1272 to comprise 60 a. and to be worth 4d. an acre.⁴⁷ By 1304 its value had doubled.⁴⁸ The stint for common grazing in Yarn-ton fields in the early 17th century was apparently 10 beasts and 50 sheep to a yardland.⁴⁹ Common grazing, except in the lot meadows, was later restricted to the verges, where a stint of 3 sheep to a yardland was set in 1720.⁵⁰

In 1086 Roger d'Ivri's estate had 2 plough-teams on the demesne, which was presumably farmed by means of services exacted from 20 villeins and 3 bordars who held the other 7 teams recorded. The estate's value had increased from £10 to £14, well above the average value in the county for a ploughland. Odo of Bayeux's $\frac{1}{2}$ hide had 1 team, worked by 2 villeins and 1 bordar. Its value, 10s. in 1086, had doubled, in keeping with most of Odo's lands.⁵¹

By 1279⁵² there was only one manor in Yarn-ton, owned by the earls of Cornwall. There were 3 ploughlands in demesne, 4 yardlands held freely, probably 35 villein yardlands, and a small amount of cottage land. The 31 villein yardland-ers paid rent of 4s. each and provided services at the lord's will; 7 half-yardlanders paid 2s. 6d.

³⁴ Blenheim Mun., box 21, leases of 1597 and 1652; Exeter Coll. Mun., N. III. 5, lease of 1632; O.R.O., Hodgson VIII/17.

³⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 403, 405. There were probably 5 hides in Begbroke: above, Begbroke, Manors.

³⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 855, 857; P.R.O., E 179/161/8-10. Cf. *Econ. Jnl.* xxii. 58-9, where additional possibilities are suggested.

³⁷ P.R.O., C 132/42, no. 1; C 133/97, no. 25.

³⁸ For the significance of the mowing days in village life, see above, Intro.

³⁹ Charlett, *Statutory Declaration*; H. Compton, *Oxford Canal*, 52.

⁴⁰ O.R.O., conveyance, 1939.

⁴¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv. 286; *Rep. of Chief Commons Com. on Pixey mead and West mead* (1976), which wrongly dates the bypass 1971.

⁴² Inf. from Mrs. A. Adcock.

⁴³ Merton Coll. Mun., uncat. survey of Jackson's farm by R. Davis; *ibid.* uncat. deeds of Jackson's farm and Begbroke Hall farm.

⁴⁴ Charlett, *Statutory Declaration*.

⁴⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 403.

⁴⁶ P.R.O., PROB 11/115 (P.C.C. 13 Wingfield); Exeter Coll. Mun., N. III. 5, lease of 1639.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., C 132/42, no. 1; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 855.

⁴⁸ P.R.O., C 133/97, no. 25.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* C 142/338, no. 40; Exeter Coll. Mun., N. III. 5, grant of livery of lands to Hen. Phipps.

⁵⁰ O.R.O., Dash. XV/i/49.

⁵¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 403, 405.

⁵² Para. based on *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 855. The estates said there to belong to Richard of Amundeville and to Godstow abbey probably lay in Thrupp and are excluded from this summary: cf. above, Kidlington, Econ.

each with similar obligations. Grouped with the half-yardlanders was the tenant-at-will of Fretes croft, who paid the high rent of 1 mark but no services; the croft may well have been $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland, making the total holding of the half-yardlanders 1 hide. There were 7 cottagers, six of them paying rent of 10d. and providing the same services as the yardlanders; the other cottage, with 2 a., had come into the hands of a free tenant, who paid 2s. 6d. rent. Some cottagers may also have been manorial servants: two bore the name '*ad portam*', and a third was the widow of a clerk. Some villeins may have been allowed to commute services, for in 1272 it was stated that £12 2s. a year was received 'in rents and works'.⁵³ Two free tenants, holding 2 yardlands each in 1279 for rents of 12d., were possibly in possession of the hide said in 1086 to have been held freely by Maino before the Conquest.⁵⁴

In 1279 the amount of arable land in Yarnton, perhaps 1,300 a., was at its greatest extent. Pressure on resources may have lain behind the manumission in 1278 of two villeins⁵⁵ who seem immediately to have left the parish: neither was recorded in 1279. On the demesne in the late 1270s arable farming and stock raising were both important, and, except for small amounts of grain used to feed workers and make payments in kind, the estate was run to supply the earl with cash profits. The most important crops were wheat (97 qr. in 1278-9, of which 73 qr. were sold), barley (102 qr., of which 72 qr. were sold), and oats (100 qr., of which 74 qr. were sold); rye, maslin, dredge, and beans were also grown. The sale of such a large part of the oat crop suggests that the meadows and demesne pasture provided plentiful foodstuff for the livestock, and calves were not sold during their first year but kept and added to the cows and oxen, or fattened and sold later. The three demesne ploughteams were worked c. 1280 by 24 oxen and 2 horses. There were also 2 bulls and 51 cows, 112 bullocks, heifers, and calves, a pig and 5 piglets. Some livestock was transferred to other manors of the earl, but there is no reference to a similar traffic in reverse, and Yarnton may have served as a stock-raising centre for the other estates in the area. Pannage receipts of 18d. in 1278-9 indicate that 18 pigs or 36 piglets were kept by tenants. Sheep were not mentioned. Large quantities of butter and cheese were sold, and, in one year, 92 gallons of cider. Farm servants comprised 3 ploughmen, 1 herdsman, 1 keeper of the oxen, and 1 dairyman and his assistant.⁵⁶

Under Rewley abbey the amount of demesne arable was initially unchanged, although the demesne may have been farmed for food rather than cash. The main tenurial change was the conversion of several villein holdings into free-

holds: rents from free tenants increased from 4s. 6d. in 1279 to 34s. 6d. in 1300, while the number of villein yardlands fell to 28.⁵⁷ Six houses and yardlands excluded by Eynsham abbey from its claim to the manor in 1285 may have been those recently converted to freehold.⁵⁸ In 1320 the abbot of Rewley was pardoned for acquiring without licence 'divers messuages and small portions of land'.⁵⁹ Evidence for the later Middle Ages is lacking, but by the 16th century Rewley abbey was the only major landowner in the parish. Yarnton was the abbey's most valuable estate, providing in 1536 almost two fifths (£66) of its assessed income.⁶⁰ The early move towards freeholds seems to have been temporary, and most landholders c. 1530 were copyholders of the abbey. There was greater diversity among the copyholds than there had been among the villein tenements of the 13th century, the tenants c. 1530 including one of 4 yardlands, seven of 2 yardlands, one of $1\frac{1}{2}$ yardland, and 9 cottagers; there were only five yardlanders. The manorial demesne had been inclosed and was leased to three tenants, including Richard Andrews, who was to become prominent in the monastic land market in the Oxford area.⁶¹

For the subsidy of 1306 Rewley abbey's assessment (7s. 9½d.) was by far the highest, the biggest lay assessment being c. 2s. 6d. Ecclesiastical landlords were excluded in 1317 and 1327, but all three taxation lists reveal a leading group of 8 or 10 families, many descended from the earl of Cornwall's yardland tenants of 1279. Of 33 family names recorded in 1327, 19 had occurred in 1279. Few were assessed at the lowest level. Among the villein tenants were a number of surnames derived from the occupations of smith, weaver, carpenter, gardener, chapman, and clerk.⁶² The subsidy of 1524, for which 26 men were assessed on goods and wages, seems to have omitted some leading freeholders and tenants, but reflected in general the inequality of holdings which had resulted from engrossing and inclosure. Richard Marsh, tenant of Alleluia farm, received the highest assessment (£7), followed by John Cocks (£5), another Rewley tenant, and Richard Dalby (£5), owner of a freehold estate of 2 yardlands. Three men were assessed on goods of £3, and four others at between £2 and £3, but 15 were assessed at the lowest level on labourers' wages.⁶³

John Chamberlain, who had acquired Yarnton by 1570,⁶⁴ began to sell off large parts of the estate. By 1573 several new freeholds had been created, including that bought by Henry Irish,⁶⁵ whose son John's assessment for the subsidy of 1581 was second only to that of William Spencer.⁶⁶ The process was reversed by Spencer after he acquired the manor in 1580, but some free-

⁵³ P.R.O., C 132 42, no. 1.

⁵⁴ V.C.H. Oxon. i. 403.

⁵⁵ P.R.O., SC 6 955 3.

⁵⁶ Ibid. SC 6/955/2-3; SC 6/958/19.

⁵⁷ Rot. Hund. (Rec. Com.), ii. 855; P.R.O., C 133/97, no.

25.

⁵⁸ Cal. Pat. 1317-21, 412.

⁵⁹ Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.), ii. 254.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/2924, m. 10.

⁶² P.R.O., E 179/161/8-10; Rot. Hund. (Rec. Com.), ii. 855.

⁶³ Ibid. E 179/161/175, m. 6d. For the Dalby freehold see above, Manor.

⁶⁴ Above, Manor.

⁶⁵ P.R.O., C 142 190, no. 65.

⁶⁶ Ibid. E 179/162/345, m. 13. For other freeholds created see above, Manor; P.R.O., C 142/191, no. 67; C 142/223, no. 75; C 142/264, no. 127.

holds created in the 1570s were identifiable with 20th-century farms.⁶⁷ Under the Spencers, who were the first recorded resident lords, Yarnton comprised a large, directly managed manor farm flanked by smaller freehold, leasehold, and copyhold farms. The largest freehold estate was that later known as Southby's (c. 120 a.), the largest leasehold farm was Frize farm (c. 150 a.); others were mostly of between 30 and 60 a.⁶⁸ The gradation was apparent in 1662, when Sir Thomas Spencer was assessed on 22 hearths, three men on 5 or 6 hearths, eight on 3 or 4, and thirteen on 1 or 2 hearths.⁶⁹

Sir Thomas's death in 1685 ended direct management of the manorial estate, which was divided up among tenants, of whom there were as many as 20 in the early 18th century.⁷⁰ A likely consequence was a reduction in the relatively high number of landless labourers observed in the 16th century. It was recalled in the early 19th century that Yarnton a century earlier had been without labourers: 'all [were] small renters working their own farms'.⁷¹ The memory may have exaggerated, for among crops grown in the 18th century was woad, heavily labour intensive. Of new farms created, the most notable were Hill farm, whose farmhouse is dated 1731, and, probably, Windmill Hill farm. By the later 18th century, however, the number of holdings had begun to contract. There were only 16 taxed holdings in the parish in 1786, and by c. 1800 the number had fallen to 12, at which level it remained for most of the 19th century.⁷² On the Dashwood estate, comprising half the land in the parish, there were 5 farms c. 1800: Manor (c. 235 a.), Windmill Hill (c. 245 a.), Mead (c. 175 a.), Hill (c. 60 a.), and Yarnton Hill, or Spring Hill, farms (c. 25 a.). The other farms, besides Frize and Southby's, were Paternoster (c. 120 a.), Jackson's (c. 50 a.) and College (c. 55 a.) farms. In the north-east quarter of the parish 77 a. forming part of the Bayley manor in Kidlington, owned by Thomas Robinson, and 53 a. owned by Blenheim estate were farmed from outside the parish until the building c. 1829 of Parker's Farm north of Sandy Lane.⁷³ The Blenheim estate bought Robinson's land in 1849 and by 1863 owned 153 a. in Yarnton.⁷⁴ The long survival of several small farms in Yarnton may have owed something to the increasing emphasis on dairy farming, for which such farms were well suited.

After the Weston family sold its estate to Exeter College in 1739⁷⁵ there were almost no

owner-occupiers in the parish until the end of the 19th century. Most lessees were resident, and sub-letting was unusual. Some families remained on their holdings for several generations. The Miles family was tenant of Jackson's farm from the 1730s until c. 1853; although in 1843 Abraham Miles was reported to Merton College as a 'slovenly' farmer the college renewed his lease without comment.⁷⁶ Other prominent tenant families were the Minns at Frize farm in the 17th century and early 18th; the Phipps family and its heir, the Westons, owners and then leaseholders of Exeter College's farm from the 16th century until the later 18th; the Osbornes of Mead and Hill farms in the 18th and 19th centuries; the Strainges at Manor farm from the later 18th century until the mid 19th; and the Waltons at Manor and Frize farms in the 19th century.⁷⁷ Many were moderately prosperous: the average value of the goods of 26 Yarnton farmers in the 17th century was c. £100. In the 18th century bequests of between £200 and £500 were not uncommon.⁷⁸

From the later 18th century, as population increased, there was an increase in the number of landless labourers. Of 67 houses recorded in Yarnton in 1853, 39 were said by the vicar to be occupied by the 'labouring poor'.⁷⁹ From the late 19th century the major changes in the pattern of farming were the sales of the Dashwood and Exeter College estates in 1895 and 1921.⁸⁰ By 1910 Manor farm had become absorbed in Mead farm, Spring Hill farm in Begbroke Hall farm, and Parker's farm in Begbroke Hill farm.⁸¹ Further amalgamations led to the conversion of village farmhouses to purely residential use.

Yarnton from the 16th century to the 18th lived by mixed farming, with increasing emphasis on pasture. Anthony Wood commented on the richness of pasture in the parish,⁸² and Thomas Hearne attributed the name Erdington to the large herds of cattle he saw grazing there.⁸³ Sir Thomas Spencer at his death in 1622 was keeping c. 1,500 sheep in Yarnton,⁸⁴ but the next largest 17th-century flocks were those of Robert Phipps (d. 1613) with 60, and James Stone (d. 1640) with 100 animals.⁸⁵ Flocks of 10–40 sheep were common and it was unusual to have no sheep, but cattle herds, averaging c. 15 in the 17th and 18th centuries, were far more important. Robert Minn of Frize farm kept a bull and 46 cows in 1665,⁸⁶ and William Malings, a successor there, had in 1788 44 cows and

⁶⁷ e.g. Jackson's farm, Southby's farm, College farm: above, Manor.

⁶⁸ List of occupiers, 1615, reproduced in Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 263; O.R.O., Dash. XV/i/13, 24, 44.

⁶⁹ P.R.O., E 179/164/504, m. 45.

⁷⁰ O.R.O., Dash. XV/i/13, 24, 51; Act for Confirming a Partition made between Robert Dashwood and Cholmley Turner, 3 Geo. I, c. 22 (Priv. Act).

⁷¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 19, f. 93.

⁷² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 560, f. 223; *ibid.* land tax assess.

⁷³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. e 12: T. Hall, Survey of Yarnton, c. 1818; O.R.O., tithe award; V. Thomas, 'Sanitary Survey of Yarnton, 1853': copy in Westgate Libr., Oxford. For Parker's Farm see above, Intro.

⁷⁴ Blenheim Mun., box marked 'Begbroke and Yarnton: purchased of V. Thomas'; *ibid.* E/P/58.

⁷⁵ Above, Manor.

⁷⁶ Merton Coll. Mun., uncat. deeds of Jackson's farm.

⁷⁷ P.R.O., HO 107/1731; *ibid.* RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. e 12; O.R.O., tithe award; above, Manor and other estates.

⁷⁸ Based on a study of Yarnton wills and inventories in O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon.

⁷⁹ Thomas, 'Sanitary Survey', pp. 3–5, 21–2; below, Local Govt.

⁸⁰ Above, Manor.

⁸¹ H. A. Evans, 'Yarnton Yesterday and Today', *Yarnton Quarterly Paper*, ix: copy in Bodl. Per. G.A. Oxon. 8°779.

⁸² *Wood's City of Oxf.* i (O.H.S. xv), 53.

⁸³ *Hearne's Colln.* vi (O.H.S. xliii), 187.

⁸⁴ Woodstock Boro. Mun. 35/4.

⁸⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 299/4/39; 173/4/21.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 44/4/29.

14 horses.⁸⁷ A Yarnton grazier, Charles Glanville (d. 1690), also held property at Charlton-on-Otmoor and Woodstock, and was presumably raising stock on a large scale.⁸⁸ There was a brief reversion to arable on the manorial estate following its purchase in 1695 by Sir Robert Dashwood, but during the 18th century Yarnton became again 'more of a dairy parish'.⁸⁹ Yarnton's grassland also encouraged horse breeding, and horse-sellers from the parish regularly attended Oxford market in the 18th century. Meat and garden produce are also known to have been sold there.⁹⁰ By 1801 the amount of arable in the parish (85 a.) had reached its lowest point.⁹¹

Crops mentioned from the 16th century were the usual ones of barley, wheat, maslin, beans, and peas. In 1587 barley seems to have been the main crop: three Yarnton farmers were to take weekly to Oxford market 4 bu. of peas, 4 bu. of barley, and 9 bu. of malt.⁹² The name Linton close, mentioned in 1536,⁹³ suggests flax growing, and flax and hemp were mentioned in 17th-century inventories.⁹⁴ In the early 19th century a 'considerable quantity' of flax was grown in the neighbourhood: in the 17th century it seems to have been valued as a source of spun fibre, but was later grown mostly for cattle feed.⁹⁵ Flax spun by paupers in the parish from the 1780s to the 1830s and hemp spun in the 1780s⁹⁶ were presumably grown locally. In the early 18th century woad, said to 'thrive here mightily', was grown in the manor park by a Mr. Ward of Northamptonshire, probably William Ward of Little Houghton.⁹⁷

For much of the 19th century there were usually c. 300 a. of arable in the parish.⁹⁸ Relief on rent was allowed to some tenants in the 1820s, 1830s, and 1880s, when prices were depressed,⁹⁹ and concentration on stock farming shielded Yarnton's farmers from the worst effects of falling grain prices. In 1890 arable was 'kept under the plough merely for the convenience of the tenants, to provide straw and roots, and none of the tenants are to any appreciable extent dependent upon the price of corn'.¹ Sheep were still kept in the 19th century, and five shepherds were recorded in 1871,² but sheep were of secondary importance. In 1914, when four fifths of the parish's cultivated area was permanent pasture, there were fewer than 100 sheep in all, whereas the ratio for cattle, 24 to every 100 a. cultivated, was one of the highest

in Oxfordshire. Yarnton also remained, as it seems to have been from the 17th century and presumably earlier, a notable centre for raising pigs. Wheat was the principal arable crop, with barley and oats also grown, and a high percentage of root crops.³

The lavish household maintained by the Spencers provided some local employment in the 17th century,⁴ but agricultural labour was by far the commonest employment in the parish before the 20th century. There were the usual tradesmen and craftsmen such as smiths, masons, carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers. Thomas Perrott (d. 1722), keeper of the Six Bells inn, seems also to have been a chandler, grocer, and shoemaker.⁵ A few jobs were provided by the tollgate and the railway crossings, but the 13 railway labourers recorded in 1851 were temporarily resident. Glovemaking, presumably for Woodstock masters, provided work for a few women, and in 1851 there were 6 gloveresses.⁶ The 'extreme poverty' of agricultural labourers in the parish was lamented in 1868 by the vicar.⁷ In the 20th century villagers began to travel to work in Oxford and elsewhere, and new employment was brought to Yarnton by the the district headquarters of the Southern Electricity Board, a tyre depot in Cassington Road, a sewage works off Kidlington Lane, nursery gardens in Sandy Lane, and the Weed Research Organization at Begbroke Hill.

No mill was recorded at Yarnton in 1086. Richard, earl of Cornwall, died in 1272 seised of a mill belonging to Yarnton manor,⁸ and manorial accounts of the 1270s included a mill,⁹ though it may not have been in Yarnton: the mill recorded under Yarnton in 1279 appears to have been at Thrupp, which also belonged to the earls of Cornwall,¹⁰ and the mills given to Rewley abbey by Earl Edmund in 1291 were in Cassington.¹¹ An extent of Rewley's possessions in Yarnton in 1300 made no mention of a mill.¹² There was a mill, almost certainly wind-driven, by the late 16th century.¹³ It was presumably in Windmill field, between Cassington Lane and Frogwelldown Lane. In 1835 it was said to have stood north (meaning north-west) of Windmill Hill Farm.¹⁴

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. Yarnton, as part of the honor of St. Valery, had by 1255 been withdrawn from suit at the hundred court of

⁸⁷ *Oxf. Jnl.* 16 Dec. 1788.

⁸⁸ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 129/2/10.

⁸⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. e 12, f. 53.

⁹⁰ W. Thwaites, 'Marketing of Agric. Produce in 18th-cent. Oxon.' (Birmingham Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1981), 361, 370.

⁹¹ P.R.O., HO 67/18.

⁹² Ibid. SP 12/198, f. 102. Ref. supplied by Mr. J. Walter.

⁹³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 254.

⁹⁴ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 299/4/39; 297/5/17.

⁹⁵ Young, *Oxon. Agric.* 204.

⁹⁶ Below, Local Govt.

⁹⁷ *Hearne's Colln.* vi (O.H.S. xliii), 187, 203; Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. b7, f. 101; b 19, ff. 151, 156v.; *Alum. Oxon.* 1500-1714.

⁹⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 19, ff. 99-100; O.R.O., tithe award.

⁹⁹ Exeter Coll. Mun., A.I.10, p. 134; A.I.11, pp. 67, 80;

A.I.12, pp. 287, 402.

¹ Merton Coll. Mun., uncat. rep.

² Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. e 12, ff. 94, 97v.; P.R.O., RG 10/1449.

³ Orr, *Oxon. Agric.* statistical plates.

⁴ e.g. P.R.O., SP 12/262, f. 8 and v.; *ibid.* PROB 11/115 (P.C.C. 13 Wingfield); PROB 11/119 (P.C.C. 26 Fenner); O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 61/2/36.

⁵ O.R.O., MS. Wills Oxon. 172/1/40.

⁶ P.R.O., HO 107/1731; *ibid.* RG 10/1449; RG 11/1512.

⁷ *Rep. Com. on Children and Women in Agric.* [4202-1], pp. 336, 345-6, H.C. (1868-9), xiii.

⁸ P.R.O., C 132/42, no. 1.

⁹ *Ibid.* SC 6/955/3; SC 6/958/19.

¹⁰ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 853, 855.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 697-8; *Black Prince's Reg.* iv. 30.

¹² P.R.O., C 133/97, no. 25.

¹³ *Ibid.* SP 12/261, ff. 37, 91.

¹⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. e 12, f. 98v.

Wootton by Richard, earl of Cornwall. Earl Edmund held courts for his villeins at Yarnnton, but free tenants owed suit at the honorial court at North Osney. Villeins as well as free tenants were, unusually, expected to contribute to the lord's scutage.¹⁵ The 'hundred' of Yarnnton, so called in 1279, seems to have been the name given to an annual view of frankpledge at Yarnnton attended by tenants from St. Valery manors in Steeple Barton, Cassington, Hampton Gay, Rousham, and Whitehill (in Tackley).¹⁶ That Yarnnton was referred to as a hundred suggests its importance as an honorial centre, perhaps related to its status as a demesne manor.¹⁷ Yarnnton remained quit of shire and hundred after 1281, under its new owner Rewley abbey.¹⁸ The last known meeting of the manorial court was in 1720, to regulate agricultural matters.¹⁹

The two churchwardens were financed in the later 16th century and early 17th by malt or malt money received from the parish's farmers.²⁰ By 1800 and probably earlier a rate was raised instead on the yardland,²¹ an anachronism that persisted into the 19th century; church, poor, surveyors', and constables' rates were all so assessed.²² Vestry meetings were held in the Spencer aisle of the church and were usually attended by c. 6 parishioners.²³ Two overseers of the poor were chosen annually by rota from the parish's leading farmers. In 1828, 1831, and 1835 both overseers were women.²⁴ The parish paid for dinners after the Michaelmas and Easter vestry meetings. In 1810 the vestry increased its dinner allowance from 20s. to the unusually high figure of 30s., and set an upper limit as high as £3 10s.²⁵

In 1776 Yarnnton spent £32 on poor relief, rising to an average of £76 between 1783 and 1785.²⁶ From the mid 1790s there was a sharp increase in expenditure, to a peak of c. £480 in 1800-1. The total fell thereafter, to c. £250 in 1810, but it began to rise again towards the end of the French wars. Expenditure per head of population was higher in Yarnnton than elsewhere, even when total expenditure was falling; in 1803, for example, expenditure of £1 10s. per person was notably the highest in the area. In 1815 and 1818 the capitation rate was £1 12s., and although it fell to 11s. in 1825 it was always among the highest.²⁷ Yarnnton's proximity to Oxford on the Woodstock road presumably accounts for the very large numbers of non-parishioners obtaining poor relief; most of the

150 non-parishioners relieved in 1803 were likely to have been travelling to or from the city.²⁸ In the later 18th century and early 19th between 6 and 12 adult parishioners regularly received poor relief for periods longer than 13 weeks a year; many more were given casual relief. In the second decade of the 19th century the number of those receiving regular allowances began to increase. The totals fluctuated, but there were 20 such recipients in 1818 and 27 in 1834.²⁹

The payment of wages to roundsmen was well established by the later 18th century. Ten or twelve were employed initially, at a cost to the parish of £8-£12 a year, a small proportion of total poor relief expenditure. In 1802-3 there were 13 men and 11 women so employed, and the cost had risen to c. £37. The effects of the post-Waterloo depression seem to have reached a peak in 1817-18, when £68 was paid to roundsmen, and in an attempt to prevent further settlement in the parish the vestry ordered a register of hirings to be kept. After £56 had been spent in 1829-30 the vestry sought to limit its share of the cost by ordering that every farmer should take his 'proper proportion' of labourers out of work, 'being one day for every yardland'; farmers were to pay the 'usual rate', unspecified, for wages in Yarnnton. There was another year of crisis in 1834-5, when the vestry's share of wages was £74.³⁰

The parish owned an unusual number of cottages, including a block of seven known as the College standing on manorial waste south of Cassington Lane, south-east of Southby's, later Exeter, Farm.³¹ New parish cottages were built in 1795 and 1806.³² In 1839 all 16 parish cottages, said to house 84 people, 'half the labouring poor' in Yarnnton, were sold to Sir George Dashwood.³³

Casual relief was given in money and kind.³⁴ In 1830 a pauper was paid 4s. to stop him 'from having a wife'.³⁵ Ploughs, presumably breast-ploughs, were bought for labourers in 1795 and 1800, and a labourer's plough was redeemed in 1799.³⁶ A few apprenticeship indentures have survived.³⁷ Paupers were paid to spin flax throughout the period, and in the 1780s hemp was also spun; in the 1820s worsted stockings were being knitted. Proceeds generally amounted to a few pounds, but £25 was earned in 1803 and 11 in 1806.³⁸ The parish paid a subscription to the Radcliffe Infirmary in Ox-

¹⁵ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 34, 48, 855.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 836, 854, 858, 863-5.

¹⁷ W. O. Ault, *Private Jurisdiction in Eng.* 194-6.

¹⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1288-96, 290.

¹⁹ O.R.O., Dash. XV/i/49.

²⁰ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 15, ff. 37v.-40v.; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 263.

²¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. e 12, f. 29.

²² *Ibid.* ff. 21v. sqq.

²³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnnton d 3.

²⁴ *Ibid.* b 9-10.

²⁵ *Poor Abstract*, 1787, 656; O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnnton b 10.

²⁶ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406-7.

²⁷ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Yarnnton b 9-10, *passim*; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. e 12, f. 28; *Poor Abstract*, 1818, 360-1; *Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 556, p. 139 (1822), v; H.C. 334, p. 174 (1825), iv; H.C. 83, p. 161 (1830-1), xi; H.C. 444,

p. 157 (1835), xlvii.

²⁸ *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 406-7.

²⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnnton b 9, *passim*.

³⁰ *Ibid.* b 9-10, *passim*; d 3, ff. 300-301v.

³¹ *Ibid.* b 9-10, *passim*; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 279-80. O.R.O., Dash. XV/iv/1, map of 1839, shows all the parish cottages.

³² O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnnton b 9, s.a. 1794-5, 1795-6, 1806-7.

³³ *Ibid.* b 10, pp. 315-21, where only 15 cottages are mentioned; O.R.O., Dash. XV/xiv/1.

³⁴ e.g. O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnnton d 3, ff. 7v., 11-12v.

³⁵ *Ibid.* b 10, s.a. 1830-1.

³⁶ *Ibid.* b 9, s.a. 1795-6, 1799-1800, 1800-1.

³⁷ *Ibid.* s.a. 1799-1800; b 10, s.a. 1812-13; four indentures survive at Yarnnton Vicarage.

³⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnnton b 9-10, *passim*; *Poor Abstract*, 1804, 407.

ford. Smallpox sufferers were taken to isolation hospitals at Hensington and Wolvercote, and in 1794 and 1815 the vestry paid for the parish's children to be inoculated.³⁹ Although elsewhere it was a general complaint that, on appeal, magistrates were too generous in the granting of allowances, Yarnton vestry seems not to have hesitated to refer cases to them in the early 19th century, perhaps to avoid the odium of refusal.⁴⁰ The vestry may also have been confident of the support of Yarnton's vicar, Vaughan Thomas, an influential figure on the local bench.⁴¹

In 1834 Yarnton became part of Woodstock poor law union. In 1932 it was transferred to Witney rural district, and in 1974 to Cherwell district.⁴²

CHURCH. The earliest reference to a church in Yarnton is a confirmation, made between 1155 and 1161, of Yarnton chapel to Eynsham abbey.⁴³ Yarnton was probably a daughter church of the abbey, and it was still occasionally called a chapel in the 14th century,⁴⁴ but no reference has been found to residual obligations such as burial dues owed to Eynsham.⁴⁵ The benefice was united with Begbroke in 1984, and the joint benefice was in 1986 united with Shipton-on-Cherwell.⁴⁶

Eynsham appropriated the church, probably in 1235, and held the advowson of the vicarage until the Dissolution.⁴⁷ In 1466 the abbey's nominee was rejected as unfit and presentation was made by the bishop.⁴⁸ After the Dissolution the Crown presented in 1544 and 1547,⁴⁹ and in 1565 the advowson was sold to two London speculators, Richard Bernard and Robert Taylor.⁵⁰ It may have been resold to Simon Corbet, who presented in 1566, but by 1579 the advowson had been bought by John Durant, lord of the manor,⁵¹ and it descended with the manor thereafter. In 1644 Richard Braithwaite, grandfather of the then lord, Sir William Spencer, presented. Oxford University presented in 1646 on the grounds that Sir William was a recusant.⁵² In 1731 Benjamin Swete, owner of a quarter of the manor and advowson, gave his share of the advowson, comprising the right to every fourth presentation, to his friend George

Clarke (d. 1736), fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. Clarke devised it to the college, which failed to exercise its right at the first opportunity in 1761, and the bishop presented by lapse.⁵³ The college presented in 1858,⁵⁴ but it sold its share of the advowson c. 1900 to Henry Franklin, lord of the manor.⁵⁵ In 1965 the then lord, C. K. F. Brown, gave the advowson to St. Catherine's College, Oxford. In 1984 St. Catherine's transferred the advowson to the Charles Wolfson Charitable Trust, which thereafter shared presentation to the united benefice with Brasenose College and, from 1986, with the duke of Marlborough.⁵⁶

The church was served by chaplains until appropriation, when the living became an endowed vicarage of 5 marks a year, derived from a house formerly the chaplain's and all altar offerings except mortuary payments of a live beast.⁵⁷ The living was assessed at 20s. in 1254.⁵⁸ By 1535 the vicar had the small tithes, and the value of the living had risen to c. £9.⁵⁹ It was poorer than most in Woodstock rural deanery, worth in 1707 only £36 a year, derived from small tithes (£32), payments for morning prayers (£2), and rent from the vicarage house (£2).⁶⁰ In 1808 the income was only c. £40, largely because the vicar was not receiving most of his tithes.⁶¹ Vaughan Thomas, vicar 1803–58, so vigorously pursued his rights that a proposed augmentation in 1817 was cancelled 'on account of the present improved value of the living', which then amounted to c. £200.⁶² In 1845 vicarial tithes were commuted to a rent charge of £290.⁶³

The vicarage house, which stood north of the church fronting Church Lane,⁶⁴ was taxed on four hearths in 1662.⁶⁵ It was in disrepair in 1685,⁶⁶ and 'very ruinous' in 1730. William Bowdery, then incumbent, intended to replace it with a new, two-storeyed, four-roomed house, with wash house and stable adjoining.⁶⁷ Such a house was built, west of the site of the old one, but apparently not until the incumbency of Richard Hawkins (1733–47). The house was so small that the corpulent Hawkins reputedly once became stuck in the staircase.⁶⁸ Successive vicars reported the house unsuitable,⁶⁹ and in 1847 Vaughan Thomas, at the behest of the bishop, added a two-storeyed extension and

³⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 9, s.a. 1787–8, 1794–5; b 10, s.a. 1824–5; d 3, ff. 21v–22.

⁴⁰ Ibid. d 3, *passim*.

⁴¹ D. McClatchey, *Oxon. Clergy 1777–1869*, 192, 196.

⁴² O.R.O., RO 15.

⁴³ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 57. The assertion in Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 235 that the chapel was mentioned in 1009 has not been verified.

⁴⁴ *Eynsham Cart.* i, p. 376.

⁴⁵ Cf. above, Cassington, Cogges, Churches.

⁴⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2085 2.

⁴⁷ *Rot. Grosse*. (L.R.S. xi), 445.

⁴⁸ Lincs. R.O., Episc. Reg. xx, f. 242; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 220. For a list of medieval presentations from 1235 see Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 460.

⁴⁹ Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 222–3.

⁵⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1563–6, p. 312.

⁵¹ Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 223.

⁵² O.R.O., Cal. Oxf. Presentation Deeds II, f. 104.

⁵³ Bodl. MS. d.d. All Souls Coll. c 238; O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 658, ff. 45–6; c 2085; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 227, 229.

⁵⁴ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2085/1.

⁵⁵ H. A. Evans, 'Yarnton Yesterday and Today', *Yarnton Quarterly Paper*, xi: copy in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/15.

⁵⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2085/1, 2.

⁵⁷ *Rot. Grosse*. (L.R.S. xi), 445.

⁵⁸ Lunt, *Val. Norw.* 307.

⁵⁹ *Subsidy* 1526, 269; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 183.

⁶⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 155, f. 39v.; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c 55, f. 256; Ecton, *Liber Valorum* (1723 edn.), 259.

⁶¹ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 446, ff. 212–13; d 549, f. 136.

⁶² Ibid. c 449, f. 74; Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. b 19, ff. 41–57, 100, 133–4; c 12, ff. 87v–97v.

⁶³ O.R.O., tithe award. Vicarage land of 8 a. there recorded seems to have been Thomas's own: cf. *Return of Glebe*, H.C. 307, p. 123 (1887), lxiv.

⁶⁴ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 456, f. 240.

⁶⁵ P.R.O., E 179 164 504, m. 45.

⁶⁶ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 708, f. 67.

⁶⁷ Ibid. c 456, f. 240.

⁶⁸ Ibid. c 449, f. 72; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Begbroke c 2, item b.

⁶⁹ e.g. *ibid.* MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 560, f. 223; c 449, f. 72 and v.; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 19, f. 184v.

attic dormers. A small cottage in the vicarage grounds, built in 1811, was converted to a stable in 1844.⁷⁰ The vicarage, further enlarged in the 20th century, was sold in 1987.

Although Yarnton was a poor living, several medieval vicars were long-serving, notably William Pernel, 1365–1404. Most vicars from the mid 15th century taught and lived in Oxford, and were often pluralists.⁷¹ Leonard Hutchinson, vicar from 1535 to c. 1540, was master of University College.⁷² George Blunt, 1544–7, and William Milton, or Gibbon, 1547–64, were former monks.⁷³ Hugh Evans, 1579–1618, married a member of the Minn family and, unusual among Yarnton's incumbents, was a working farmer. He kept the first known school in the parish and his pupils included the puritan divine, John Ball of Cassington. Evans's estate was valued at only £38 at his death.⁷⁴ Henry Tozer, vicar 1644–6, a puritan royalist deprived of his fellowship at Exeter College by the parliamentary commissioners,⁷⁵ seems to have had little contact with the parish. John Goad, 1646–60, was similarly deprived of his fellowship at St. John's College, retiring to Yarnton where, 'a suffering cavalier', he joined a discreet group of local royalists.⁷⁶

From 1660 the poverty of the living and the dilapidation of the house ensured that there was no resident incumbent at Yarnton until the 19th century. Most vicars employed curates or travelled out from Oxford to conduct services. Philip Potter, 1661–78, claimed, when accused of neglect, that he kept a bed at Yarnton and paid someone to fetch him in an emergency. That attendance at services sometimes comprised only the clerk and himself was blamed by Potter on his 'parishioners' neglect'.⁷⁷ He was eventually deprived of the living, a fate that escaped his equally absent but more eminent successors, John Venn, master of Balliol College and vice-chancellor, and Thomas Pigott, F.R.S.⁷⁸ By contrast, Richard Hawkins, chaplain of Magdalen College and, from 1740, rector of Begbroke, visited Yarnton two or three times a week, catechized throughout the year, and administered communion eight times a year, a frequency matched almost nowhere else in the diocese and not found again in Yarnton until the later 19th century.⁷⁹ Although Thomas Gregory of Hordley in Wootton parish, vicar 1761–80, gave the entire income of the living to his curate

John Cox of St. Mary Hall, who performed services regularly, attendances were poor; Gregory blamed his parishioners' 'thoughtlessness and inattention', deriving, he surmised, from their 'very mean condition'.⁸⁰ The presentation to the living between 1780 and 1803 of three successive fellows of Corpus Christi College may have been due to Sir Henry Dashwood's friendship with John Cooke, president of the college and rector of Begbroke, another Dashwood living.⁸¹ In the late 18th century and early 19th Yarnton was usually served with Begbroke; on Sundays there was one service at each church, in the morning and in the evening alternately.⁸²

For most of his long incumbency Vaughan Thomas was also rector of Duntisbourne Rouse (Glos.), and vicar of Stoneleigh (Warws.), and for a time he was curate of Begbroke, but his principal cure was Yarnton.⁸³ He restored the church extensively and improved the value of the living beyond recognition. He lived at the vicarage from 1811 to 1819, but otherwise lived mostly in Oxford, travelling out two or three times a week. From 1827, when he resigned the curacy of Begbroke, he held two services with sermons on Sundays.⁸⁴ Thomas was initially a supporter of the Oxford Movement, 'high and dry' according to bishop Wilberforce;⁸⁵ he introduced the practice of administering communion to the sick, but made no effort to increase the number of communion services, which remained at four a year throughout his incumbency. The number of communicants, however, increased from c. 10 in 1802 to c. 30 in 1834.⁸⁶ The congregation recorded for the ecclesiastical census of 1851, 63 people in the morning and 44 in the evening,⁸⁷ also represented a significant improvement. Thomas continued to spend part of the week in Yarnton until c. 1855, though relying increasingly on resident curates. In his late years, concerned at the growing strength of nonconformity in Yarnton and elsewhere, he became somewhat disillusioned with 'the spirit of the age and the forlorn aspect of church affairs'.⁸⁸

Thomas's successor was Peter Maurice, 1858–78, chaplain of All Souls College and a leading Evangelical. He has been accused of demonstrating the 'laxer standards of an earlier generation'⁸⁹ in omitting the Lent prayer services begun by Thomas and in holding only six

⁷⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 449, ff. 70, 72v.; *Letter Bks. of Samuel Wilberforce* (O.R.S. xlvi), p. 53. Cf. O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 70, f. 944, where Thomas states that the house was enlarged 1849–52.

⁷¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d 460; Emden, *O.U. Reg. to 1500*; *Cal. Papal Regs.* xi. 531; xiii (2), 726.

⁷² *Alum. Oxon. 1500–1714*; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 222.

⁷³ O.A.S. *Rep.* (1911), 92–3; (1930), 345.

⁷⁴ P.R.O., PROB 11/115 (P.C.C. 13 Wingfield); O.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. 20/2/22; 20/3/6; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 223. For Ball see *D.N.B.*

⁷⁵ *Walker Revised*, ed. A. G. Matthews, 300; *D.N.B.*

⁷⁶ *D.N.B.*; *Wood's Life*, i (O.H.S. xix), 151; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 223–4.

⁷⁷ Quoted in Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 225.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*; *D.N.B.*; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 19, f. 88v.

⁷⁹ *Secker's Visit.* 181 and *passim*; McClatchey, *Oxon. Clergy*, 86.

⁸⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 560, f. 223.

⁸¹ *Alum. Oxon. 1715–1886*, s.vv. John Tesh, Rob. Coates, Vaughan Thomas. 'Revd. Mr. Cooke' was tutor at Kirtlington in 1757; J. Townsend, *Oxon. Dashwoods*, 31.

⁸² O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 6, f. 155; b 34, f. 107; b 36, f. 163; d 577, f. 175.

⁸³ Cf. above, Intro.

⁸⁴ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 8, f. 171v.; MSS. Oxf. Dioc. b 31, f. 115; b 34, f. 107; b 36, f. 163; c 449, f. 72v.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 550, f. 52: quoted in McClatchey, *Oxon. Clergy*, 89.

⁸⁶ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 567, f. 183; b 39, f. 387.

⁸⁷ *Ch. and Chapel*, 1851, no. 506.

⁸⁸ *Wilb. Visit.* 169–70; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 179, ff. 461–2.

⁸⁹ McClatchey, *Oxon. Clergy*, 88, where Maurice is cited as typifying lower standards among clergy presented by private individuals; he was, however, presented not by Sir Henry Dashwood but by All Souls Coll., Oxford: O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2085/1.

communion services a year when monthly celebrations were becoming the rule,⁹⁰ but he resided throughout his incumbency, and his attitude to communion services probably stemmed more from Evangelicalism than laxity.⁹¹

A revival of conventional church life began belatedly with the presentation in 1878 of James Balleine, who introduced additional services during Lent, fortnightly communion services, and a monthly children's service. Congregations increased at a time when the parish's population was static or falling, and there were regularly 30–40 communicants. Nonconformity remained strong, however, and Balleine, shortly before resigning in 1890 complained of the 'coldness and indifference' shown him by parishioners.⁹²

The church of *ST. BARTHOLOMEW* comprises chancel, nave, south chapel and aisle, south porch, and south-west tower.⁹³ From the 12th-century church there survive a deep, widely splayed window reveal at the north-west end of the chancel, two similar reveals west of the south doorway, the doorway itself, and a font in the south chapel. A claim, based on the appearance of rough stonework in the south wall, that the present south aisle was the nave of the early church⁹⁴ remains unproven, for there is similar masonry at the west end of the present nave. Extensive building work in the 13th century included the nave arcade of four bays, the chancel arch with its triple jamb shafts, the east and north-east windows of the chancel, and, probably, the extension eastwards of the south aisle. The chancel arch leans to the north, apparently because a tie beam in the chancel roof has been removed.⁹⁵ In the 14th century new two-light windows were inserted west of the north and east of the south doorways, but, unusually for the area, there were no other alterations to the church. A large three-light window was inserted east of the north doorway in the 15th century and the church walls may have been raised. A clerestory was perhaps added at that time. There are remnants of 15th-century wall paintings above the chancel arch and north doorway. The church was in disrepair for much of the 16th century. Rain, first said to be leaking into the church in 1520,⁹⁶ was still doing so in 1581 when it was also noted that 'the church walls begin to sink and the leads and timber are greatly decayed'.⁹⁷

Major restoration and enlargement of the

church was undertaken in 1611 by Sir Thomas Spencer.⁹⁸ A spacious family chapel was built at the east end of the south aisle, and a tower of three stages at the west. The tower seems to have been built slightly west of the church, the west wall of the aisle was then knocked out, and tower and aisle joined together. Nothing is known of an earlier tower, but churchwardens' payments for bell repairs indicate that there may have been one.⁹⁹ The clerestory was probably refenestrated and the west window of the nave inserted about the same time that the chapel and tower were built. Sir Thomas's son Sir William built in 1634 a screen at the tower entrance, and probably provided the elaborately carved chapel screen, pulpit, and reading desk.¹ A large state pew in similar style was placed at the south-west corner of the chapel;² it was moved, and allegedly broken up, to make room for a memorial to Charlotte (d. 1850), wife of George Spencer-Churchill, duke of Marlborough. Some of the wood survived and was used in 1921 to make stalls for the chancel.³ The Spencer chapel contains the largest collection of 17th-century armorial glass in the county.⁴ The south porch was added in 1616, and the chapel, south aisle, and tower were battlemented in 1627.⁵ The conservative styling and outstanding quality of the early 17th-century work, particularly the carving of the screen and chapel ceiling, and the smooth and regular coursing of the masonry, invite comparison with contemporary work in Oxford, notably at Wadham College and the Bodleian Library.⁶

The church interior was painted white in 1707, and the exterior rendered.⁷ In 1793 the church was paved and repainted at Alderman William Fletcher's expense, and in 1802 the nave and south aisle were repewed using 15th-century bench ends.⁸ Fletcher also gave a 15th-century font formerly in St. Michael's church, Oxford,⁹ and 'many curious pieces of ancient sculpture'.¹⁰ The latter included seven alabaster panels of the 15th century which were formed into a reredos in the chancel. Between 1817 and 1823 one panel seems to have been removed,¹¹ and two more, perhaps with others from elsewhere in the church, were ejected by Vaughan Thomas in the mid 19th century as being too 'Romish'. They were later rescued from a builder's yard and two were sold in 1914 to the British Museum and to the Victoria and Albert

⁹⁰ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, ff. 483–4; c 335, f. 448; c 338, ff. 467–8.

⁹¹ J. Reynolds, *Evangelicals at Oxf.* 177.

⁹² O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 347, ff. 473–4; c 353, ff. 474–5; c 356, f. 464v.

⁹³ For descriptions see Parker, *Guide*, 104–7; V. Thomas, *Some Acct. of Yarnton Ch.* (1856): copy in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. 8° 147 (19); W. Hobart Bird, *Old Oxon. Chs.* 172; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 864–7. There are illustrations from 1802 to 1874 in Bodl. MSS. Top. Oxon. a 69, nos. 636, 639, 641; a 39, ff. 177–8; e 290, f. 24; b 220, f. 35; c 522, f. 19; c 687, f. 45; MSS. Don. b 14, f. 170; c 90, p. 187.

⁹⁴ Pevsner, *Oxon.* 864; A. Evans, *Yarnton and Its Story* (Yarnton, 1911), 2; *Yarnton Ch. Guide* (Yarnton P.C. 1979), 1.

⁹⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton d 3, f. 57.

⁹⁶ *Visit. Dioc. Linc.* (L.R.S. xxxiii), 128.

⁹⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 15, ff. 37v.–40v.

⁹⁸ Datestone on W. wall of tower.

⁹⁹ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 7, ff. 7v.–8.

¹ Table of benefactions in ch.

² Illus. in Skelton, *Antiq. Oxon.* Wootton hund. pl. 5.

³ A. Adcock, *Spencers at Yarnton* (Yarnton P.C.C. 1981), 28; inf. from Mrs. A. Adcock, Wolvercote Vicarage.

⁴ E. A. G. Lamborn, *Armorial Glass of Oxf. Dioc.* 166–71.

⁵ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 7, f. 22v.; *Yarnton Ch. Guide*, 2.

⁶ *Acct. of Yarnton Ch.* 6; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 236–7.

⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 7, f. 95.

⁸ Ibid. MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 70, f. 944. For Fletcher see above, Intro.

⁹ *Eng. Topog.* (Gent. Mag.), ix. 198.

¹⁰ Table of benefactions in ch.

¹¹ Drawing of 1817 at vicarage; illus. in Skelton, *Antiq. Oxon.* frontispiece; Evans, *Yarnton and Its Story*, 2.

Museum respectively.¹² Between 1812 and 1816 Fletcher gave a remarkable collection of 15th- and early 16th-century stained glass. Of the church's own medieval glass only four pieces remain, in the tracery of the north-east window of the nave, including two early 15th-century representations of Cistercian monks, presumably of Rewley abbey.¹³ Some glass was removed before 1856 by Thomas as not 'proper ... being on subjects legendary'.¹⁴ The glass was extensively rearranged when removed for cleaning in 1913 by F. C. Eden. A further restoration took place in 1971, by D. King.¹⁵ When the south-west windows of the south aisle were reglazed in 1812 they were recreated as lancets on the exterior.¹⁶

The improvements undertaken by Thomas included the addition to the belfry screen of folding doors dated 1634 and of carved wood 'taken from out-of-sight places in the body of the church',¹⁷ the adornment of the north door with the arms of Fletcher and Spencer (1817), restoration of the pulpit and reading desk (1817-18), the opening of a new entrance in the north wall of the tower (1840), repainting of the church interior (1844), the repair of the Spencer chapel (1848-9), and the building of cupboards under the Spencer chapel pews to house the parish library (1851).¹⁸

The church was reroofed in 1911, roughcast was removed from the walls, and some perished stonework was replaced at the foot of the tower and outside the Spencer chapel. In the chancel a coved plaster ceiling installed c. 1816 was taken down to reveal an open timber roof, which was restored.¹⁹ Extensive repairs were made to the exterior stonework of the church in the 1950s, and in 1964 the nave and south aisle roofs were re-leaded.²⁰ The Spencer chapel was restored in 1971, and in 1972 the tower battlements were renewed.²¹

There are traces of a rood screen in the chancel arch, and of a doorway to the loft on the south. Pieces of carved wood, reputedly remnants of the screen, were used in 1820 to frame the table of benefactions which hangs on the north wall of the church.²² The principal monuments are in the Spencer chapel. The earliest, presumably built c. 1611 and attributed to Jasper Hollemans, is a bedstead monument com-

memorating Sir William Spencer (d. 1609) and his wife Margaret. To the east an even larger monument, attributed to John Nost, has life-size figures of Sir Thomas Spencer (d. 1685) and his wife Jane.²³ The monument was incomplete in 1695, when Sir Robert Dashwood retained part of his purchase money for Yarnton towards its cost.²⁴ The chapel also contains memorial tablets and plaques to other members of the Spencer family and the memorial to Charlotte, duchess of Marlborough, buried in the chapel at Blenheim. William Fletcher was buried at the west end of the church in 1827 in a stone coffin from the site of Godstow abbey.²⁵ The lid bears a monumental brass by Thomas Knowles of Oxford, copied from the brass of Richard Atkinson (d. 1574) in St. Peter-in-the-East, Oxford.²⁶

Repairs were made in the early 17th century to the 'great bell' and to the saunce. A new bell, made at the parish's expense in 1618, was recast at Thomas's expense in 1853; five more were given in 1620 by Sir Thomas Spencer.²⁷ A new frame was installed in 1988. A 16th-century church clock was replaced in 1641.²⁸ It remained in working order in 1983, although the face was removed in the 19th century.²⁹ The church plate includes a silver chalice and paten of 1629, a silver plate of 1632, and a silver flagon given in 1636 by Richard Braithwaite.³⁰

South of the church stands the lower half of a highly ornamented stone cross, probably of the 14th century.³¹ It is similar to the cross at Eynsham, and may have been erected by the abbey. It was recalled in the mid 19th century that there had been similar crosses at Cassington and Worton,³² also abbey properties. Yarnton's cross had been displaced from its base by 1810.³³ The churchyard, extended in 1883,³⁴ contains tombstones from the mid 17th century.

NONCONFORMITY. In 1634 the Irish wife of Ellis Perrott, member of a prominent Yarnton family, refused to conform, but her correction was left to her husband.³⁵ The Spencers married into Roman Catholic families,³⁶ and in 1646 Sir William Spencer (d. 1657) was allegedly recusant.³⁷ The only self-confessed Catholic was Sir William's grandson William (d. 1683).³⁸ John Goad, vicar 1646-60, was supposed to have

¹² Evans, *Yarnton and Its Story*, 5; *Yarnton Quarterly Paper*, xxxv; *Guide to Manchester Ch. Congress* (1908), p. 168; F. Cheetham, *Eng. Medieval Alabasters*, 305, 323-4; inf. from British Mus. and V. & A. Mus.

¹³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton d 1; Bodl. MS. Don. c 90, f. 187; table of benefactions in ch.; P. A. Newton, *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, i, 219-30; Pevsner, *Oxon.* 866-7.

¹⁴ Thomas, *Some Acct. of Yarnton Ch.* 6. ¹⁵ O.R.O., MSS. d.d. Par. Yarnton d 3, f. 59; b 8, f. 138; *ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2085.

¹⁶ *Some Acct. of Yarnton Ch.* 3.

¹⁷ Letter and drawings of May, 1817, at vicarage. The whole screen is wrongly said to have been assembled in 1854 in Pevsner, *Oxon.* 865.

¹⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 8, ff. 168 sqq.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* f. 138v.; d 3, ff. 54-7; Parker, *Guide*, 104.

²⁰ Inf. from Mrs. A. Adcock.

²¹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2085/1.

²² *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 8, f. 168v.

²³ Pevsner, *Oxon.* 380, 865.

²⁴ O.R.O., Dash. XV/i/41.

²⁵ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton d 1, f. 5.

²⁶ Thomas, *Acct. of Yarnton Ch.* 20; M. Stevenson, *Mon. Brasses*, 426. Pevsner, *Oxon.* 866 gives 1674 in error.

²⁷ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 7, ff. 5v.-6, 7v.-8, 15 and v.; b 8, f. 20; *Ch. Bells Oxon.* iv, 459-64; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 264-70.

²⁸ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 7, f. 7v.; Beeson, *Oxon. Clockmakers* (Banbury Hist. Soc. iv), 74-5.

²⁹ *Yarnton Ch. Guide*, 6.

³⁰ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 7, ff. 9v., 27v., 30, 34v., 126; table of benefactions in ch.; Evans, *Ch. Plate*, 188-9.

³¹ B. J. Marples, 'Med. Oxon. Crosses', *Oxoniensia*, xxxviii, 303-4, 309-10.

³² Parker, *Guide*, 107; *Acct. of Yarnton Ch.* 22-3.

³³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton c 2, f. 74.

³⁴ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2085.

³⁵ Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c 317/15.

³⁶ Stapleton, *Cath. Miss.* 185-7.

³⁷ O.R.O., Cal. Oxf. Presentation Deeds II, f. 104.

³⁸ *Wood's Life*, iii (O.H.S. xxvi), 73.

become a Roman Catholic in 1660, although not acknowledging his conversion until 1686.³⁹ In 1706 one Roman Catholic, possibly a servant of the Spencers, was reported.⁴⁰

In 1828 John Fordred, a Wesleyan minister from Oxford, applied for a licence for John Preedy's cottage in Yarnton to be used as a meeting house.⁴¹ The cottage may have stood at the east end of Gravel Pits Lane.⁴² Contributions to the Wesleyan circuit collections were received from Yarnton in 1829, but no later mention has been found.⁴³ In the 1830s Henry Bulteel of Oxford preached at Baptist meetings in Yarnton. Although only eight Yarnton people were reckoned to attend, large crowds came from neighbouring villages.⁴⁴ From the mid 19th century nonconformist preachers from Oxford were attracting a sufficient following to affect church attendance. In the 1840s Primitive Methodists met in a stable.⁴⁵ By 1854 John Herbert's cottage near the Oxford-Woodstock road was licensed for prayer meetings, and dissenters also met at Southby's Farm, then occupied by Thomas Johnson. There were said in 1854 to be 20 dissenters who never came to church, even though their preachers had agreed not to hold meetings before 6 o'clock in the evening.⁴⁶ Prayer meetings held in two cottages during 1866 were reputedly attended by c. 16 people,⁴⁷ and the number of dissenters reported in the later 19th century varied from 14 to 30.⁴⁸

EDUCATION. Hugh Evans, vicar of Yarnton 1579–1618, and John Goad, vicar 1646–60, kept small private schools at the vicarage.⁴⁹ No other school is known before the later 18th century, and the vicar reported in 1768 that the parish children were so backward that he had difficulty teaching them the catechism.⁵⁰ A school for 6 or 8 children, in existence by 1780,⁵¹ may have been the precursor of a Sunday school established in 1783.⁵² The latter was supported in 1797 by a biannual payment of 18s. from the overseers and by voluntary subscriptions. The teacher was the parish clerk.⁵³ A day school started in 1814 was in 1815 attended by 8 boys and 7 girls under the instruction of an 'aged

person'. The Sunday school had at that time 13 boys and 14 girls.⁵⁴ A rent charge on Windmill field of £7 a year, devised by Sir Thomas Spencer (d. 1685) for the maintenance of the monuments in the Spencer chapel or, if not needed there, for Yarnton's poor,⁵⁵ was usually spent on clothes for the schoolchildren.⁵⁶

From 1817 a room in the new parish clerk's house at the north-west end of Church Lane was used as a schoolroom.⁵⁷ The children were taught by the clerk's wife Lucy Charlett, and after her death in 1827 by their daughter Ann, who continued until 1875.⁵⁸ The school was incorporated with the National Society in 1831.⁵⁹ It was attended in 1833 by 59 children on Sundays and 42 on weekdays. Pupils, who stayed at school from the ages of 4 to 10, paid ½d. a week, the vicar and the parish each paid £4 4s. a year, and £2 2s. was provided from the Spencer bequest. Alderman Fletcher had in 1823 given an annuity of £5 for repairs to the parish clerk's house, any surplus to be used for the school; £3 or £4 of that money was usually combined with money raised by subscription to form a children's clothing fund.⁶⁰ In 1854 the vicar claimed that he bore almost the entire financial burden of the school, paying a mistress £12 12s. a year, providing her with clothes, books, and writing materials, and giving each child a full suit of clothes on New Year's Day. The only assistance was £3 from the Fletcher benefaction and £1 from the bishop of St. Asaph, an absentee landowner.⁶¹ An evening school operated sporadically in the later 19th century.⁶²

A new school with accommodation for 53 children was built in 1875 in Church Lane,⁶³ and from 1877 it received a parliamentary grant.⁶⁴ In 1895 places were provided for 34 infants; total attendance was only 49,⁶⁵ but it had risen to 61 by 1906, when the school was financed by parliamentary grants, endowments, and subscriptions.⁶⁶ In 1910 a new wing was added.⁶⁷ In 1932 the school was reorganized as a junior school, with three classrooms and an average attendance of 79. Senior children went to Gosford, in Kidlington parish.⁶⁸

A new building was erected in Rutten Lane in

³⁹ Wood, *Athenae Oxon.* (3rd edn. 1820), iv. 268; Stapleton, *Cath. Miss.* 187.

⁴⁰ *Oxoniensia*, xiii. 81; Stapleton, *Cath. Miss.* 187.

⁴¹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 645, f. 113; *ibid.* MS. d.d. Oxf. Methodist Circuit c 8, a and d.

⁴² *Ibid.* tithe award and map; V. Thomas, 'Sanitary Survey of Yarnton' (1853), 3.

⁴³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Oxf. Methodist Circuit e 3; *ibid.* b 1–7.

⁴⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. b 18, ff. 90, 95v.

⁴⁵ O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 646, f. 196; c 647, f. 70.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* tithe award and map; Thomas, 'Sanitary Survey', 4, 21; Exeter Coll. Mun., N.III.6, mortgage of 1852; *Wilb. Visit.* 170. Herbert's cottage survived in 1983 towards the east end of Cassington Road.

⁴⁷ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 484.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* c 335, f. 448; c 338, f. 468; c 347, f. 473.

⁴⁹ Wood, *Athenae Oxon.* i. 636; *Wood's Life*, i (O.H.S. xix), 151; above, Church.

⁵⁰ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 560, f. 223.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* b 101, f. 261.

⁵² *Ibid.* c 433, f. 234.

⁵³ *Ibid.* MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 9, s.a. 1797.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 433, f. 234. The vicar claimed variously in later years to have started the day school in 1803

and 1805; *ibid.* b 38, f. 237; *Wilb. Visit.* 170.

⁵⁵ P.R.O., PROB 11/387 (1687, f. 83).

⁵⁶ e.g. O.R.O., MSS. Oxf. Dioc. d 577, f. 175; d 581, f. 157.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* b 70, f. 944; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 356–7; datestone on ho.

⁵⁸ Inf. from Mrs. A. Adcock.

⁵⁹ O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. b 38, f. 237.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* b 39, f. 387; *Educ. Enq. Abstract*, H.C. 62, p. 759 (1835), xlii.

⁶¹ *Wilb. Visit.* 170.

⁶² O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 332, f. 484; *Rep. Com. Children and Women in Agric.* [4202–I], p. 337, H.C. (1868–9), xiii.

⁶³ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1895).

⁶⁴ *Rep. Educ. Cttee. of Council* [C. 2048–I], p. 793, H.C. (1878), xxviii.

⁶⁵ *Schs. in Receipt of Parl. Grants* [C. 8179], p. 192, H.C. (1896), lxv; *Public Elem. Schs. Return* [Cd. 3182], p. 530, H.C. (1906), lxxxvi.

⁶⁶ *Return of Schs.* [Cd. 315], pp. 676–7, H.C. (1900), lxv (2); *Return of Non-Provided Schs.* H.C. 178, p. 36 (1906), lxxxviii.

⁶⁷ *Yarnton Quarterly Paper*, vi.

⁶⁸ Inf. from Oxon. C.C. Educ. Cttee.

1956 to take the two upper junior classes.⁶⁹ Increasing population led to the construction on the Rutten Lane site in 1971 of the William Fletcher County Primary School, with seven classrooms and a hall; the Church Lane school became a private house. In 1983 c. 130 children attended the school.⁷⁰

In 1853 there was a dame school opposite the clerk's house, attended by 11 children from the ages of 5 to 9.⁷¹

CHARITIES. Sir Thomas Spencer by will dated 1684 left a rent charge of £7 a year on Windmill field for repairs to the family chapel, with the residue given to the poor on St. Thomas's day. Usually the whole amount was given to the poor, and from c. 1815 it was used to support the school and clothe schoolchildren.⁷² In 1914, however, the vicar and churchwardens claimed that the Spencer chapel had been allowed to fall into disrepair because the original terms of the endowment had not been complied with. Despite local protests the Charity Commissioners ruled that the chapel's repair should be the first charge on the bequest.⁷³

Alderman William Fletcher, by deed dated 1823, gave £30 a year to the parish, of which £10 was to be distributed to the poor in meat and bread on Christmas Day and on the anniversary of his death, £4 in bread and cakes to poor adults, and £1 in cakes to their children. The parish clerk received £8 a year, and the remaining £7 was to be used for educational purposes. Fletcher further provided that if the

village school should be discontinued the part of his bequest relating to it should be given instead to the poor. In 1835 Vaughan Thomas and the churchwardens drew up a schedule for the better management of the distributions. The new scheme typically reflected Thomas's ability to combine energetic and efficient administration with the imposition of his own values: only Yarnton poor were to be eligible for the distributions, which must be received at the church door; careful account was to be kept of the gifts and recipients, and those not regular churchgoers or whose conduct during the past year had been 'wicked' should be dropped from the list.⁷⁴ By Charity Commission Schemes of 1907 and 1913, £100 of the Fletcher charity was placed in a separate account for the school and for the repair of the clerk's house. In 1971 the charity provided £15 a year distributed amongst c. 20 people in grants of up to £2; the parish clerk was living in the old schoolhouse and receiving £8 a year from the charity.⁷⁵

West's charity was established by will dated c. 1840, giving £210 stock to assist the lying-in of poor and deserving parishioners. £5 5s. a year was spent on providing boxes of clothes, each labelled with a description of the type of woman who was not to benefit.⁷⁶ The income in 1979 was distributed to the poor.⁷⁷

By a declaration of trust dated 1980 the Oldfield charity was created to promote the welfare of the aged and the relief of poverty in the parish of Yarnton. The income was c. £500.⁷⁸

⁶⁹ O.R.O., Misc. Yarn. 1/2, pp. 224, 226.

⁷⁰ Local inf.

⁷¹ Inf. from Mrs. A. Adcock.

⁷² 12th Rep. Com. Char. 357; Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 270; O.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. d 577, f. 175v.; *Char. Digest*, H.C. 292-II, pp. 64-5 (1871), lv.

⁷³ O.R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Yarnton b 8, ff. 140v.-141.

⁷⁴ Stapleton, *Three Oxon. Pars.* 271-2.

⁷⁵ O.R.C.C., Kimber files.

⁷⁶ Ibid. The will has not been traced. One of the boxes is preserved in the Museum of Oxford.

⁷⁷ O.R.C.C., Kimber files: MS. rep. on Review of Oxon. Parish Chars. 1979

⁷⁸ Char. Com. files.

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